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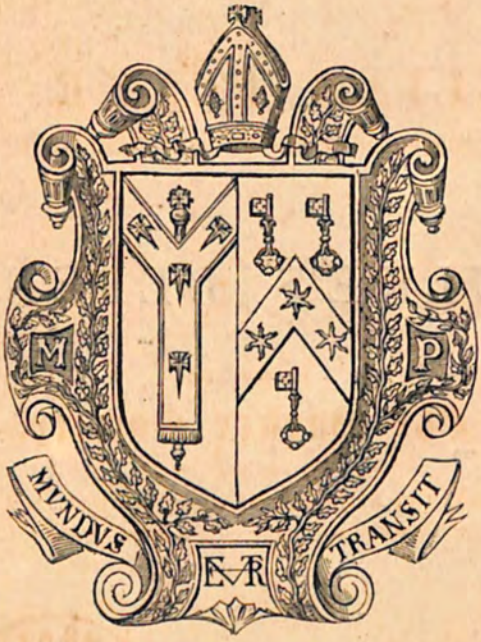
FULKE'S DEFENCE,

&c.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

A DEFENCE

OF THE SINCERE AND TRUE TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE,

AGAINST THE CAVILS OF

GREGORY MARTIN.

BY

WILLIAM FULKE, D.D.

MASTER OF PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

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EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE, M.A.

CURATE OF COGENHOE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

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BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT

OF

WILLIAM FULKE.

It is a circumstance which has frequently been remarked, that those authors who by their writings have greatly benefitted mankind, have left to posterity few particulars from which may be gathered the events of their own life. The course of a scholar rarely exhibits any incidents or features of variety. Living more with past generations than his own, holding converse with his books in preference to the world without, the daily tenor of his habits and occupations continues the same. We must be contented, therefore, to dwell with him in his seclusion, and to read the expression of his recorded thoughts, rather than expect to have to trace his history in events of more stirring interest. Such is the case with respect to the subject of the present memoir. The few particulars that have been preserved of the biography of William Fulke, may be briefly stated.

Of his parentage nothing is known. Bishop Wren[1], who took some trouble to glean notices of his life, has not even left us the date of his birth: but we are incidentally informed by himself that he was born before the year 1538. (See p. 41, and compare the statement there with the notice in p. ix. of No. 17 of his works.) It is

[1 Bishop Wren's collections have been used for a similar purpose by Tanner. (Historical Account of the Masters of Pembroke Hall. Compiled by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely. A MS. volume in possession of the College. Leland's Collectanea, Vol. v. p. 396.) The Manuscript life in Caius College Library seems to be copied from the former.]

reasonably presumed, that he was born in London; and that whilst a boy at school he manifested indications of that talent which developed itself so conspicuously at a later age. An anecdote has been preserved which shews that even at an early period he was possessed with the ambition of distinguishing himself above his associates. It happened, singularly enough, that as a schoolfellow he came into competition with Edmund Campian in a contest for the prize of a silver pen, offered by one of the masters as a reward for the best literary exercise. Our aspiring young scholar being unsuccessful bore his disappointment with so ill a grace as to shed tears under it, indignantly looking forward to the reprisals of a future competition. From Christ's Hospital, where it appears likely that Fulke received the rudiments of his education, (as it is certain that Campian was educated there[1],) he was transferred to St John's College, Cambridge, A. D. 1555. After taking his degree of bachelor of arts, his father, designing him for the legal profession, entered him a student of Clifford's Inn. During the six years and upwards that he remained here pursuing legal studies, he made himself well acquainted with the sciences, and gave to the world his Οὐρανομαχία, a treatise in which he exposed the absurdities of astrology. At length returning to the University, he proceeded to his Master's degree, being at the same time elected fellow of his college, A.D. 1564.

The change thus indicated in his plans so displeased his father, that for a time he withdrew from him the necessary means of subsistence. The zeal of Fulke suffered, however, little diminution under his pecuniary difficulties; and we find him immediately pursuing his new course of study with alacrity. To that of theology he now joined

[1 This however is no conclusive evidence, especially as Fulke must have been at least fifteen years old at the time of the foundation of the Hospital (1553).]

the acquisition of the oriental languages, a deep knowledge of which was by no means common at the time. He proceeded to the degree of bachelor of divinity; and dissensions immediately afterwards springing up in his college, and himself being suspected of holding puritanical opinions in consequence of his close intimacy with Cartwright, he was ejected from the society. Driven from his college, he commenced a course of lectures, and held disputations in a house which was afterwards the Falcon Inn. These were attended by a numerous class of students.

The time was however approaching, when his fortunes were to witness a beneficial change; for the Earl of Leicester, who was anxious to promote men of merit, irrespectively of trifling differences of opinion, had singled him out as eminently deserving preferment. Through his means he was presented, Aug. 10, 1571, to the rectory of Warley in Essex, and soon afterwards, March, 1573, to that of Dennington in Suffolk. On the earl of Lincoln being sent as British ambassador to Paris, Fulke was appointed one of his suite, a circumstance which enabled him to obtain the honorary degree of doctor of divinity.

The same influence may have contributed to his advancement to the mastership of Pembroke College in 1578, on the promotion of Dr Young to the see of Rochester. He had in this elevated station ample leisure to devote his talents to polemical theology; and that he advantageously availed himself of it, is sufficiently evident from the numerous works he has left to posterity in vindication of the reformed religion. He was also engaged in 1580 and following years in repeated disputations with the Papists, sometimes in the Tower, and once at least in Wisbech Castle. (See No. 17, in the subjoined list of his works.) This castle, originally built by William the Conqueror, was afterwards converted into a palace of the bishops of Ely, and in the reign of Elizabeth was used as a prison for popish conspirators.

One account states that he was also Margaret Professor of Divinity; but this fact appears to be at least very doubtful. Having filled the office of vice-chancellor, and governed his college for eleven years, Fulke died in August, 1589.

The voluminous writings he left behind him are monuments of that industry and love of study, which (it is supposed) alone prevented his higher advancement in the church; and they furnish satisfactory evidence, that among contemporary scholars none surpassed him in erudition, in a grammatical and deep acquaintance with the learned tongues, in acuteness and closeness of reasoning: none devoted more vigorous and untiring energy in supporting the bulwarks of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

He was buried in the chancel of his church at Dennington, and the following epitaph was placed by one of his admiring successors over his tomb.

30. November. 1621.

In Memoriam

Reverendi Gulielmi Fulke, Sacræ Theologiæ Doct. Aulæ Pemb. in Cantabrigia Præfect. Hujus Ecclesiæ Dinningtoniensis pastor, ac in Testimonium amoris sui perpetui erga eum, hoc Monumentum posuit Robertus Wright, Sacræ quoque Theologiæ Professor, et nunc ejusdem Ecclesiæ Pastor. Corpus illius Terræ traditum fuit 28 Die Augusti 1589, et in hoc sacello jacet resurrectionem expectans per adventum Christi.

If deepest Learning, with a zealous Love
To Heaven and Truth, could Priveledges prove
To keep back Death, no Hand had written here
Lies Reverend Fulke, 'till Christ in Clouds appear;
His Works will shew him free from all Error,
Rome's Foe, Truth's Champion, and Rhemishes Terror.

Heureux celui qu' apres un long Travaill
S'est assure de son repos au Ciell.

The present volume, it is believed, will be found to be an accurate reprint (with a corrected punctuation, which was much needed) of the original edition of the "Defence," 1583. But in one or two places a correction has been introduced from the folio edition, 1633: ex. gr. p. 550, *senseless* for *insenseless*, which, though not perhaps absolutely necessary, it appeared desirable and safe to adopt on such authority. In several instances also, in which the quotation from Martin was inaccurately given by Fulke, the mistake has been corrected by reference to the original.

In both the old editions there was subjoined to the present work (but with a separate paging), 'A briefe confutation of all such quarrels and cauils, as have bene of late vttered by diuerse Papistes in their English Pamphlets, against the writings of the saide William Fulke;' as the reader will see in the copy of the original title-page prefixed to this publication. This 'Confutation,' however, has no connection whatever with the 'Defence of the Translations:' it is therefore not here re-printed with it, but is reserved for a future volume of Fulke, where it will come more appropriately in company with the works which it undertakes to defend.

Besides the 'Defence' reprinted in the present volume, Fulke was the author of the following works:

1. Antiprognosticon contra inutiles astrologorum prædictiones Nostrodami, Cunninghami, Loui, Hilli, Vaghami et reliquorum omnium. Authore Guilielmo Fulcone. Authoritate Londinensis episcopi juxta formam in edictis reginæ prescriptam. Sexto die Septembris, 1560. Lond. 8vo.

A translation of this work was published in the year 1561, (Tanner says 1560), with the following title: Antiprognosticon, that is to saye, an Inuective agaynst the uaine and vnprofitable predictions of the astrologians, as Nostrodame, &c. Translated out of Latin into Englishe. Whereunto is added, by the author, a short treatise in Englishe, as well for the better subuersion of that fained arte, as also for the better vnderstanding of the common people, vnto whom the fyrst labour seemeth not sufficient. Lond. 1561, 8vo.

2. A goodly gallery, with a most pleasaunt prospect into the garden of naturall contemplation, to beholde the naturall causes of all kind of Meteors. As well fyery as ayery, as watry and earthly, of which sorte be blasing starres, shootinge starres, flames in the ayre, &c.; thonder, lightninge, earthquakes, &c.; rayne, dew, snowe, cloudes, springes, &c.; stones, metalles, earthes. To the glory of God, and the profitte of his creatures. Lond. 1571, 8vo. 1634, 1640, 8vo. From the colophon of the edition of 1571, it appears that this book was printed in 1563, but no copy has been found with that date on the title-page, and the edition of 1640 is styled the third. Tanner mentions editions in 1563 and 1580, under the title of 'Meteorologia, Anglice.'

3. *Οὐρανομαχία*, hoc est, Astrologorum ludus ad bonarum artium et Astrologiæ in primis studiosorum relaxationem comparatus, nunc primum illustratus, ac in lucem æditus per Guilielmum Fulconem, Cantabrigiensem. Abacus et calculi væneunt apud Guilielmum Jones, in longa officina, ad occidentalem Paulini templi portam. Londini per Thomas Eastum et Henricum Middeltonnum impensis Guilielmi Jones. 1571, 1572, 1573, 4to.

4. A confutation of a Popish and sclaunderous libelle, in form of an Apologie: geuen out into the courte, and spread abrode in diuerse other places of the realme. Written

by William Fulke, Bachelor in Diuinitie, and felowe of S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge. Imprinted at London by John Kingston for William Jones, and are to be solde at the newe long shop at the west ende of Poules. 1571, 1573, 1574, 12mo.

5. A Sermon preached at Hampton Court on Sonday, being the 12th day of Nouember, in the year of our Lord 1570. Wherein is plainly proued Babylon to be Rome, both by Scriptures and Doctors. Preached by William Fulke, Bacheler of Diuinity, and Fellow of S. Johns Colledge in Cambridge. Apocalips. 14. She is fallen, she is fallen, euen Babylon, that great citie, for of the wyne of the fury of her fornication, she hath made all nations to drinke. Imprinted at London, by John Awdely. 1572, 12mo.

There was a subsequent edition with the same title, except that Fulke was described as 'Doctor' not 'Bacheler', and 'lately Fellow', &c. Imprinted at London by John Charlewod, 1579, 12mo.

6. In sacram Divi Johannis Apocalypsim prælectiones. Lond. 1573, 4to. Translated into English by George Gyfford. Lond. 1573, 4to.

7. A Comfortable Sermon of Fayth in temptations and afflictions. Preached at S. Botulphes wythout Aldersgate in London, the xv of February, 1573, by Maister William Fulke, Doctor of Divinity. 1 John v. 4. Imprinted at London by John Audeley. 1574, 1578, 1586, 12mo.

8. Two treatises written against the papistes; the one being an answer of the Christian protestant to the proud challenge of a popish catholicke: the other, a confutation of the popish churches doctrine touching purgatory and prayers for the dead. By William Fulke, Doctor in Divinitie. Lond. Thomas Vautrollier, 1577, 8vo. pp. 464.

9. A sermon preached on Sundaye, being the 17th of March, anno 1577, at S. Alphage's church within Creplegate

in London, by William Fulke, Doctor in Divinitie. Seene and allowed, accordyng to the order appoynted in the queenes maiesties iniunctions. Imprinted at London for Lucas Harryson, 1577, 12mo.

This sermon was translated into Latin, by John Fox, and appended to his book, entitled De Christo gratis iustificante, Lond. 1583.

10. Μετρομαχία, sive ludus geometricus. Auctore Guiliemo Fulcone Anglo. Lond. Thomas Vautrollerius, 1578, 4to.

11. Guilielmi Fulconis Angli ad epistolam Stanislai Hosii Varmiensis episcopi de expresso Dei verbo Responsio. Lond. 1578, 12mo.

12. D. Heskins, D. Sanders, and M. Rastell accounted (among their faction) three pillers and archpatriarches of the popish synagogue, (utter enemies to the truth of Christes Gospell and all that syncerely profess the same) ouerthrowne and detected of their seuerell blasphemous heresies. By D. Fulke, Maister of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. Lond. 1579, 8vo. pp. 803.

This work consists of three treatises mentioned by Tanner separately, as 'Heskins parliament repealed,' 'Confutation of N. Sanders his treatise of worshipping images,' and 'Refutation of John Rastell's confutation.'

13. Ad Thomæ Stapletoni, Professoris Regii et Ordinarii in Academia Duacena, controversiarum et calumnias in sua principiorum doctrinalium demonstratione methodica contra satisfactione, ad Rishtoni postulata quædam, lib. 4. cap. 10 et 11 adhibitas, Guilielmi Fulconis, Angli, aulæ Pembrochianæ in Cantabrigiensi academia præfecti, Responsio. Londini, impensis Georgii Bishop, 1579, 8vo.

14. A Retentive to stay good Christians in true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow. Also, a discoverie of the daungerous Rocke of the Popish Church, commended by Nicholas Sander, Doctor of Divinitie. Done

by William Fulke, Doctor of Divinitie, and Maister of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. Lond. Thomas Vautrollier, 1580, 8vo. pp. 316.

15. T. Stapleton and Martiall (two Popish Heretikes) confuted, and of their particular heresies detected. By D. Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. Done and directed to all those that love the truth, and hate superstitious vanities. Lond. H. Middleton, 8vo. 1580, pp. 217.

16. Stapletonii fortalitium expugnatum; cum refutatione replicationis J. Martialis ad J. Calfhillum contra librum ejus de cruce. Lond. 1580, 12mo.

17. Conferentia cum pontificiis in castro Wisbicensi. 4. Oct. 1580. Lond. 1580. 8vo.

18. The text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the Vulgar Latine by the Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes. With arguments of Bookes, Chapters, and Annotations, pretending to discouer the corruptions of diuers translations, and to clear the controuersies of these days. Whereunto is added the translation out of the original Greeke, commonly used in the Church of England, with a confutation of all such Arguments, Glosses, and Annotations as contein manifest impietie or heresie, treason, and slander against the Catholike Church of God, and the true teachers thereof, or the translations used in the Church of England. Both by auctoritie of the holy Scriptures, and by the testimonie of ancient fathers. By William Fulke, D.D. Lond. 1580, 1589, 1601, 1617, 1633, fol.

19. A Sermon on 2 Saml. xxiv. 1. Lond. 1580, 8vo.

20. A Sermon at the Tower on John xvii. 17. Lond. 1580, 8vo. 1581, 16mo.

21. A rejoynder to Bristow's Replie in defence of Allens scrole of Articles and Booke of Purgatorie. Also the cavils of Nicholas Sander, Doctor in Divinitie, about

the Supper of our Lord, and the Apologie of the Church of England touching the doctrine thereof. Confuted by William Fulke, Doctor in Divinitie, and Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. At London, H. Middleton, 1581, 8vo. pp. 792.

22. A Brief Confutation of a Popish Discourse, lately set forth, and presumptuously dedicated to the Queenes most excellent maiestie, by John Howlet, or some other Birde of the night under that name. Contayning certaine reasons why Papistes refuse to come to Church, which are here inserted and set downe at large, with their seuerall answeres. By D. Fulke, maister of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. Seene and allowed. At London, printed for George Bishop, 1581, 4to.

23. A Brief and Plain Declaration: containing the desires of all those faithful Ministers who seek Discipline and Reformation of the Church of England, which may come as a just Apology against the false Accusations and Slanders of their Adversaries. 1584.

24. De Successione Ecclesiastica et latente ab Antichristi tyrannide ecclesia, Liber contra Thomæ Stapletoni principiorum fidei doctrinalium librum decimum tertium; auctore Guilielmo Fulcone Anglo, Aulæ Pembrochianæ in Cantabrigiensi Academia Præfecto. Lond. Henricus Midletonus, impensis Georgii Bishop, 1584, 12mo. pp. 474.

25. An apologie of the professors of the Gospel in Fraunce against the railing declamation of Peter Frarine a Louanian turned into English by John Fowler. Written by William Fulke. 8vo. pp. 54. This and also the following work, No. 26, were published separately, and also appended to the 'Treatise against the defence of the censure given upon the books of W. Clarke and Meredith Hanmer, by an unknown popish traytor, in defence of the seditious challenge of Edmond Campion.' Camb. 1586, 8vo.

26. A Confutation of a treatise made by William Allen

in defence of the usurped power of Popish Priesthood to remit sinnes, of the necessity of Shrift, and of the Popes pardons. By William Fulke. Imprinted by Thomas Thomas, Cambridge, [1586], pp. 531, 8vo. Tanner mentions an edition, Lond. 1586, 8vo.

Amongst the Harleian Manuscripts are the following:

No. 422. fol. 148.

A Disputation or Conference had within the Towre of London, on Monday, being the 18th of September, A. D. 1581. Wherein were assembled the Lorde of Glanrikerd, Sir Owen Hopton, Sir William George, Sir Thomas Hinnage, Sir Nicholas Poynes, besides others: Doctour Foulkes and Doctour Goade, Disputants, being sitting at a table, having there certaine bookes about them. Mr Clarke and Mr Field being as Notaries at the said table, and for the said Conference appointed; before whom and right opposite upon a stoole was sett Mr Campion, Jesuite, having only his Bible.

Ibid. fol. 168.

A third Disputation between the said Doctors Fulke and Goade opponents, and Campion the Jesuite respondent.

A report of these conferences, but differing considerably from that contained in these MSS., was published with the following title, 'The three last dayes conferences had in the Tower with Edmund Campion, Jesuite, the 18. 23. and 27. of September, 1581. Collected and faithfully set down by M. John Fielde, student in Diuinitie. Nowe perused by the learned men themselues, and thought meete to be published.' Januarij 1, 1583. London, 4to. This volume is often found appended to the report of the first day's conference to which Fulke was not a party.

To the foregoing account of Fulke it may be interesting to the reader to have subjoined a brief notice of his opponent, GREGORY MARTIN.

Gregory Martin was born at Maxfield near Winchelsea, but in what precise year we are unable to state. The earliest date connected with his life informs us, that in 1557 he was nominated one of the original scholars of St John's college, Oxford, by the founder Sir Thomas White. He went through the usual course of logic and philosophy with great diligence, and took his Master of arts' degree in 1564. Shortly afterwards he was engaged by Thomas duke of Norfolk to be tutor to his children, amongst whom he had the honour of instructing Philip, the celebrated earl of Arundel. That Martin was a person of considerable reputation may be gathered from the circumstance, that when his patron visited Oxford, one of the fellows of St John's delivered before him a speech, in which Martin was highly complimented as a Hebrew and Greek scholar, and commemorated as a distinguished ornament of their society.

Having terminated his engagement in the duke of Norfolk's family he went abroad, and openly renounced the Protestant religion, having been previously a favourer of the doctrines of the Romish church only in secret. He now settled himself at Douay, applied himself to the study of theology, was ordained priest in 1573, and licentiate in divinity in 1575. He subsequently travelled; visited Rome, and the other places in Italy which a person of his views would most naturally desire to see, and at length permanently fixed himself at Rheims, where he became public professor and one of the readers of divinity in the English seminary. He died there Oct. 28, 1582, and was buried in St Stephen's church.

Martin was considered a person of great learning, an

excellent linguist, and superior to most scholars of his time. Besides the work reprinted in the present volume, he was one of the principal persons concerned in that translation of the New Testament, which is quoted and generally known under the title of the Rhemish. The first edition was printed at Rheims in 4to in 1582: a second edition by Daniel Vervelict at Antwerp, 4to, 1600: a third in 1630, and a fourth at Paris in 1633. It was reprinted in London, with "the Bishops'" translation in a parallel column: and 'A Confutation of all such arguments, glosses, and annotations as contain manifest impiety, or heresy, treason and slander against the catholick Church of God, and the true teachers thereof, or the translations used in the Church of England; by Dr William Fulke.' The marginal notes of the Rhemish Testament were answered in 1588, in "A View of the marginal notes of the Popish Testament, translated into English by the English fugitive papists resident at Rheims, in France, by George Withers." The Rhemish translation was also reprinted in 1618 'by some friends to the memory of the learned Thomas Cartwright,' with a Confutation[1].

The following are the titles of other works attributed to Gregory Martin by Antony Wood, Tanner, and Dod:

A Treatise of Schisme; shewing that al Catholikes ought in any wise to abstaine altogether from heretical conventicles, to witt, their Prayers, Sermons, &c. 1578. b. l. 1587, Doway[2].

A Treatyse of Christian Peregrinatione; written by M. Gregory Martin, Licentiate, and late Reader of Divinitie,

[1 Towneley's Illustr. of Biblical Literature, Vol. III. pp. 74, 75. Lewis's Hist. of Engl. Transl. of the Bible, pp. 294, 295.]

[2 For reprinting this book Carter the printer was condemned of treason and executed, it being thought to contain a recommendation to assasinate the queen. See Concert. Ecclesiæ Cathol. pp. 127, 129, 130. Strype's Annals, II. 587, III. 281, ch. 23. Fuller's Church Hist. XVI. 169.]

at Remes: Whereunto is adioyned certen Epistles written by him to Sundrye his frendes; the copies whereof were since his decease founde amonge his writtings. Nowe especially published for the benefite of those that either erre in religione of simplicitie, or folow the worlde of frailty. Lond. 1583. 16mo.

Against the Marriage of Priests. 1584.

Of the love of the Soul, with questions to the Protestants. Printed at Rouen and St Omer's. 12mo. 1603.

Roma Sancta.

Dictionarium quàtuor linguarum, Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, et Anglicæ, et vocabulorum ac phrasium secundum cujusque linguæ proprietatem.

Compendium historiarum, lib. I.

Orationes de jejunio, de imaginum usu et cultu. MS. in the library of John Pits.

Pro veteri et vera Græcarum literarum pronuntiatione, adversus Adolphum Mekerchium Brugensem. Edit. Havercamp. Ludg. Bat. 1740.

Diversorum carminum partim Græce partim Latine, lib. I.

Besides these he left behind several translations.

The Editor of the present volume has the pleasure of expressing his grateful acknowledgements to the Right Hon. the Earl Spencer, for the permission allowed him to consult the valuable collection of Bibles at Althorpe

DEFENCE

OF

THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES,

IN REPLY TO

GREGORY MARTIN's

DISCOVERY OF CORRUPTIONS BY HERETICS.

¶ A DEFENSE

of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong, against the manifolde cauils, friuolous quarels, and impudent slaunders of GREGORIE MARTIN, one of the readers of Popish diuinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes.

By WILLIAM FVLKE D. in Diuinitie, and M. of Pembroke haule in Cambridge.

Wherevnto is added a briefe confutation of all such quarrels & cauils, as have bene of late vttered by diuerse *Papistes in their English Pamphlets, against the writings of the saide* WILLIAM FVLKE.

AT LONDON:
Imprinted by Henrie Bynneman, for George Bishop.

Anno. 1583.

Cum gratia & Priuilegio.

A DISCOVERIE OF THE MANIFOLD CORRVPTIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTVRES BY THE Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial & false translations to the aduantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles vsed and authorised since the time of Schisme.

By GREGORY MARTIN one of the readers of Diuinitie in the ENGLISH COLLEGE OF RHEMES.

2 Cor. 2.

Non sumus sicut plurimi, adulterantes verbum Dei, sed ex sinceritate, sed sicut ex Deo, coram Deo, in Christo loquimur.

That is,

VVe are not as very many, adulterating the word of God, but of sinceritie, & as of God, before God, in Christ vve speake.

Printed at RHEMES,
By Iohn Fogny.

1582.

TO THE

MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS ELIZABETH,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD QUEEN OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

AMONG the inestimable benefits, wherewith Almighty God hath wonderfully blessed this your majesty's most honourable and prosperous government, it is not to be numbered among the least, that under your most gracious and christian protection the people of your highness' dominions have enjoyed the most necessary and comfortable reading of the holy scriptures in their mother tongue and native language. Which exercise, although it hath of long time, by the adversaries of him that willeth the scriptures to be searched, (especially those of our nation,) been accounted little better than an heretical practice; and treatises have been written, pretending to shew great inconvenience of having the holy scriptures in the vulgar tongue; yet now at length perceiving they cannot prevail to bring in that darkness and ignorance of God's most sacred word and will therein contained, whereby their blind

D. Standish.[1]
D. Heskins.[2]

[1 John Standish here alluded to was admitted a probationer fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford, in 1528. In the time of Edward VI. he was a zealous reformer, made rector of Wigan, and married; but was separated from his wife when queen Mary ascended the throne, and deprived of his preferment. Bp. Bonner for his affections to popery gave him the rectory of Packlesham. Among other works he wrote "A Treatise against the Translation of the Bible into the vulgar language; printed by Caley in 1554," of which there was a second edition by the same printer the following year. Wood's Athenæ. Vol. I. p. 236—8.]

[2 Thomas Heskins, or Heskyns, was collated by Cardinal Pole to the chancellorship of Salisbury, 1558, but ejected on the accession of Elizabeth the following year. (Le Neve's Fasti, p. 269. Wood's Fasti, p. 113.) Heskins wrote "the Parliament of Christ, concerning the Sacrament, impugned in a sermon by John Jewell." Ant. 1566. fol." It was answered by Fulke in his book entitled *Heskins' Parliament repealed by W. F.* Lond. 1579.]

devotion, the daughter of ignorance, as they themselves profess, was wont to make them rulers of the world, they also at the last are become translators of the New Testament into English. In which, that I speak nothing of their insincere purpose, in leaving the pure fountain of the original verity, to follow the crooked stream of their barbarous vulgar Latin translation, which (beside all other manifest corruptions) is found defective in more than an hundred places, as your majesty, according to the excellent knowledge in both the tongues wherewith God hath blessed you, is very well able to judge; and to omit even the same book of their translation, pestered with so many annotations, both false and undutiful, by which, under colour of the authority of holy scriptures, they seek to infect the minds of the credulous readers with heretical and superstitious opinions, and to alienate their hearts from yielding due obedience to your majesty and your most christian laws concerning true religion established; and that I may pass over the very text of their translation, obscured without any necessary or just cause with such a multitude of so strange and unusual terms, as to the ignorant are no less difficult to understand, than the Latin or Greek itself: yet is it not meet to be concealed, that they which neither truly nor precisely have translated their own vulgar Latin and only authentical text, have nevertheless been bold to set forth a several treatise, in which most slanderously and unjustly they accuse all our English translations of the bible, not of small imperfections and oversights committed through ignorance or negligence, but of no less than most foul dealing in partial and false translations, wilful and heretical corruptions.

Against which most lewd and untrue accusation, though easy to be judged of by such as be learned in the tongues, yet dangerous to disquiet the conscience of them that be ignorant in the same, I have written a short and necessary defence; which, although not laboured in words, yet in matter I hope sufficient to avoid all the adversaries' cavils,

I am most humbly to crave pardon, that I may be bold to dedicate unto your most excellent majesty; that under whose high and christian authority your people have so many years enjoyed the reading of the holy books of God in their native language, to the everlasting benefit of many thousand souls, under the same your most gracious and royal protection they may read also the defence of the sincere and faithful translation of those books, to the quieting of their consciences, and the confusion of the adversaries of God's truth and holy religion. By which they may be stirred up more and more in all dutiful obedience, not only to be thankful unto your majesty, as it becometh them, but also to continue their most earnest and hearty prayers to Almighty God for this your most godly and happy regiment over them for many years forward to be prolonged.

The God of glory, which hitherto hath advanced your majesty's throne, above all princes of this age, in true honour and glory, vouchsafe to preserve the same with his daily blessing, to the protection of that glorious reparation of his church, which you have most happily taken in hand, to the everlasting praise of his mercy, and the endless felicity of your majesty!

Your majesty's most humble subject,
and most bounden daily orator,

WILLIAM FULKE.

THE PREFACE,

CONTAINING

FIVE SUNDRY ABUSES OR CORRUPTIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURES, COMMON TO ALL HERETICS, AND AGREEING ESPECIALLY TO THESE OF OUR TIME: WITH MANY OTHER NECESSARY ADVERTISEMENTS TO THE READER.

Martin. As it hath been always the fashion of heretics to pretend scriptures for shew of their cause; so hath it been also their custom and property to abuse the said scriptures many ways in favour of their errors. Heretics five ways specially abuse the scriptures.

Fulke. Whether these five abuses have been common to all heretics, and whether it hath been the fashion of all heretics to pretend scriptures for shew of their cause, though I will spare now to inquire of, as a thing wherein learned men at the first sight may espy the great skill that Martin pretendeth to have in discerning of heretics and heresies; yet will I shew (by the grace of God) that none of these five abuses are committed by us or our catholic translations, and that the popish heretics are, in some sort or other, guilty of them all. FULKE.

Martin. One way is, to deny whole books thereof, or parts of books, when they are evidently against them. So did (for example) Ebion all St Paul's epistles, Manicheus the Acts of the Apostles, Alogiani St John's gospel, Marcion many pieces of St Luke's gospel, and so did both these and other heretics in other books, denying and allowing what they list, as is evident by St Irenæus, St Epiphanius, St Augustine, and all antiquity. MARTIN, 1. 1. Denying certain books or parts of books.

Fulke. First, we deny no one book of the canonical scripture, that hath been so received of the catholic church, for the space of 300 years and more, as it hath been often proved out of Eusebius, St Jerome, and other ancient authorities: but the papists, in advancing apocryphal books to be of equal credit with the canonical scriptures, do in effect deny them all. Besides that, to add unto the word of God is as great a fault as to take away from it, the one being FULKE, 1.

forbidden under as heavy a curse as the other. Those blasphemies of Pighius[1] and Eccius[2], the one calling the holy scripture a nose of wax and a dumb judge, the other terming the gospel written to be a black gospel and an inky divinity; and that of Hosius[3], acknowledging none other express word of God, but only this one word *ama*, or *dilige*, "love thou;" what other thing do they import, but a shameless denial of all books of the holy scripture in deed, howsoever in word they will seem to admit them?

MARTIN, 2. 2. Doubting of their authority and calling them into question.

Martin. Another way is, to call into question at the least, and make some doubt of the authority of certain books of holy scriptures, thereby to diminish their credit. So did Manicheus affirm of the whole New Testament, that it was not written by the apostles; and peculiarly of St Matthew's gospel, that it was some other man's under his name, and therefore not of such credit, but that it might in some part be refused. So did Marcion, and the Arians, deny the epistle to the Hebrews to be St Paul's, Epiph. lib. 2. hær. 69, Euseb. lib. 4. hist. c. 27; and Alogiani the Apocalypse to be St John's the Evangelist, Epiph. et August. in hær. Alogianorum.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* We neither doubt of the authority of any certain book of the holy scriptures, neither call we any of them into question; but with due reverence do acknowledge them all and every one to be of equal credit and authority, as being

[1 Sunt enim illæ (scripturæ), ut non minus vere quam festive dixit quidam, velut nasus cereus, qui se horsum, illorsum, et in quam volueris partem, trahi, retrahi, fingique facile permittit. Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assertio, Lib. III. cap. 3. fol. 80. edit. 1538. Albert Pighius, a mathematician and controversialist, born at Kempen in Westphalia about 1490, and died 1542.]

[2 Scriptores canonici semper prius habuerunt evangelium mentale, quam ederent illud nigrum in literis. Eck. Apologia pro Principibus Catholicis. Fol. 74 b. Antverp. 1542. Tu nos ad mortuas pelles, ad atramentum remittis, et literam. Ibid. fol. 156 b. Echius, or Eckius, was professor and chancellor of the University of Ingolstad, and a celebrated controversialist of the 16th century. His chief work was a "Manual of Controversy," which went through many editions. He was born in Suabia in 1486, and died at Ingolstad in 1543.]

[3 Vis autem quod sit verbum salvificans cognoscere? Breve verbum est et expeditum, AMA. Caritas est verbum salvificans, etc. Hosii Opera, De Expresso Dei Verbo. Tom. I. p. 628. Stanislas Hosius was one of the most illustrious cardinals of the 16th century, born at Cracow in 1504. He opened the Council of Trent as legate from Pius the Fourth, and was subsequently appointed grand penitentiary by Gregory the Thirteenth. He died in 1579.]

all inspired of God, given to the church for the building up thereof in truth, and for the avoiding of fables and heresies. But the papists, arrogating to their pope authority to allow or refuse any book of holy scripture, and affirming that no scripture hath authority but as it is approved by their church, do bring all books of the holy scripture into doubting and uncertainty with such as will depend upon their pope and popish church's authority, which they affirm to be above the holy scriptures, saying they might as well receive the gospel of Nicodemus as of St Mark, and by the same authority reject the gospel of St Matthew, as they have done the gospel of St Bartholomew. These blasphemous assertions although some of them would colour or mitigate with gentle interpretations, yet there is no reasonable man but, seeth into what discredit and uncertainty they must needs bring the authority of the canonical books of holy scripture with the simple and ignorant.

Martin. Another way is, to expound the scriptures after their own private conceit and fantasy, not according to the approved sense of the holy ancient fathers and catholic church. So did Theodorus Mopsuestites (Act. Synod 5.) affirm of all the books of the prophets, and of the Psalms, that they spake not evidently of Christ; but that the ancient fathers did voluntarily draw those sayings unto Christ, which were spoken of other matters. So did all heretics, that would seem to ground their heresies upon scriptures, and to avouch them by scriptures expounded according to their own sense and imagination. MARTIN, 3. 3. Voluntary expositions according to every one's fancy or heresy.

Fulke. We expound not the scriptures after our own private conceit and fantasy; but, as near as God giveth us grace, according to the plain and natural sense of the same, agreeable unto the rule or proportion of faith, which being approved by the ancient fathers, and catholic church of Christ, in all matters necessary to eternal salvation: not bringing a new and strange sense, which is without the scriptures, to seek confirmation thereof in the scriptures (as the manner of heretics is rightly noted by Clemens[4]); but out of the scriptures themselves seek we the exposition of such obscure places as we find in them, being persuaded with St Augus- FULKE, 3.

[4 Οἱ δὲ ἡδοναῖς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκδεδωκότες βιάζονται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὴν γραφήν. Clem. Alexandr. Stromatum VII. p. 890. Ed. Potter. Venet. 1757.]

tine[1], that nothing in a manner is found out of those obscure and dark places, which may not be found to be most plainly spoken in other places. And as for the approved sense of the holy ancient fathers, and catholic church of the eldest and purest times, if the papists durst stand unto it for the deciding of many of the most weighty controversies that are between us, there is no doubt but they should soon and easily be determined, as hath been shewed in divers and many treatises, written against them. In which if any thing be brought so plainly expounding the scripture against their popish heresies, as nothing can be more express nor clear, then they are driven to seek new and monstrous expositions of those fathers' interpretations; or else they answer, "They are but those fathers' private expositions;" appealing to the catholic church's interpretation, which is nothing else but their own private conceit and fancy, having no record to prove that catholic church's interpretation but the present heretical opinions of this late degenerated antichristian congregation. And when they have discoursed never so much of the catholic church's interpretation, they reduce and submit all men's judgments to the determination of their councils, and the decrees of the councils to the approbation of their pope; which, as he is oftentimes a wicked man of life, so is he ignorant and unlearned in the scriptures; to whose most private censure the holy scriptures themselves, and all sense and exposition of them, is made subject, under colour that Christ, praying for Peter that his faith should not fail in temptation, gave all popes such a prerogative, that they could not err in faith; though they were wicked of life, void of learning, ignorant in the scriptures,

[1 Deinde illa quæ in eis aperte posita sunt, vel precepta vivendi, vel regulæ credendi, sollertius diligentiusque investiganda sunt, quæ tanto quisque plura invenit, quanto est intelligentia capacior. In iis enim quæ aperte in scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem moresque vivendi, spem scilicet atque caritatem, de quibus libro superiore tractavimus. Tum vero facta quadam familiaritate cum ipsa lingua divinarum scripturarum, in ea quæ obscura sunt aperienda et discutienda pergendum est, ut ad obscuriores locutiones illustrandas de manifestioribus sumantur exempla, et quædam certarum sententiarum testimonia dubitationem incertis auferant.—Augustinus de Doctrina Christiana. Lib. II. 14. Opera. Vol. III. p. 24. edit. Benedict. Paris. 1696. Ubi autem apertius ponuntur, ibi discendum est quomodo in locis intelligantur obscuris.—Ibid. Lib. III. 37. p. 56.]

destitute of the Spirit of God; as is proved most invincibly by example of divers popes that have been heretics, and maintainers of such errors as are not now in controversy between us (lest they should say we beg the principle), but of the sect of the Arians, Monothelites, Eutychians, Saducees, and such other.

Martin. Another way is, to alter the very original text of the holy scripture, by adding, taking away, or changing it here and there for their purpose. So did the Arians in sundry places, and the Nestorians in the first epistle of St John, and especially Marcion, who was therefore called *Mus Ponticus*, the mouse of Pontus, because he had gnawn (as it were) certain places with his corruptions, whereof some are said to remain in the Greek text until this day.

MARTIN, 4. 4. Changing some words or sentences of the very original text. Tertul. cont. Marcio. lib. 1. in princ. Tertul. lib. 5.

Fulke. The original text of the holy scripture we alter not, either by adding, taking away, or changing of any letter or syllable, for any private purpose; which were not only a thing most wicked and sacrilegious, but also vain and impossible. For, seeing not only so many ancient copies of the original text are extant in divers places of the world, which we cannot, if we would, corrupt, and that the same are multiplied, by printing, into so many thousand examples; we should be rather mad than foolish, if we did but once attempt such a matter, for maintenance of any of our opinions. As also it is incredible that Marcion, the mouse of Pontus, could corrupt all the Greek copies in the world, (as Lindanus[2], of whom you borrowed that conceit, imagineth,) in those places in which he is charged by Tertullian. For Marcion's heresy was not so generally received by the Greek church, that all men would yield unto him; neither was Tertullian so sound of judgment in the Latin church, that whatsoever he judged to be a corruption in Marcion, must of necessity be so taken. But if adding and detracting from the scripture be proper notes of heretics, who can purge Stephen Gardiner and Gregory Martin?—the one, for adding unto a verse of the psalm this pronoun *se, himself*, to prove the carnal presence, citing it thus, *Escam se dedit timentibus eum*, "He gave himself to be meat to them that fear him;" whereas

FULKE, 4.

[2 William Lindanus, born in 1525, at Dordrecht, a polemical writer of the Romish Church, who has left many works of erudition written in a pure style, but disfigured by the faults common to authors of that age.]

the words of the prophet, according to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, are no more but, *Escam dedit*, "He hath given meat[1]," &c.—the other, in his fond book of schism[2], citing this text out of 1 Cor. x. as many papists do against the certainty of faith, *Qui stat, videat ne cadat*, "He that standeth, let him take heed he fall not;" whereas not only the truth of the Greek, but even the vulgar Latin translation hath, *Qui se existimat stare*, "He that thinketh or supposeth that he standeth, let him take heed that he fall not." But of such additions and detractions, used by the Romish rats, far worse than the mice of Pontus, we shall have more occasion to speak hereafter.

MARTIN, 5. False and heretical translation.

Martin. Another way is, to make false translations of the scriptures, for the maintenance of error and heresy. So did the Arians (as St Jerome noteth in xxvi. Esa.) read and translate Proverb viii. *Dominus creavit me in initio viarum suarum*, that is, "The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways," so to make Christ, the wisdom of God, a mere creature. St Augustine also, Lib. V. cont. Julian. c. 2, noteth it as the interpretation of some Pelagian, Gen. iii. *Fecerunt sibi vestimenta*, for *perizomata*, or *campestria*, that is, "They made themselves garments;" whereas the word of the scripture is, breeches or aprons, proper and peculiar to cover the secret parts. Again, the selfsame heretics did read falsely, Rom. v. *Regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen etiam in eos qui peccaverunt in similitudinem prævaricationis Adæ;* that is, "Death reigned from Adam to Moses, even on them that sinned after the similitude of the prevarication of Adam;" to maintain their heresy against original sin, that none were infected therewith, or subject to death and damnation, but by sinning actually, as Adam did. Thus did the old heretics.

ἐκτήσατο, possedit.

קנני

περιζώματα.

חגרת

Aug. ep. 89. et lib. 1. de pec. mer. cap. 11. ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* As touching false and heretical translations, which is the chief argument of this book, I doubt not but, by the grace of God, to clear our English translators from any wilful corruptions for the maintenance of any error or heresy; such

[1 "Wherein (in the sacrament of the altar) God instituted *memoriam mirabilium suorum, et escam se dedit timentibus eum;* that is to say, 'a memory of his marvels, and gave himself meat to them that lovingly fear him'." Gardiner's "Detection of the Devil's Sophistrie, wherein he robbeth the unlearned people of the true belief in the most blessed Sacrament of the aulter." London, 1546. fol. 69. b. See Psal. cxi. 4, 5.]

[2 Martin's "Treatise of Schism, shewing that all Catholics ought in any wise to abstain altogether from heretical Conventicles, viz. their Prayers, Sermons, &c." Douay, 1578.]

as were those of the Arians and Pelagians, which Gregory Martin, as though he uttered some great piece of skill, doth so diligently express. I shall have occasion also to shew, that the papists themselves of our times, maintaining their corrupt vulgar translation against the truth of the original texts of Greek and Hebrew, are most guilty of such corruption and falsification; whereof although they be not the first authors, yet, by obstinate defending of such errors, they may prove worse than they which did first commit them. For the authors of that vulgar translation might be deceived, either for lack of exact knowledge of the tongues, or by some corrupt and untrue copies which they followed, or else perhaps that which they had rightly translated, by fault of the writers and negligence of the times might be perverted: but these men frowardly justifying all errors of that translation, howsoever they have been brought in, do give plain testimony, that they are not led with any conscience of God's truth, but wilfully carried with purpose of maintaining their own errors; lest, if they did acknowledge the error of the Romish church in that one point, they should not be able to defend any one iota of their heresy, whose chief colour is the credit and authority of that particular and false church, rather than any reason or argument out of the holy scriptures, or testimony of the most ancient christian and catholic church.

Martin. What these of our days? Is it credible that being so well warned by the condemnation and detestation of them, they also would be as mad and as impious as those? Heretics, gentle reader, be always like heretics; and howsoever they differ in opinions or names, yet in this point they agree, to abuse the scriptures for their purpose by all means possibly. I will but touch four points of the five before mentioned, because my purpose is to stay upon the last only, and to decipher their corrupt translations. But if I would stand upon the other also, were it not easy to shew the manner of their proceeding against the scriptures to have been thus: to deny some whole books and parts of books, to call other some into question, to expound the rest at their pleasure, to pick quarrels to the very original and canonical text, to fester and infect the whole body of the bible with cankered translations? MARTIN, 6.

That the protestants and Calvinists use the foresaid five means of defacing the scriptures.

Fulke. It is very true, that so many heretics as pretend the authority of the holy scriptures, abuse the same to their own destruction; and no heretics worse than the antichristians or papists: as partly hath been seen already in every FULKE, 6.

one of your five marks, and more may appear in those four points which you will handle in the preface, because the argument of your whole book is the fifth; so that in the end you shall be proved no wiser with your five points, than he that came forth with his five eggs, and never a good of them all. But you ask, if it were not easy for you to shew (if you would stand upon them) that the protestants use all the said five means of defacing the scripture? I answer, No, and that shall you see when demonstration is made, how vainly you have laboured in the last point; which howsoever you would have it appear to be a sudden writing, of small travail, by interlacing a few lines here and there against M. Whitaker[1], against me and some other; yet it is evident, both by Bristow's threatening and Campian's promise, that it hath been a work of some years unto you; wherein, beside that you are beholden much to Lindanus for divers quarrels against Calvin, and to Sir Thomas More for many cavillations against W. Tindal's translation, there is little worthy of so long study and large promises as have gone before this diligent discovery; so that, if you will make the like trial in the rest, you shall find them as hard to prove as this last.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* Did not Luther deny St James' epistle, and so contemn it, that he called it an epistle of straw, and not worthy of an apostolical spirit? Must I prove this to M. Whitaker, who would never have denied it so vehemently in the superlative degree for shame, if he had not thought it more shame to grant it? I need not go far for the matter: ask M. Fulke, and he will flatly confess it was so. Ask Calvin, in argum. ep. Jacobi. Ask Flaccus Illyricus, in argum. ep. Jacobi; and you shall perceive it is very true. I will not send you to the catholic Germans and others, both of his own time and after, that wrote against him in the question of justification: among whom not one omitteth this, being a thing so famous and infamous to the confusion of that arch-heretic.

Cont. rat. Edm. Camp. p. 18. Retent. p. 32. Disc. of the Rock, p. 307. Luther. in Novo Test. Germa. in Præfat. Jacobi.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* I know not whether ever Luther denied St James' epistle as unworthy of an apostolical spirit; but I believe

[1 William Whitaker, master of St John's, Cambridge, and Professor of Divinity, born in 1547. Cardinal Bellarmine, his antagonist, pronounced him to be the most learned heretic he ever read. He wrote among other treatises, "Ad Rationes Decem Edmundi Campiani Jesuitæ, quibus fretus certamen Anglicanæ ecclesiæ ministris obtulit in causa fidei, responsio Gulielmi Whitakeri. Londini. 1581." Reprinted in Whitaker's Works, Genevæ. 1610. Vol. I.]

you may take a twelvemonth's day more to prove it, as also that he did so contemn it, that he called it an epistle of straw. But M. Whitaker, which denied it so vehemently, must ask of me, who most flatly confess (saith M. Martin) that it was so. I pray you, sir, urge me not to confess more than I know, or ever knew. But you have confessed it already in two printed books, Retent[2]. p. 32. Disc. of the Rock, p. 307. In the first place cited there are these words: "But to proceed: LUTHER DENIETH THE EPISTLE OF ST JAMES, BECAUSE IT IS AGAINST HIS HERESY OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ONLY. We allow not Luther, neither did he allow himself therein; for he retracteth it afterward." First, those words of Luther's denial being printed in a diverse letter, may testify sufficiently to every reasonable man, that they are the objection of Bristow, and not the confession of Fulke, who not simply admitteth them as true, but by concession proveth that if they were true, yet Luther's opinion, against which he himself hath written, ought not to prejudice him, and much less all other men that never held that opinion. In the latter cited place are these words: "And as touching the epistle of St James, it is a shameless slander of him to say that the protestants reject it; but we must hear his reason. First, Luther calleth it a strawen epistle[3]. So Luther called the pope supreme head of the church, and the mass a sacrifice propitiatory. If protestants be charged to hold whatsoever Luther sometime held, and after repented,"

[2] A Retentive to stay good Christians in true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow. Also a discovery of the dangerous Rock of the Popish Church, commended by Nicholas Sander, D. of Divinity. Done by Wm. Fulke. 1580.]

[3] Campian, the Jesuit, states that the Reformer had characterised the Epistle of James as "contentiosam, tumidam, aridam, stramineam, et indignam spiritu apostolico." The Prefaces to the Argentine, Wirtemburg, and Francfort editions do not however contain these words, that of Jena alone does. Luther's opinion is exhibited in its truest light by the following remarks: "Epistolam hanc S. Jacobi, quamvis rejectam a veteribus, tamen laudo, et pro utili ac commodo habeo." And in his treatise De Captivitate Babylonica he thus alludes to it: "Omitto quod hanc epistolam non esse apostoli Jacobi, nec apostolico spiritu dignam, multi valde probabiliter asserant." See the question examined more fully Ad Rationes Campiani. pp. 5—13. edit. 1581; and in Whitaker's Works, Vol. I. p. 60. edit. 1610.]

&c. Who seeth not in these words, that I rehearse the objection of Saunder, which is common to him with many other papists; which not discussing whether it be true or no, but supposing it were as Saunder and the rest of the papists do affirm, I shew that it is no good consequence to charge all protestants with Luther's private opinion, which perhaps he held sometime and after retracted, more than to charge us with all opinions of papistry which he did hold, before God opened his eyes to see the absurdity of them? And yet, if he had held that opinion, and never retracted the same, he were not in worse case than Eusebius[1], who in plain words affirmeth, that the same epistle is a counterfeit or bastard epistle, lib. 2, cap. 23. Do you not see now, how flatly Master Fulke confesseth that it was so? Such confessions as these are now and then extorted out of the ancient fathers' writings, which are not living to expound their meanings. But I had thought Master Martin could have discerned between a suppose or concession, and an absolute assertion or a flat confession, especially of one whose writing is plain enough, and beside is alive to interpret himself, if any ambiguity were therein. But be it that Master Martin either would not, or could not, see in my writing any thing else but a flat confession of Luther's denying of St James' epistle, and calling it an epistle of straw: of what forehead proceedeth it, that he willeth Master Whitaker to ask Calvin[2], in argum. epist. Jacobi, whether Luther so spake of that epistle?—in which argument Luther is not once named by Calvin; so far is it that he doth testify any such thing against Luther. Only he saith, that some there are in these days which think that epistle not worthy of authority; which could not

[1] Τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰάκωβον, οὗ ἡ πρώτη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν εἶναι λέγεται. ἰστέον δὲ ὡς νοθεύεται μέν· οὐ πολλοὶ γοῦν τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτῆς ἐμνημόνευσαν, ὡς οὐδὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἰούδα, μιᾶς καὶ αὐτῆς οὔσης τῶν ἑπτὰ λεγομένων καθολικῶν. ὅμως δὲ ἴσμεν καὶ ταύτας μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν πλείσταις δεδημοσιευμένας ἐκκλησίαις.—Eusebii Pamphili Eccles. Hist. Lib. II. c. 23. Opera. Vol. I. p. 66. edit. Valesii.]

[Calvin's words are: "Hanc epistolam non sine certamine olim receptam a multis ecclesiis fuisse ex Hieronymi Eusebiique testimonio notum est. Sunt etiam hodie nonnulli, qui eam auctoritate dignam non censeant. Ego tamen, quia nullam ejus repudiandæ satis justam causam video, libenter eam sine controversia amplector."—Argumentum cum Joh. Calvini Commentariis. p. 91. edit. Stephan. 1560.]

be understood of Luther, who long before Calvin wrote that argument had forsaken that opinion, if ever he held any such; as all those Dutch bibles and testaments of Luther's translation, in which those words so much baited at, and so much sought for, are omitted, do give sufficient testimony. What Flaccus Illyricus[3] reporteth, who perhaps held that opinion himself, and would father it upon Luther, I have neither opportunity to seek, nor care to know. But how great a matter it is, that all the popish Germans, and other, who have written against Luther, do so spitefully gnaw upon, I have learned at length by relation of Master Whitaker, whom you send to ask of me; who, after long search and many editions turned over, at the length lighted upon a Dutch testament, by likelihood one of the first that Luther did set forth in the German tongue, in which he findeth neither denial of St James' epistle to be canonical, nor affirmation that it is unworthy of an apostolical spirit; no, nor that whereof there hath been so much babbling of all the papists, that he calleth it an epistle of straw simply and in contempt, but only in comparison of the epistles of Paul and Peter, and other books of the new testament; the excellency of which, one above another, after he hath shewed in sundry degrees, at last he saith, the epistle of James in comparison of these is straw, or like straw: which he saith not in respect of the credit or authority thereof, but in regard of the argument or matter handled therein; which all wise and godly men will confess to be not so excellent and necessary, as the matter of the holy gospels and epistles of some other of the apostles, namely of Paul, Peter, and John. Our Saviour Christ himself, John iii. 12, calleth the doctrine of regeneration, in such plain manner as he uttered it to Nicodemus, earthly things, in comparison of other greater mysteries, which he could have expressed in more heavenly and spiritual sort. "If I have spoken to you," saith he, "of earthly things, and you have not believed, how, if I should speak to you of heavenly things, will you believe?" Were not he an honest and a wise man, that upon these words of Christ,

[3] Mathias Flack, or (as the name was latinised, from Albona in Istria, a part of ancient Illyria, where he was born in 1521,) Flaccus Illyricus, was a famous protestant theologian. He studied under Luther and Melancthon, and became a most formidable enemy to the Church of Rome.]

spoken in comparison, would conclude by his authority, that regeneration were a contemptible matter, a thing not spiritual, not heavenly, but simply and altogether earthly? And yet with as good reason, for ought I see or can learn of Luther's words concerning this matter, he might so infer, as the papists do enforce the like against Luther. Wherefore it is nothing else but a famous and infamous cavillation, to the confusion of all the papists which write against Luther, that no one of them omitteth upon so false and frivolous a ground to slander him so heinously, and to charge all protestants with his assertion so enviously: which, if it were his, should not be so evil as other catholic writers have affirmed of that epistle, and therefore not sufficient to charge him, and much less others, with heresy; but being not his simple affirmation, yet because it hath been offensively taken, he himself hath put it out and given it over. O what a stir would they keep, if they had any weighty matter of truth to burthen him withal!

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* To let this pass: Toby, Ecclesiasticus, and the Machabees, are they not most certainly rejected? And yet they were allowed and received for canonical by the same authority that St James' epistle was. This epistle the Calvinists are content to admit, because so it pleased Calvin: those books they reject, because so also it pleased him. And why did it so please Calvin? Under pretence forsooth, that they were once doubted of, and not taken for canonical. But is that the true cause indeed? How do they then receive St James' epistle as canonical, having been before doubted of also, yea, as they say, rejected?

Conc. Cart. 3. can. 47.

Argu. in epist. Jacob.

Whitak.[1] p. 10.

Ibid.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* You may well let it pass, for it is not worth the time you spend in writing of it; and if you had been wise, you would utterly have omitted it. But what say you of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and the Machabees, most certainly by us rejected? They were allowed (you say) for canonical by the same authority that St James' epistle was. And think you that St James' epistle was never allowed for canonical before the third council of Carthage? For of the other it is certain, they were never received by the church of the Israelites before Christ's coming, nor of the apostolic and primitive church for more than 300 years after, as both Eusebius out of Origenes, and the council of Laodicea, Can. 59. confirmed afterward by the sixth general council of Constan-

[1 Whitakeri ad Rationes Campiani Responsio.]

tinople, sheweth for the Greek church, and St Jerome *in Prologo Galeato*[2] for the Latin church. As for the provincial council of Carthage, holden by forty-four bishops of Africa, if we were bound to receive it for these books, we must also acknowledge five books of Salomon, which in the same council are authorised, whereas the church never knew but of three. And although the book of Wisdom should be ascribed to Salomon, there could be but four. Again, how they understand the word canonical, it may be gathered both out of the words of the same canon, where they give none other reason of the approbation of all those books of scripture, but that they have received them of their fathers to be read in the church; and also out of St Augustine, who was one present at the same council; which after he hath declared how a man should discern the canonical scriptures from other writings by following the authority of the catholic churches, especially those that have deserved to have apostolic sees, and to receive their epistles, he addeth further: *Tenebit igitur hunc modum in scripturis canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis catholicis, præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt; in eis vero quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent. Si autem alias invenerit a pluribus, alias a gravioribus haberi, quanquam hoc invenire non possit, æqualis tamen auctoritatis eas habendas puto. Totus autem canon scripturarum, in quo istam considerationem versandam dicimus, his libris continetur.* He shall hold therefore this mean in the canonical scriptures, that he prefer those which are received of all catholic churches, before those scriptures which some churches do not receive. But in those which are not received of all, let him prefer those scriptures which the greater number and graver churches do receive, before those which churches fewer in number and of less authority do hold. But if he shall

Lib. 6. cap. 18.

De doct. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 8.

[2] Non idem ordo est apud Græcos, qui integre sapiunt et fidem rectam sectantur, epistolarum septem, quæ canonicæ nuncupantur, qui in Latinis codicibus invenitur. Quod quia Petrus primus est in numero apostolorum, primæ sint etiam ejus epistolæ in ordine ceterarum. Sed sicut evangelistas dudum ad veritatis lineam correximus; ita has proprio ordini, Deo nos juvante, reddidimus. Est enim prima earum una Jacobi; Petri duæ; Johannis tres; et Judæ una.—Hieronym. Prolog. Septem Epistolarum Canonicarum. Opera. Vol. I. p. 1667.]

find some scriptures to be had of fewer churches and other some of graver churches, although you cannot find this thing, yet I think they are to be accounted of equal authority. Now the whole canon of scriptures in which we say this consideration must be occupied is contained in these books: Five books of Moses, that is Genesis, Exodus, &c. By this saying of Augustine it is manifest, that he calleth canonical scriptures, not only those books that ought of necessity to be received of all churches; but also such as were received of some, and of some were not; in which number were these books of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and the Machabees, which by his own rule were not to be received as of absolute and sovereign authority, because the apostolic churches of Asia and Europe, and those of gravest authority, among which was the church of Rome in that time, did not receive them; as witnesseth not only St Jerome, a priest of Rome, but also Ruffinus of *Aquileia, in symbolo*[1], who both declare what books were received in their churches as canonical, and of irrefragable authority to build principles of faith upon them, and what books were admitted only to be read for instruction of manners. And therefore, according to the rule of Augustine and testimony of the ancient fathers, and because it consenteth with the rest of the scriptures, and not for Calvin's pleasure, we receive the epistle of St James, though it hath not been always and of all churches received. Concerning the name of Calvinists, as of all other nick-names, that it pleaseth you of your charity to bestow upon us, it shall suffice to protest once for all, that we acknowledge none other name of our profession, but Christians and catholics; and that we have neither received that epistle, nor rejected the other, because it pleased Calvin so. This may serve for a clear demonstration, that in the first English[2]

Anno 1532.
Anno 1537.

[1 Sciendum tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Salomonis, et alia Sapientia quæ dicitur filii Syrach, qui liber apud Latinos hoc ipso generali vocabulo Ecclesiasticus appellatur; quo vocabulo non auctor libelli, sed scripturæ qualitas cognominata est. Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Machabæorum libri.—Expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum Ruffini. p. 397, 398. ed. Ald. 1563.]

[2 In the bible of 1537, known under the name of the translator, Thomas Matthew, this is the case. Also in Coverdale's bible of 1537, 4to., imprynted in Southwarke by James Nycolson.]

bibles that were printed under the name of Thomas Matthew, before Calvin wrote any word of the rejection of those books, or of receiving of the other, they are called Apocrypha, and printed with other of that mark by themselves, and the epistle of St James without any question acknowledged to be one of the canonical epistles; whereas Calvin's institution was first printed anno 1536, and his argument upon St James' epistle, 1551. You may see what honest dealing the papists use to bring the truth into discredit, and the professors thereof into hatred with the simple and unlearned people, bearing them in hand, that we have no cause to receive or refuse books of scripture, but Calvin's pleasure. But the God of truth will one day reward these impudent liars and shameless slanderers.

Well, let us now see under what pretence it pleased Calvin to reject these books: "Under pretence forsooth, (saith Martin,) that they were once doubted of, and not taken for canonical." I pray you, Sir, where doth Calvin pretend that only cause? In his Instit. lib. III. c. 5. sec. 8, he allegeth divers other causes touching the books of Machabees, as every man that will may read. Shame you nothing to forge such manifest untruths, and that in such matters as you may be convinced in them by ten thousand witnesses? What credit shall be given to you in matters that consist upon your own bare testimony, when you force not to feign of other men that wherein every man may reprove you? And as for the only pretence you speak of, Calvin doth so little esteem it, that notwithstanding the same, he doubteth not to receive the epistle of St James, because it is agreeable to the whole body of the canonical scripture; as, if you had read his argument upon that epistle, you might easily have perceived.

· *Martin.* Mark, gentle reader, for thy soul's sake, and thou shalt find that heresy, and only heresy, is the cause of their denying these books; so far, that against the orders and hierarchies and particular patronages of angels one of them writeth thus in the name of the rest: "We pass not for that Raphael of Toby, neither do we acknowledge those seven angels which he speaketh of; all this is far from canonical scriptures, that the same Raphael recordeth, and savoureth I wot not what superstition." Against free-will thus: "I little care for the place of Ecclesiasticus, neither will I believe free-will, though he affirm an hundred times, that before men is life and death." And

MARTIN, 9. Ibid. p. 17.[3] M. Whitaker by these words condemneth their own service book, which appointeth these books of Tobit and Ecclesiasticus to be read for holy scripture, as the other. Do

[3] Ad Rationes Campiani Responsio, p. 17.]

they read in their churches apocryphal and superstitious books for holy scripture, or is he a puritan that thus disgraceth their order of daily service?

against prayer for the dead, and intercession of saints, thus: "As for the book of the Machabees, I do care less for it than for the other. Judas' dream concerning Onias I let pass as a dream." This is their reverence of the scriptures, which have universally been reverenced for canonical in the church of God above 1100 years. Con. Cart. 3. and particularly of many fathers long before, Aug. de doct. Christ. Lib. II. c. 8.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* The mouth that lieth killeth the soul. The reader may think you have small care of his soul's health, when by such impudent lying you declare that you have so small regard of your own. But what shall he mark? "That heresy, &c." You were best say that Eusebius, Jerome, Ruffine, and all the churches in their times, were heretics, and that only heresy was the cause of their denial of these books. For such reasons as moved them move us, and something also their authority. But how prove you that only heresy moveth us to reject them? Because M. Whitaker against the orders, and hierarchies, and particular patronages of angels, writeth in the name of the rest, that "we pass not," &c. Take heed, lest upon your bare surmise you belie him, where you say he writeth in the name of the rest; as in the next section following you say, he writeth in the name of both the universities, for which I am sure he had no commission from either of them; although he did write that which may well be avouched by both the universities; yet I know his modesty is such, as he will not presume to be advocate for both the universities, and much less for the whole church, except he were lawfully called thereto. This is a common practice of you papists, to bear the world in hand, that whatsoever is written by any of us in defence of the truth, is set forth in the name of all the rest, as though none of us could say more in any matter than any one of us hath written; or that if any one of us chance to slip in any small matter, though it be but a wrong quotation, you might open your wide slanderous mouths against the whole church for one man's particular offence. Now touching any thing that M. Whitaker hath written, you shall find him sufficient to maintain it against a stronger adversary than you are; and therefore I will meddle the less in his causes. And for the orders and patronage or protection of angels by God's appointment, we have sufficient testimony in the canonical scriptures, that we need not the uncertain report of Tobie's book to instruct

us what to think of them. But as for the hierarchies and patronage of angels, that many of you papists have imagined and written of, neither the canonical scriptures, nor yet the apocryphal books now in controversy, are sufficient to give you warrant. The like I say of free will, prayer for the dead, and intercession of saints. But it grieveth you that those apocryphal scriptures, which have been universally received for canonical in the church of God above 1100 years, should find no more reverence among us. Still your mouth runneth over. For in the time of the canon of the council of Carthage 3. which you quote, these books were not universally reverenced as canonical. And Augustine himself, speaking of the book of Machabees, Cont. 2. Gaud.[1] Ep. c. 23. confesseth that the Jews account it not as the Law, and the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which our Lord giveth testimony as to his witnesses, saying, "It behoveth that all things should be fulfilled which are written in the Law, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me; but it is received of the church not unprofitably, if it be soberly read or heard." This writeth St Augustine, when he was pressed with the authority of that book by the Donatists, which defended that it was lawful for them to kill themselves by example of Razis, who is by the author of that book commended for that fact. He saith, "it is received not unprofitably," and immediately after, "especially for those Machabees that suffered patiently horrible persecution for testimony of God's religion, to encourage Christians by their example." Finally, he addeth a condition of the receiving it, "if it be soberly read or heard." These speeches declare, that it was not received

[1 Et hanc quidem scripturam, quæ appellatur Machabæorum, non habent Judæi sicut legem et prophetas et psalmos, quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tamquam testibus suis, dicens, Oportebat impleri omnia quæ scripta sunt in lege et prophetis et in psalmis de me: sed recepta est ab ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur, maxime propter illos Machabæos qui pro Dei lege sicut veri martyres a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt; ut etiam hinc populus Christianus adverteret, quoniam non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis, pro quibus passus est Christus, si tanta patientissime pertulerunt pro lege quam dedit Deus per famulum hominibus illis pro quibus nondum tradiderat Filium.—Augustin. contra Gaudentium Donatist. Episc. Lib. I. cap. 38. Opera. Vol. IX. p. 655-6.]

without all controversy as the authentical word of God: for then should it be received necessarily, and because it is God's word especially, and howsoever it be read or heard, it is received of the church, not only necessarily, but also profitably. Beside this, even the decree of Gelasius, which was near 100 years after that council of Carthage, alloweth but one book of the Machabees. Wherefore the universal reverence that is boasted of cannot be justified.

But M. Whitaker is charged in the margin to condemn the service-book, which appointeth these books of Toby and Ecclesiasticus to be read for holy scripture as the other. And where find you that in the service-book, M. Martin? Can you speak nothing but untruths? If they be appointed to be read, are they appointed to be read for holy scripture, and for such scripture as the other canonical books are? The service-book appointeth the litany, divers exhortations and prayers, yea, homilies to be read: are they therefore to be read for holy and canonical scriptures? But you ask, Do they read in their churches apocryphal and superstitious books for holy scripture? No, verily. But of the name apocryphal I must distinguish, which sometimes is taken for all books read of the church, which are not canonical; sometime for such books only as are by no means to be suffered, but are to be hid or abolished. These books therefore in controversy, with other of the same sort, are sometimes called *Hagiographa*, holy writings, as of St Jerome *præfat. in lib. Tobiæ;* sometimes *Ecclesiastica*, Ecclesiastical writings, and so are they called of Ruffinus. Because (saith he) they were appointed by our elders to be read in the churches, but not to be brought forth to confirm authority of faith: but other scriptures they named apocryphal, which they would not have to be read in the churches. So saith St Jerome *in præfat. in Proverb.* "Even as the church readeth indeed the books of Judith, Tobias, and the Machabees, but yet receiveth them not among the canonical scriptures; so let it read these two books (of Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom) for the edifying of the people, not for the confirmation of the authority of ecclesiastical doctrines." These ancient writers shall answer for our service-book, that although it appoint these writings to be read, yet it doth not appoint them to be read for canonical scriptures. Albeit they are but sparingly read, by order of

In expositione symboli.

our service-book, which for the Lord's day, and other festival days, commonly appointeth the first lesson out of the canonical scriptures. And as for superstition, although M. Whitaker say, that some one thing savoureth of I know not what superstition, he doth not by and by condemn the whole book for superstitious, and altogether unworthy to be read; neither can he thereby be proved a puritan, or a disgracer of the order of daily service.

Martin. As for parts of books, do they not reject certain pieces of Daniel and of Hester, because they are not in the Hebrew, which reason St Augustine rejecteth; or because they were once doubted of by certain of the fathers? by which reason some part of St Mark's and St Luke's gospel might now also be called in controversy, specially if it be true which M. Whitaker by a figurative speech more than insinuateth, That he cannot see by what right that which once was not in credit should by time win authority. Forgetting himself by and by, and in the very next lines admitting St James' epistle, though before doubted of, for canonical scriptures, unless they receive it but of their courtesy, and so may receive it when it shall please them, which must needs be gathered of his words, as also many other notorious absurdities, contradictions, and dumb blanks. Which only to note were to confute M. Whitaker by himself, being the answer for both universities.

MARTIN, 10.

p. 10.

M. Whitaker's book.

Fulke. As for pieces of Daniel and of Esther, we reject none; but only we discern that which was written by Daniel in deed, from that which is added by Theodotion the false Jew, and that which was written by the Spirit of God of Esther, from that which is vainly added by some Greekish counterfeiter. But the reason why we reject those patches (you say) is because they are not in the Hebrew, which reason St Augustine rejecteth. Here you cite St Augustine at large, without quotation in a matter of controversy. But if we may trust you that St Augustine rejecteth this reason, yet we may be bold upon St Jerome's authority to reject whatsoever is not found in the canon of the Jews, written in Hebrew or Chaldee: for whatsoever was such, St Jerome did thrust through with a spit or obelisk, as not worthy to be received. Witness hereof St Augustine himself, *Epist. ad Hier.*[1] 8 and 10, in which he

FULKE, 10.

[1 Petimus ergo, et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut interpretandis eorum libris, qui Græce scripturas nostras quam optime tractaverunt, curam atque operam impendere non graveris. Potes enim efficere, ut nos quoque habeamus tales illos viros,

dissuaded him from translating the scriptures of the Old Testament out of the Hebrew tongue, after the seventy interpreters; whose reasons as they were but frivolous, so they are derided by St Jerome, who, being learned in the Hebrew and Chaldee tongues, refused to be taught by Augustine, that was ignorant in them, what was to be done in translations out of them. Also Jerome himself[1] testifieth, that Daniel in the Hebrew hath neither the story of Susanna, nor the hymn of the three children, nor the fable of Bel and the Dragon: which we, (saith he,) because they are dispersed throughout the whole world, have added, setting a spit before them, which thrusteth them through, lest we should seem among the ignorant to have cut off a great part of the book. The like he writeth of the vain additions that were in the vulgar edition unto the book of Esther, both in the preface, and after the end of that which he translated out of the Hebrew. There are other reasons also, beside the authority of St Jerome, that move us not to receive them. As that in the story of Susanna, magistrates and judgment of life and death are attributed to the Jews being in captivity of Babylon, which hath no similitude of truth. Beside, out of the first chapter

et unum potissimum, quem tu libentius in tuis literis sonas. De vertendis autem in Latinam linguam sanctis literis canonicis laborare te nollem, nisi eo modo quo Job interpretatus es; ut signis adhibitis quid inter hanc tuam et Septuaginta, quorum est gravissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat.—Augustin. ad Hieron. Ep. XXVIII. Opera. Vol. II. p. 46.

Ego sane te mallem Græcas potius canonicas nobis interpretari scripturas, quæ Septuaginta interpretum perhibentur. Perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius cœperit lectitari, quod a Græcis ecclesiis Latinæ ecclesiæ dissonabunt, maxime quia facile contradictor convincitur Græco prolato libro, id est linguæ notissimiæ.—Augustin. LXXI. Epist. ad Hieron. Opera. Vol. II. p. 160.]

[1 Cui et Eusebius et Apollinarius pari sententia responderunt: Susannæ Belisque ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebraico; sed partem esse prophetiæ Abacuc filii Jesu de tribu Levi, sicut juxta LXX. interpretes in titulo ejusdem Belis fabulæ ponitur: *Homo quidam erat sacerdos, nomine Daniel, filius Abda, conviva regis Babylonis:* quum Danielem et tres pueros de tribu Juda fuisse sancta scriptura testetur. Unde et nos ante annos plurimos quum verteremus Danielem, has visiones obelo prænotavimus, significantes eas in Hebraico non haberi.—Hieronymi Explanatio in Danielem Prophetam. Opera. Tom. I. p. 1074. Augustini Epist. ad Hieronymum, LXX. p. 611. Hieronym. Opera. Vol. IV. Hieronymi Epist. ad Augustinum, LXXIV. pp. 626, 627.]

of the true Daniel it is manifest, that Daniel being a young man was carried captive into Babylon in the days of Nebuchadnezzar; but in this counterfeit story Daniel is made a young child in the time of Astyages, which reigned immediately before Cyrus of Persia. Likewise in the story of Bel and the Dragon, Daniel is said to have lived with the same king Cyrus; and after, when he was cast into the lions' den, the prophet Habakkuk was sent to him out of Jewry, who prophesied before the first coming of the Chaldees, and therefore could not be alive in the days of Cyrus, which was more than seventy years after. The additions unto the book of Esther, in many places, bewray the spirit of man; as that they are contrary to the truth of the story, containing vain repetitions, and amplifications of that which is contained in the true history; and that which most manifestly convinceth the forgery, that in the epistle of Artaxerxes, cap. 16, Haman is called a Macedonian, which in the true story is termed an Agagite, that is an Amalekite, whereas the Macedonians had nothing to do with the Persians many years after the death of Esther and Haman. I omit that in the cap. 15, ver. 12, the author maketh Esther to lie unto the king, in saying that his countenance was full of all grace; or else he lieth himself, v. 17, where he saith, the king beheld her in the vehemency of his anger, and that he was exceeding terrible.

As for other reasons, which you suppose us to follow, because these parcels were once doubted of by certain of the fathers, it is a reason of your own making, and therefore you may confute it at your pleasure. But "if that be true, which Master Whitaker by a figurative speech doth more than insinuate, part of St Mark's and St Luke's gospel may also be called in controversy." Why, what saith M. Whitaker? Marry, "that he cannot see by what right that which once was not in credit should by time win authority." But when, I pray you, was any part of St Mark or St Luke out of credit? If any part were of some person doubted of, doth it follow that it was not at all in credit? You reason profoundly, and gather very necessarily: as likewise, that he "forgetteth himself in the very next lines, admitting St James' epistle (though before doubted of) for canonical." Will ye say that St James' epistle was once not in credit, or not worthy of credit (for that is his plain meaning), be-

cause it was doubted of, yea, rejected of some? Yea, you say it "must needs be gathered of his words," that we receive it but of courtesy, and so may refuse it when it pleaseth us. Demonstrate this in a syllogism out of his words, if you can, or all the whole rabble of Rheims, if you be able. For my part I can but marvel at your bold assertions, and abhor your impudent enforcements. As for other contradictions, notorious absurdities, dumb blanks, and I know not what other monsters you feign unto him, without all proof or particular declaration, all wise men see how easy a matter it is to rail and slander in generals; and when you dare come to particulars, I doubt not but the world shall see your vanity so detected by M. Whitaker himself, that you shall have little joy thus insolently to deface his godly and learned writings. It had been more than time that his book had been confuted, which hath been abroad a year and a half almost[1], if you can with such facility, by only noting such matters, shew that he confuteth himself. But somewhat you must say afar off, to save your credit with your disciples, to keep them play for the time; while with long study and great travail you are crowding out great trifles.

MARTIN, 11.

In the argument bib. an. 1579.

Martin. For the second point, which is not the gross denial of books, but yet calling of them in question, moving scruples about them, and diminishing their authority and credit, I will go no further than St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews; which I will not ask why they doubt of, or rather think it not to be St Paul's, for they will tell me, because it was once in doubt (not considering that it was in like manner doubted whether it were canonical, and yet they will not now deny but it is canonical); but I must ask them, and request them to make a reasonable answer, why in their English bible of the years 1579 and 1580, they presume to leave out St Paul's name out of the very title of the said epistle, which name is in the Greek, and in Beza's Latin translation, both which they profess to follow. See the title of the New Testament, anno 1580. Doth not the title tell them that it is St Paul's? Why seek they further; or why do they change the title, striking out St Paul's name, if they meant to deal simply and sincerely? and what an heretical peevishness is this, because Beza telleth them of one obscure Greek copy that hath not Paul's name, and only one, that they will rather follow it, than all other copies both Greek and Latin! I report me to all indifferent men of common sense, whether they do it not to diminish the credit of the epistle.

ἡ πρὸς ἑβραίους ἐπιστολὴ Παύλου.

[1] Whitaker's Answer to Campian was printed in 1581.]

Fulke. Now concerning the second point, which is calling of some books into controversy, or moving scruples about them, to diminish their credit or authority, whether you be guilty of that crime rather than we, I have somewhat noted before. But with what evidence you are able to charge us, it cometh now to be considered: you will go no further than the epistle to the Hebrews[2]. You may be ashamed to have gone so far; for of all books of the New Testament, there is none that we might worse spare to confound your blasphemous heresies than that epistle, which is the very mall to beat into powder the abominable idol of your mass, and your sacrilegious priesthood serving to the same. Wherefore it is without all colour that you charge us to seek to diminish the credit of that epistle. But you "will not ask why we doubt of, or rather think it not to be St Paul's, because we will tell you, that it was once in doubt." If you acknowledge that the author of this epistle was once in question, you clear us of moving scruples about it, or calling it in question, which was your first charge. Let Eusebius, Jerome, and other ancient writers, bear that blame, if it be blame-worthy to tell what other men's opinions have been in such a matter; some holding that it was written by St Luke, some by St Barnabas, some by St Clemens. But you must wit, if you will, that they which at this day doubt of the writer thereof, or else think it not of St Paul's penning, have other reasons to lead them, than

FULKE, 11.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 25. Hieronym. ad Dard. tom. 3.

[2 The argument to "the Epistle to the Hebrewes," in the edition of the bible printed at Edinburgh, 1579, (which is a reprint of the Geneva bible of 1560,) commences thus, as indeed it does in the edition of 1557, and those printed by Barker, 1578, and 1582. "Forasmuche as divers, bothe of the Greke writers and Latine, witnesse, that the writer of this epistle for juste causes wolde not have his name knowen, it were curiosite of our parte to labour muche therein. For seeing the Spirit of God is the autor thereof, it diminisheth nothing the autoritie, althogh we knowe not with what penne he wrote it. Whether it were Paul (as it is not like), or Luke, or Barnabas, or Clement, or some other, his chiefe purpose is to persuade unto the Ebrewes, (whereby he principally meaneth them that abode at Jerusalem, and under them all the rest of the Jewes,) that Christ Jesus was not only the redemer, but also that at his comming all ceremonies must have an end," &c.

In Coverdale's bible, 1537, it bears the title of St Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews; in Matthew's bible, 1537; in Taverner's, 1539; in Day's bible, 1551; in the Bishops' bible, 1584, and in Cranmer's bible, 1562. The omission seems to be peculiar to the Anglo-Genevese Version.]

only because it was doubted of. For beside those reasons which they had, which of old time doubted of the writer thereof, as the diversity of the style, and inscription thereof, and manner of reasoning, they have also observed something out of the epistle itself, which seemeth to argue, that it was not written by St Paul: as that in the beginning of the 2nd chapter he saith, "The doctrine of salvation was confirmed to us by them that heard it, after it was first spoken by the Lord himself;" which seemeth to agree with the profession of St Luke in the beginning of his gospel; whereas St Paul denieth "that he learned his gospel of men, but only by revelation of Jesus Christ." Gal. i. 12. But of all them that doubt, or think it not to be St Paul's epistle, there is not one that doubteth of the authority thereof, but that it is equal with the epistle to the Romans, or the gospel of St John: although in the Latin church, as St Jerome[1] testifieth, it hath been doubted whether it were canonical. The cause

In Isai. lib. 3. cap. 6. in Evang. Matt. lib. 5. cap. 26.

[1 Nam et Paulus in epistola sua quæ scribitur ad Hebræos (licet de ea multi Latinorum dubitent).—Comment. Hieronymi in Matthæi cap. 26. Opera. Vol. IV. pp. 125, 126.

Ac primum solvenda est illa quæstio, quæ nobis objici potest: quare Apostolus Paulus cum Hebræis disputans non juxta Hebraicum, quod rectum esse cognoverat, sed juxta LXX. sit loquutus? Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres ecclesiæ tractatores medicinæ artis fuisse scientissimum; et magis Græcas literas scisse quam Hebræas. Unde et sermo ejus tam in Evangelio, quam in Actibus Apostolorum, id est, in utroque volumine comptior est, et secularem redolet eloquentiam; magisque testimoniis Græcis utitur quam Hebræis. Matthæus autem et Johannes, quorum alter Hebræo, alter Græco sermone evangelia texuerunt, testimonia de Hebraico proferunt: ut est illud, *Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum.* Et, *Quoniam Nazareus vocabitur.* Et, *Flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ.* Et, *Videbunt in quem compunxerunt,* et cetera his similia. Pauli quoque idcirco ad Hebræos Epistolæ contradicitur, quod ad Hebræos scribens utatur testimoniis quæ in Hebræis voluminibus non habentur. Quod si aliquis dixerit, Hebræos libros postea a Judæis esse falsatos, audiat Origenem quid in octavo volumine explanationum Isaiæ huic respondeat quæstiunculæ, quod nunquam Dominus et Apostoli, qui cetera crimina arguunt in Scribis et Pharisæis, de hoc crimine quod erat maximum reticuissent. Sin autem dixerint, post adventum Domini Salvatoris et prædicationem Apostolorum libros Hebræos fuisse falsatos, cachinnum tenere non potero, ut Salvator et Evangelistæ et Apostoli ita testimonia protulerint, ut Judæi postea falsaturi erant.—Commentar. Hieronymi in Isaiæ Prophet. Lib. III. cap. 6. Opera. Vol. III. pp. 63, 64.]

seemeth to be the heresy of the Novatians, which abused a text out of the 6th chapter against remission of sins committed after grace received, which we shew was no sufficient cause to refuse so divine an epistle, seeing the apostle speaketh not of particular faults, which are common to the faithful oftentimes every day, but of an utter apostasy and falling clean away from the truth of the gospel once known and professed into an horrible contempt and persecuting of the same. But we must "make you a reasonable answer, why in the English bibles printed 1579 and 1580, we presume to leave out St Paul's name out of the very title of the said epistle; which name is in the Greek and Beza's Latin translation, which we profess to follow." I answer without any presumption, that that which is uncertain we spare to affirm. Example we have, not only that ancient Greek copy whereof Beza speaketh, which leaveth out the name of Paul, but also divers printed books in which that name is left out. Beside it is certain, that title was not of ancient time universally added. For St Jerome, *in Catalogo scriptorum ecclesiast.*, after he hath recited all the epistles of St Paul, at length he cometh to this epistle, *Epistola autem quæ fertur ad Hebræos*, &c. But the epistle which is called unto the Hebrews, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the style and speech; but either written by Barnabas, as Tertullian[2] holdeth, or by Luke the Evangelist, as some men think, or by Clemens, that after was bishop of the Roman church, whom they say to have ordered and adorned the sentences of Paul in his own speech, or else truly, because Paul did write unto the Hebrews, and because of the envy of his name among them he cut off the title in the beginning of the salutation. These things considered, what need those tragical exclamations in so trifling a matter? "Doth not the title tell it is St Paul's? why strike they out St Paul's name? what an heretical peevishness is this!" For lack of good matter, you are driven to loud clamours against us; but I will even conclude in your own

[2 Exstat enim et Barnabæ titulus ad Hebræos, adeo satis auctoritatis viro, ut quem Paulus juxta se constituerit in abstinentiæ tenore: Aut ego solus et Barnabas non habemus hoc operandi potestatem? Et utique receptior apud ecclesias epistola Barnabæ illo apocrypho pastore mœchorum.—Tertullian. de Pudicitia. Opera. p. 741. edit. Rigaltii, 1641. cap. 20. edit. Semler. Vol. IV. p. 427.]

words: "I report me to all indifferent men of common sense, whether we do it to diminish the credit of the epistle," which of all St Paul's epistles we might least miss, when we come to dispute against your popish sacrifice and sacrificing priesthood; or whether you do not craftily move a scruple in the minds of simple persons, to make them doubt of the authority of that epistle, (whose double cannon-shot you are not able to bear when it is thundered out against you,) under colour that it is not of sound credit among ourselves, that use it against you; which of all the lies that ever Satan invented, and taught you to utter, is one of the most abominable.

MARTIN, 12. *Martin.* I know very well that the authority of canonical scripture standeth not upon the certainty of the author; but yet to be Paul's or not Paul's, apostolical or not apostolical, maketh a great difference of credit and estimation. For what made St James' epistle doubted of sometime, or the second of St Peter, and the rest, but that they were not thought to be the epistles of those apostles? This Luther saw very well, when he denied St James' epistle to be James the apostle's writing. If titles of books be of no importance, then leave out Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, leave out Paul in his other epistles also, and you shall much pleasure the Manichees and other old heretics: and if the titles make no difference, urge no more the title of the Apocalypse, St John the Divine, as though it were not St John's the Evangelist, and you shall much displeasure some heretics now-a-days. Briefly, most certain it is, and they know it best by their own usual doings, that it is a principal way to the discredit of any book, to deny it to be that author's under whose name it hath been received.

FULKE, 12. *Fulke.* If you know so well that the authority of the canonical scripture standeth not upon the certainty of the author, as indeed it doth not—for the books of Judges, of Ruth, of Samuel the later, of the Kings, &c. who can certainly affirm by whom they were written?—with what forehead do you charge us to doubt of the authority of this epistle, because we report out of the ancient writers the uncertainty of the author, or leave out that title which is not certainly true? "But yet (you say) to be Paul's or not Paul's, apostolical or not apostolical, maketh great difference of credit and estimation." If by apostolical you mean, of apostolical spirit or authority, I agree to that you say of apostolical, or not apostolical. If you mean apostolical that only which was written by some apostle, you will make great difference of credit and estimation between the gospel of Mark, Luke, and the Acts of the

Apostles, from the gospels of Matthew and John. But which of us, I pray you, that thinketh that this epistle was not written by St Paul, once doubteth whether it be not of apostolical spirit and authority? Which is manifest by this, that both in preaching and writing we cite it thus, *the Apostle to the Hebrews.* And if it were written by St Luke, or by St Clement, which both were apostolic men, seeing it is out of controversy that it was written by the Spirit of God, it is doubtless apostolical, and differeth not in credit and estimation from those writings that are known certainly to have been written by the apostles. But I marvel greatly why you write, that to be Paul's or not Paul's maketh great difference of credit and estimation. Those epistles that are Peter's and John's are not Paul's; and yet I think there is no great difference of credit and estimation between them and Paul's. What you think, I know not; but you write very suspiciously. You ask what made St James' epistle, or the 2nd of Peter and the rest, to be sometimes doubted of, but that they were not thought to be the epistles of those apostles? Yes, something else, or else they doubted vainly of them, and without just cause, as I think they did. But when there were two apostles called James, he that doubteth whether the epistle was written by James the brother of John, and is persuaded it was written rather by James the son of Alpheus, doubteth nothing of the credit, authority, and estimation of the epistle. No more do we, which doubt whether the epistle to the Hebrews were written by St Paul, seeing we are persuaded it was written either by St Barnabas, or by St Luke, or by St Clement, as the ancient writers thought, or by some other of the apostles or evangelists; we make no question but that it is apostolical, and of equal authority with the rest of the holy scriptures. But Eusebius denied the epistle of St James, because he was persuaded that it was written by no apostle or apostolic man, and therefore saith plainly that it is a bastard or counterfeit; and so belike was Luther deceived, if ever he denied it, as you say he did. "But if titles of books be of no importance, (say you,) then leave out Matthew, Mark, John, and Paul in his other epistles." What need that, I pray you? Is there no difference between leaving out a title whereof there hath been great uncertainty and diversity in God's church, and which in some Greek copies both written

and printed is left out; and in leaving out those titles that never were omitted, nor never any question or controversy moved of them by any of the ancient catholic fathers? But you will us to urge no more the title of the Apocalypse of St John the Divine, as though it were not St John the Evangelist's; and we shall please I know not what heretics of our time, except it be the papists, whom it would most concern that the Revelation of St John, in which their antichrist of Rome is so plainly described, were brought out of credit. But if you had read Beza's preface before the Apocalypse, you should find that even by that title he gathereth a probable argument, that it was written by John the Evangelist, because it is not like that this excellent name, THE DIVINE, could agree to any John in the apostles' time so aptly, as to St John the Evangelist, beside the consent of all antiquity, ascribing that Revelation to St John the evangelist and apostle. "Last of all (you say) it is most certain, and we know best by our usual doings, that it is a principal way to discredit any book, to deny it to be the author's under whose name it hath been received." How certain it is with you, whereof no man else but you can see any light of reason or necessity of conclusion, I know not; but we are not so void of wit, if we lacked honesty, that we would discredit Paul's epistle by saying it was Peter's, or Augustine's sermon by saying it was Ambrose's, or Chrysostom's work by saying it was Basil's. But if we would bring any book out of credit by denying the author whose title it hath borne, we would rather entitle it to some other writer of less credit or later time, or by some other arguments prove it unworthy of credit, not by only denying it to be the author's under whose name it hath been received.

MARTIN, 13. *Martin.* But I come to the third point, of voluntary expositions of the scripture, that is, when every man expoundeth according to his error and heresy. This needeth no proof, for we see it with our eyes. Look upon the Calvinists and Puritans at home; the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists abroad. Read their books written vehemently, one sect against another. Are not their expositions of one and the same scripture as diverse and contrary, as their opinions differ one from another? Let the example at home be, their controversy about the distinction of ecclesiastical degrees, archbishop, bishop, and minister; the example abroad, their diverse imaginations and fancies upon these most sacred words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*

Fulke. That every one of us expoundeth the scripture voluntarily according to his error or heresy, you say it needeth no proof, for you see it with your eyes. You have very clear sight to see a mote in other men's eyes, but cannot see a beam in your own. You make your demonstration by the Calvinists and Puritans at home, and the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists abroad; the one for the distinction of ecclesiastical degrees, archbishop, bishop, and minister; the other for their diverse imaginations and fancies of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum.* But I beseech you, sir, touching the domestical dissension, what is the text, or what be the texts of scripture, upon which these voluntary expositions are made, for the distinction or confusion of ecclesiastical degrees? If they had been as ready as, *Hoc est corpus meum,* they should have been set down as well as that. But I suppose they are yet to seek; for that controversy, as I take it, standeth rather in collections than interpretations, and in question whether the political government of the church be distinctly expressed in the scripture or no. As for the contention abroad, I confess to stand a great part in exposition of that text, wherein although the one part doth err, is that a sufficient cause to condemn them both? The church of Africa and the church of Rome, and the two principal lights of them both, Cyprian and Cornelius, dissented about rebaptizing them that were baptized of heretics. The Africans, not in one text only, but in the exposition of many, differed from the Romans, and from the truth; yet it were hard to condemn them both for heretics, and least of all them that held the truth. St Augustine and St Jerome[1] dissented about a text of St Paul to the Galatians, of Peter's dissembling, as their contrary epistles do testify. The truth was of St Augustine's side; yet was not the other an heretic, following a wrong interpretation. And to come nearer home unto you, the Dominican and Franciscan friars were at daggers drawing, as we say, yea, at most sharp and bitter contention between themselves, and all the popish church was divided about their brawling, concerning the conception

FULKE, 13.

Cyprianus, et alii in Concilio Africano.

[1 Augustin. ad Hieron. Epist. XXVIII. Vol. II. p. 45. and Vol. XI. p. 85. Hieronymus ad Augustin. Epist. LXXVI. de Petro reprehenso a Paulo. Opera, Vol. IV. pars 2. p. 629. edit. Benedict. 1706. The text was Gal. ii. 14.]

of the virgin Mary, whether she were conceived in sin, or no; where many texts of scripture must needs receive voluntary expositions, if not of both parts, yet at the least of one part: which of these will you say were heretics? If you say neither of both, then must you have stronger reasons to prove us all heretics, than voluntary expositions, where parties be in diverse opinions, especially in matters not overthrowing the foundation of christian religion. And when you have gathered the most voluntary expositions you can find, yet shall you find none so gross, so absurd, so impertinent, as you papists have coined for maintenance of your errors and heresies, of which you yourself are ashamed, though otherwise you have iron foreheads and brasen faces. A few examples among a great many shall suffice. "God made man according to his own image:" that is to say, we must have images in the church. "No man lighteth a candle and putteth it under a bushel:" the meaning is, that images must be set upon the altar. "God made two great lights, the sun and the moon:" that is, the pope to be above the emperor[1]. "Behold, here are two swords:" that is, the pope hath power of both the swords. "Put on the whole armour of God:" that is, the priest must put on all his vestments, before he say mass. "I am become as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal:" that is, the bells in the steeple signify preaching of God's word. I might fill many leaves, yea, a whole book, of such popish expositions, as the papists in our days dare not for shame abide by.

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* And if you will yet have a further demonstration, this one may suffice for all. They reject councils and fathers, and the catholic church's interpretation, unless it be agreeable to God's word; and whether it be agreeable or no, that Luther shall judge for the Lutherans, Calvin for the Calvinists, Cartwright for the Puritans, and another for the brethren of love: briefly, themselves will be judges both of councils and fathers, whether they expound the scriptures well or no; and every youth among them, upon confidence of his spirit and knowledge, will saucily control not only one, but all the fathers consenting together, if it be against that which they imagine to be the truth.

" Whitak. p. 17 and 120.

FULKE, 14. *Fulke.* We had need of a better demonstration than the former, by which you yourselves are proved heretics, rather

[1 Innocent III. who excommunicated king John, thus interpreted Gen. i. 16, in a letter he addressed to the English monarch. See Marsh's Lectures, pp. 369, 370.]

than we. But let us see how handsomely you begin. "They reject (say you) councils and fathers, and the catholic church's interpretation, unless it be agreeable to God's word." Thus far you say well. We do reject not only those that you name, but even an angel from heaven, except his message be agreeable to God's word. But all the rest that you assume, to the end of this section, is a stark staring lie, except that you say of H. N.[2] for the brethren of love, which are more like to you than to us. For neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Cartwright is judge among us, whether any thing be agreeable to the word of God; but whatsoever any of them do say, it is examined and tried by the scriptures. And the scriptures themselves, where they are so obscure, that neither by common sense, knowledge of the original tongue, grammar, rhetoric, logic, history, nor any other human knowledge, nor judgment of any writers, old or new, the certain understanding can be found out, they are either expounded by conference of other plainer texts of scripture, according to the analogy of faith; or else they remain still in obscurity, until it shall please God to reveal a more clear knowledge of them. But none so like the family of love as you papists are, which reject councils, fathers, interpretation of the most ancient catholic church, yea, and manifest scripture itself, except it be agreeable to the judgment of your P. M. *Pontifex Max.* the pope, as those familiar devils submit all things to the sentence and authority of their H. N. Shame you nothing therefore to quote Whitaker[3], pp. 17 and 120, as though he affirmed, that we ourselves will be judges both of councils and fathers, whether they expound the scriptures well or no? because he writeth (percase), that we ought to examine all men's writings by the word of God. Doth the apostle make every man judge of all things, when he willeth every man to examine all things, and to hold that which is good? If any youth, upon confidence of his wit or knowledge, presume too much in divine matters, we count it rashness. But that any youth among us, upon confidence of his spirit, will saucily control all the fathers consenting together against his fantasy, except it be some schismatic or heretic, that is cast out from amongst us, I do utterly

[2 Henry Nicholas. Vid. Cardwell's Documentary Annals, Vol. 1. p. 392.]

[3 Ad Rationes Campiani. edit. 1581.]

deny; neither are you able to prove it of any that is allowed among us.

MARTIN, 15. Ibid. p. 101. *Martin.* Whereupon it riseth, that one of them defendeth this as very well said of Luther, "That he esteemed not the worth of a rush a thousand Augustines, Cyprians, churches, against himself." And another very finely and figuratively (as he thought), against the holy doctor and martyr St Cyprian, affirming that the church of Rome cannot err in faith, saith thus: "Pardon me, Cyprian, I would gladly believe thee, but that believing thee I should not believe the gospel." This is that which S. Augustine saith of the like men: *Dulcissime vanos esse, non peritos, sed perituros, nec tam disertos in errore, quam desertos a veritate*[2]. And I think, verily, that not only we, but the wiser men among themselves, smile at such eloquence, or pity it, saying this or the like most truly: *Prodierunt oratores novi, stulti adolescentuli.*

Præf. ad 6. 1 theses. Oxon. p. 25.

Lib. Confess. 1. cap. 14. lib. 7. cap. 20.

Cicer. de Senect.

FULKE, 15. *Fulke.* Why should you not, at your pleasure, upon your false assumption general infer one or two slanders particular? Mr Whitaker defendeth that it was well said of Luther, "That he esteemeth not the worth of a rush a thousand Augustines, Cyprians, churches, against himself." Would God that every papist would read his own words in the place by you quoted, that he might see your impudent forgery! For I do hope there is no Christian that will imagine, that either Luther would so speak, or any man of honesty defend him, so speaking. For Luther was not so senseless, to oppose his own person, but the truth of his cause, grounded upon the holy scriptures, not only against one thousand of men holding the contrary, but even against ten thousand of angels, if they should oppose themselves against the truth of God. But I am to blame to deal so much in Mr Whitaker's cause, who, ere it be long, will display the falsehood of Gregory Martin, in a Latin writing, to his great ignominy.

The next cavil is upon Mr Rainolds' words, in his preface to his Six Positions, disputed upon at Oxford, where against Cyprian, affirming that the church of Rome cannot err in faith, he saith, "Pardon me, Cyprian, I would gladly believe thee, but that in believing thee I should not believe the

[1 Sex Theses de S. Scriptura et Ecclesia. Rupellæ. 1586, by John Rainolds.]

[2 This is garbled from two or more passages: Nam et Homerus, peritus texere tales fabellas, et dulcissime vanus est, &c. Confess. I. 14. p. 146. edit. Bened. Garriebam plane quasi peritus, et nisi in Christo Salvatore nostro viam tuam quærerem, non peritus, sed periturus essem. Ib. VII. 20. p. 247.]

gospel." These words you confess that he spake figuratively and finely, as he thought; but that he used the figures of irony and concession, you will not acknowledge, but all other men may easily see. For first, he no where granteth that St Cyprian affirmeth, that the church of Rome cannot err in faith. But immediately before the words by you translated, after he had proved out of the eleventh to the Romans, that the particular church of Rome may be cut off, as well as the church of the Israelites, which were the natural branches, he asks the question, *Quid? et Cypriano secus est visum?* "What? and did it seem otherwise to Cyprian? Pardon me, Cyprian, &c." His meaning is plain, that Cyprian thought not otherwise than St Paul hath written; or if he did, it was lawful to dissent from Cyprian. As a little after he saith, *Quare si Romanam ecclesiam errare non posse, &c.* Wherefore, if Cyprian thought that the church of Rome could not err in that point, by the sentence of the papists he himself is to be condemned of error; for divers papists, whom he nameth, confess that every particular church may err; and Verratus, one of them, affirmeth that the church of Rome is a particular church, which the rest cannot deny. And indeed that which Cyprian writeth, is about certain runagate heretics, that, flying out of the church of Carthage, sought to be received of the particular church of Rome. All this while here is no grant that Cyprian affirmeth, that the church of Rome cannot err in faith. And if Cyprian had so affirmed contrary to the scripture, it might have been justly replied unto him, which St Augustine saith when he was pressed with his authority, *Contra Crescon.*, lib. 2, cap. 31. *Nos nullam Cypriano façimus injuriam:* "We do Cyprian no wrong," when we distinguish any writings of his from the canonical authority of the divine scriptures. And in truth the words which Mr Rainolds before cited out of St Cyprian, lib. 1, ep. 3, *ad Cornel.*, are spoken of no matter of faith, but in a matter of discipline. Neither doth Cyprian say that the church of Rome cannot err in faith, but that those heretics which brought letters from schismatics and profane persons, did not consider that they are Romans, whose faith is praised by the commendation or preaching of the apostle, to whom *perfidia*, "falsehood, or false dealing," can have none access[3]: meaning

[3] Post ista adhuc insuper Pseudo-episcopo sibi ab hæreticis constituto, navigare audent, et ad Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam princi-

that the Romans, so long as they continue in that faith which was praised by the apostle, cannot join with heretics and schismatics, that are cast out of other catholic churches. For that he could not mean that the pope or church of Rome cannot err in faith (as the papists affirm), it is manifest, for that in a question of religion, he dissented both from the bishop and church of Rome, as all learned men know he did, which he would never have done, if he had believed they could not err. And that his meaning was not that the bishop of Rome could not err in matters of discipline, it is manifest in the next epistle, where he complaineth, that Basilides, a wicked man, "after his crimes were detected, and his conscience made bare by his own confession, went to Rome, and deceived our fellow-bishop, Stephanus, dwelling far off, and being ignorant of the case, so that he sought ambitiously to be unjustly restored into the bishopric from whence he was justly deposed[1]." These things prove, that St Cyprian thought it no impossible thing for the bishops and church of Rome to err in faith or government. Wherefore that you cite out of Augustine agreeth best unto yourself, and such as you are, who employ all your eloquence and utterance to set forth lies and slanders. Last of all, when you have nothing else to disgrace those grave and learned writers, you would make them, by abusing a piece of Tully, contemptible for their youth among such as know them not; who if they wanted half a score years apiece of that ripe and well-seasoned age they have, yet with those gifts of godliness and learning, which God hath in great measure bestowed upon them, they were worthy to be reverenced. So that venomous traitor, which writeth of the persecution of the papists, maketh me a very young man, and

palem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et prophanis literas ferre; nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia non potest habere accessum. Cypriani Opera. Par. 1509. 4to. fol. 7. hodie Epist. 35.]

[1 Quod et apud vos factum videmus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione, ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio et de episcoporum qui in præsentia convenerant, quique de eo ad vos literas fecerant, judicio episcopatus ei deferretur, et manus ei in locum Basilidis imponeretur. Nec rescindere ordinationem jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides, post crimina sua detecta et conscientiam etiam propria confessione nudatam, Romam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum et gestæ rei ac veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum de quo fuerat jure depositus.—Cypriani Epistola LXVIII. edit. Baluzii. 1706. p. 119.]

therefore contemned of the ancient fathers at Wisbech; and yet I can easily prove that I was of lawful age, if more than twice one-and-twenty years will serve, before ever I saw Wisbech castle.

Martin. The fourth point is, of picking quarrels to the very original text: for alter and change it I hope they shall not be able in this watchful world of most vigilant catholics. But what they would do, if all bibles were only in their hands and at their commandment, guess by this: that Beza, against the evidence of all copies, both Greek and Latin, (in his Annotations upon the New Testament, set forth in the year 1556,) thinketh πρωτος is more than should be in the text Matt. x., and το ἐκχυνόμενον, Luc. xxii., and προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, Acts vii.: the first against Peter's supremacy; the second, against the real presence of Christ's blood in the blessed sacrament; the third, against the making of whatsoever images, whether they be adored or no. Thus you see, how the mouse of Geneva (as I told you before of Marcion the mouse of Pontus) nibbleth and gnaweth about it, though he cannot bite it off altogether.

MARTIN, 16.

Beza, the mouse of Geneva, gnaweth the text of scripture.

Fulke. In this point you do nothing but pick quarrels, seeing you confess that neither they have, nor can alter or change any thing of the original text. If Beza express his conjecture upon some ground or similitude of reason, that πρῶτος in Matthew x., τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, Luke xxii., and προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς, Acts vii., might perhaps be added to the text out of the margin or otherwise, and yet doth not precisely affirm it, but leave it to judgment and trial of ancient copies, if any shall be found to favour his conjecture; what hath he like to the mouse of Pontus, Marcion, which altered and corrupted the text? You say he nibbleth and gnaweth about it, though he cannot bite it off altogether: and for what advantage? forsooth, because the first word maketh for Peter's supremacy, a poor supremacy that Peter can gain in that he is named the first in the catalogue of the apostles, which is but a primacy of order, not of honour; or, as Ambrose[z] saith, a primacy of confession, not of honour, of faith, not of degree. The second word you say is against the real presence of Christ's blood in the blessed sacrament. You are a perilous

FULKE, 16.

De Incarn. Dom. cap. 4.

[z Hic ergo qui ante reticebat, ut doceret nos quod impiorum nec verbum debeamus iterare; hic, inquam, ubi audivit, **Vos autem quid me dicitis?* statim loci non immemor sui, primatum egit; primatum confessionis utique, non honoris; primatum fidei, non ordinis.—Ambrosii de Incarn. Domini Liber unus. cap. 4. Opera, Vol. II. p. 710. edit. Bened. Paris. 1690.]

* Matt. xvi. 15.

:at, that can spy a mouse gnawing at the real presence, which ıone of the ancient fathers, or late writers before these days, :ould find in those words. And as for making of images, who doth forbid, except it be in any use of religion, which God doth forbid in the second commandment of the first table? And where you will have men to guess what we would do if ıll bibles were only in our hands, by this example of Beza's :onjectures; I wish men rather to consider what the Romish rats were like to do in that case, which in their translation of the ten commandments for the people's instruction have clean gnawed out the second commandment; and because they cannot bite it clean out of the bible, they seek all shifts to hide it under the first commandment. Finally, whether Lindanus and you do pick quarrels against all the evidence of all Greek copies, I refer me to your fourth section, where out of Lindanus you falsely affirm, that certain of Marcion's corruptions remain in the Greek text until this day.

MARTIN, 17. *Martin.* He doth the like in sundry places, which you may see in his Annotations, Acts vii. 16; where he is saucy against all copies, Greek and Latin, to pronounce corruption, corruption, avouching and endeavouring to prove that it must be so, and that with these words, "To what purpose should the Holy Ghost, or Luke, add this?" Acts viii. 26. But because those places concern no controversy, I say no more but that he biteth at the text, and would change it according to his imagination, if he might; which is too proud an enterprise for Beza, and small reverence of the holy scriptures, so to call the very text into controversy, that whatsoever pleaseth not him, crept out of the margin into the text, which is his common and almost his only conjecture.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* Where Beza noteth corruption in places that concern no controversy, it appeareth that without partiality he desireth to restore the text to sincerity. And yet he is charged of you with pride and sauciness. Why more, I pray you, than Lindanus, of whom you learned to prattle so much of the mouse of Pontus? Which, lib. 2, *de optim. gen. interpret. scripturas*, hath divers chapters of the defect of the Greek text, of the redundance, and of the corruption thereof. If Lindanus might do this with modesty, and desire to find out the truth (as I think he did), why may not an indifferent reader judge the like of Beza in his doings? As for creeping out of the margin into the text, which you say is his common and almost only conjecture, why may it not come to pass in writing out of the books of the scripture, as it hath in other

writings of other authors? And that either by that means, or by some other means, corruption hath happened to all copies that at this day are extant, both Greek and Latin, in naming Jeremiah for Zechariah, Matthew xxvii., who is so blind that he will not see? Yet the ordinary Gloss confesseth, that there were divers copies in times past, in which the name of Jeremiah was not, but the word prophet generally. Likewise in the vulgar Latin text, in the beginning of St Mark's gospel, Isaiah is cited for that which is written in Malachi, and some Greek copies have the same, from whence it is like the Latin translation received that error: but the more part of best Greek copies leave out the name of Isaiah. How these corruptions should come into the text, except it be out of the margin, if you can find a better conjecture, we shall be content with more patience to hear you, than you can abide to hear Beza.

Martin. He biteth sore at the word ἀνατολὴ, Luke i. 78, and will not translate that, but the Hebrew word of the Old Testament; but at ὠδῖνας, Acts ii. 24, much more, and at ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, Acts vii. 14, exceedingly: but yet, after he hath said all that he could against it, he concludeth, that he durst not, and that he had a conscience, upon conjecture to change any thing. And therefore all this is gnawing only. But in the third of Luke he maketh no conscience at all, to leave out these words, verse 36, *Qui fuit Cainan*, not only in his own translation, but in the vulgar Latin which is joined therewith, saying in his Annotations, *Non dubitavimus expungere;* that is, "We doubted not to put it out: and why? "By the authority of Moses, Gen. xi.:" whereby he signifieth, that it is not in the Hebrew, Gen. xi., where this posterity of Shem is reckoned; and so, to maintain the Hebrew verity (as they call it) in the Old Testament, he careth not what become of the Greek in the New Testament, which yet at other times, against the vulgar Latin text, they call the Greek verity, and the pure fountain, and that text whereby all translations must be tried.

MARTIN, 18. עמח

No. Test. an. 1556. τοῦ Καινάν.

Beza reconcileth the Greek text of the New Testament with the Hebrew text of the Old, by putting out of the Greek text so much as pleaseth him.

Fulke. His biting (as you call it) at the word ἀνατολὴ Luke i., and ὠδῖνας, Acts ii., and ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, Acts vii., seeing they concern no controversy, might have been contained in the section next before, especially seeing you confess he saith he durst not, and that he had a conscience, upon conjecture to change anything. But in the third of Luke, verse 36, he maketh no conscience at all to leave out the words, *Qui fuit Cainan*, saying in his Annotations that he doubted not to put it out by authority of Moses, Genesis xi.; a sore charge to diminish any part of the holy scripture. But if he have

FULKE, 18.

only corrected an error of the scribe, which by all likelihood took upon him to add unto St Luke out of the Greek text of the LXX. that which is not in the Hebrew, verily, I see not what offence he hath committed. For, first, he can mean no fraud in concealing those words, whereof he doth admonish the reader, and of the cause of his leaving them out. Secondly, he winneth no advantage against his adversaries, or to his own cause, by omitting to say, that Sala was the son of Cainan, whom Moses affirmeth to be the son of Arphaxad. And seeing Moses, Genesis xi., hath no such Cainan the son of Arphaxad, it is not like that St Luke, who borrowed that part of his genealogy out of Moses, would add anything which Moses had omitted. But you say that Beza, to maintain the Hebrew verity of the Old Testament, careth not what become of the Greek in the New Testament. You should have made your antitheton more full (wherein it seemeth you pleased yourself not a little), if you had said that Beza, to maintain the Hebrew verity of the Old Testament, careth not what becometh of the Greek corruption in the New Testament; and so you should have spoken both more eloquently and more truly. But at other times (you say), against the vulgar Latin text, they call the Greek text the Greek verity, and the pure fountain, and that whereby all translations must be tried. We say indeed, that by the Greek text of the New Testament all translations of the New Testament must be tried; but we mean not by every corruption that is in any Greek copy of the New Testament, and much less that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament should be reformed after the Greek of the New, where it is uncorrupted; and least of all, where any copy is guilty of a manifest error, as in this place now in question.

MARTIN, 19. *Martin.* But if he have no other way to reconcile both Testaments, but by striking out in the Greek of the New all that agreeth not with the Hebrew of the Old Testament, then let him alter and change so many words of our Saviour himself, of the evangelists, and of the apostles, as are cited out of the Old Testament, and are not in Hebrew. Which places they know are very many, and when need is, they shall be gathered to their hands. Let him strike out (Matt. xiii. 14, 15, and Acts xxviii. 26, 27) the words of our Saviour and St Paul, cited out of Isaiah, because they are far otherwise in the Hebrew. Strike out of the Epistle to the Galatians these words, "upon a tree," because in the Hebrew it is only thus: "Cursed is he that is hanged." Deut. xxi. *in fine.* Yea, strike out of David's Psalms that which concerneth our redemption upon the

Isai. vi. 9, 10.

Gal. iii. 13. πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. תלוי

ר

cross much nearer, "They have pierced my hands and my feet," (Psalm xxi.) because in the Hebrew there is no such thing. Let them control the apostle (Eph. iv.) for saying, *dedit*, "he gave gifts," because it is both in the Hebrew and Greek, (Psalm lxvii.) *accepisti*, "thou tookest gifts," and (Heb. x.) for *corpus aptasti* let them put *aures perforasti*, because it is so in the Hebrew, (Psalm xl.) To be short, if all must be reformed according to the Hebrew, why doth he not in St Stephen's sermon cut off the number of five souls from seventy-five, because it is not in the Hebrew?

ἔλαβες. לָקַחְתָּ אוזנים כָּרִיתָ לִי

Fulke. If you had read Beza's works as diligently to learn the truth out of them, as you have pried here and there busily how to espy some fault or error in them, you should easily have found that he hath other ways to reconcile both the Testaments, and the difference that seemeth to be in the allegations, than by striking out of the Greek in the New all that agreeth not with the Hebrew of the Old Testament. And therefore vainly you bid him alter so many words as are cited in the New Testament out of the Old, which are not in the Hebrew, and strike out of Matthew xiii. 14, 15, and Acts xxviii. 26, 27, the words of our Saviour and St Paul, cited out of Isaiah, because they are otherwise in the Hebrew. Beza knoweth that Christ and his apostles always keep the sense of the Hebrew verity, although they do not always rehearse the very words. But whereas you bid him out of Gal. iii. 13, strike out these words "upon a tree," because in the Hebrew it is only thus, "Cursed is he that is hanged;" you shew either gross ignorance or intolerable frowardness, for these words "upon a tree" are in that verse, and in the next before. For thus the Hebrew text is: "22. When there shall be in any person a sin to be adjudged to death, and he shall be delivered to death, if thou shalt hang him upon a tree: 23. Let not his carcase tarry all night upon that tree, but in any case thou shalt bury him the same day, for accursed to God is he that is hanged." The word "tree" being twice named before, who would be so mad to say, that St Paul hath added it beside the Hebrew text? Likewise, where you bid us strike out of the Hebrew, Psalm xxi., that which concerneth our redemption on the cross, "They have pierced my hands and my feet," because in the Hebrew there is no such thing; you say most untruly, for there is nothing else in the Hebrew, no, not in the common readings, as Johannes Isaac, a popish Jew, will teach you, who hath confuted the

FULKE, 19.

עַל־עֵץ עַל־הָעֵץ

[Psal. xxii.]

cavils of Lindanus against the Hebrew text, of whom you borrowed this example, where, if you had not been blind with malice, you might have seen that St Jerome did read without controversy *fixerunt*, "they have pierced," as also that the most ancient copy of the Hebrew Psalms, supposed to have כארו pertained to St Augustine of Canterbury, hath *charu*, "they have pierced;" though you had been ignorant what is written concerning this word in the Masoreth, and what Isaac also writeth of that word, as it is commonly read, that it cannot signify, as you fancy, *sicut leo*, "like a lion:" and therefore the Chaldee paraphrase turneth it, "As a lion, they pierced my hands and my feet." But of this matter more hereafter, as occasion shall be given. As for the apostle, Ephes. iv. saying that Christ *gave* gifts, whereas of David it is said, he *received* gifts, speaketh nothing contrary to the Hebrew; but sheweth wherefore Christ hath received gifts, namely, to bestow upon his church:—except you will say that Christ gave of his own and received none, and so the apostle doth shew the excellency of the truth above the figure, Christ above David. Likewise, where the psalmist saith in the Hebrew, "Thou hast opened mine ears," the apostle doth rightly collect, that Christ had a body, which in his obedience was to be offered unto the Father. Last of all, you would have five souls cut from seventy-five in St Stephen's sermon, because it is not in the Hebrew; but you are deceived. For St Stephen gathereth the whole number of them that are named in the 46th chapter of Genesis, namely, the two sons of Judah that were dead, and Jacob's four wives, to shew how great his family was at the uttermost, before he went down into Egypt, and how greatly God did multiply him afterward. What is there in any of these examples like to *qui fuit Cainan*, about which you make so much ado?

MARTIN, 20. *Martin.* Must such difficulties and diversities be resolved by chopping and changing, hacking and hewing, the sacred text of holy scripture? See into what perplexities wilful heresy and arrogancy hath driven them. To discredit the vulgar Latin translation of the bible, and the Fathers' expositions according to the same, (for that is the original cause of this,) and besides that they may have always this evasion, "It is not so in the Hebrew, it is otherwise in the Greek," and so seem jolly fellows and great clerks unto the ignorant people. What do they? They admit only the Hebrew in the Old Testament, and the Greek in the New, to be the true and authentical text of the scripture. Whereupon this followeth,

that they reject, and must needs reject, the Greek of the Old Testament (called the Septuagint) as false, because it differeth from the Hebrew. Which being rejected, thereupon it followeth again, that wheresoever those places so disagreeing from the Hebrew are cited by Christ or the evangelists and apostles, there also they must be rejected, because they disagree from the Hebrew; and so yet again it followeth that the Greek text of the New Testament is not true, because it is not according to the Hebrew verity, and consequently the words of our Saviour and writings of his apostles must be reformed (to say the least), because they speak according to the Septuagint, and not according to the Hebrew.

Their perplexity in defending both the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and Greek text of the New.

Fulke. Who alloweth, or who can abide chopping and changing, or hacking and hewing, the sacred text of holy scriptures? As for the perplexities, whereunto you feign that wilful heresy and arrogance hath driven us, is of your weaving; for (God be praised!) we can well enough with good conscience and sound knowledge, that may abide the judgment of all the learned in the world, defend both the Hebrew text of the Old Testament and the Greek text of the New: not of purpose to discredit the vulgar Latin translation and the expositions of the Fathers, but to fetch the truth, upon which the hope of our salvation is grounded, out of the first fountains and springs, rather than out of any streams that are derived from them. And this we do agreeable to the ancient Fathers' judgments. For who knoweth not, what fruitful pains St Jerome took in translating the scripture out of the original tongue? Neither would he be dissuaded by St Augustine[1], who although he

FULKE, 20.

[1 Contra ignota signa propria magnum remedium est linguarum cognitio. Et Latinæ quidem linguæ homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duobus aliis ad scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræa scilicet et Græca, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, si quam dubitationem adtulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita varietas. Quamquam et Hebræa verba non interpretata sæpe inveniamus in libris, sicut *Amen*, et *Halleluia*, et *Racha*, et *Hosanna*, et si qua sunt alia; quorum partim propter sanctiorem auctoritatem, quamvis interpretari potuissent, servata est antiquitas, sicut est Amen, et Halleluia; partim vero in aliam linguam transferri non potuisse dicuntur, sicut alia duo quæ posuimus. Sunt enim quædam verba certarum linguarum, quæ in usum alterius linguæ per interpretationem transire non possint. Et hoc maxime interjectionibus accidit, quæ verba motum animi significant potius, quam sententiæ conceptæ ullam particulam; nam et hæc duo talia esse perhibentur: dicunt enim Racha indignantis esse vocem, Hosanna lætantis. Sed non propter hæc pauca, quæ notare atque interrogare facillimum est, sed propter diversitates,

ut

misliked that enterprise at the first, yet afterward he highly commended the necessity of the Greek and Hebrew tongue for Latin men, to find out the certain truth of the text in the infinite variety of the Latin interpretations; for thus he writeth, *De Doct. Christ.* lib. 2, cap. 11: *Contra ignota signa propria magnum remedium est linguarum cognitio. Et Latinæ, &c.* "Against unknown proper signs the knowledge of tongues is a great remedy. And truly men of the Latin tongue, whom we have now taken in hand to instruct, have need also of two other tongues unto the knowledge of the divine scriptures, namely, the Hebrew and the Greek, that recourse may be had unto the former copies, if the infinite variety of the Latin interpreters shall bring any doubt; although we find oftentimes in the books Hebrew words not interpreted, as *Amen, Alleluia, Racha, Osanna, &c.*," and a little after, *Sed non propter hæc pauca, &c.* "But not for these few words which to mark and inquire of it is a very easy thing, but for the diversities (as it is said) of the interpreters, the knowledge of those tongues is necessary. For they that have interpreted the scriptures out of the Hebrew tongue into the Greek tongue may be numbered, but the Latin interpreters by no means can be numbered. For in the first times of the faith, as a Greek book came into every man's hand, and he seemed to have some skill in both the tongues, he was bold to interpret it. Which thing truly hath more helped the understanding than hindered, if the readers be not negligent; for the looking upon many books hath oftentimes made manifest sundry obscure or dark sentences." This is St Augustine's sound judgment of the knowledge of tongues and diversity of interpretations, for the better understanding of the scriptures. But let us see what be the absurdities that you gather of our defending the original texts of both the tongues. First, we must needs reject the Greek of the Old Testament,

ut dictum est, interpretum, illarum linguarum est cognitio necessaria. Qui enim scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt, Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari. Quæ quidem res plus adjuvit intelligentiam, quam impedivit, si modo legentes non sint negligentes. Nam nonnullas obscuriores sententias plurium codicum sæpe manifestavit inspectio.—De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. cap. 11, 12. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 24, 25.]

called Septuagint, as false, because it differeth from the Hebrew, where it is not only different in words, but also contrary in sense. Why should we not? But if it retain the sense and substance, although it express not the same words, we need not reject it. St Jerome[1], who was required by Paula and Eustochium to expound the prophets, not only according to the truth of the Hebrew, but also after the translation of the Septuagint, whereof he divers times complaineth, upon the 1st of Nahum saith expressly, that it was against his conscience always to follow the same. *Ignoscite prolixitati, &c.* "Pardon me that I am so long, for I cannot, following both the story and the tropology or doctrine of manners, comprehend both briefly; most of all, seeing that I am so greatly tormented or troubled with the variety of the translation, and against my conscience sometimes I am compelled to frame a consequence of the vulgar edition," which was the Septuagint. This was St Jerome's opinion of the Septuagint translation. But upon rejection of that translation (say you) it followeth, that wheresoever those places, so disagreeing from the Hebrew, are cited by Christ, or the evangelists and apostles, there also they must be rejected, because they disagree from the Hebrew; and so the Greek text of the New Testament is not true, and consequently the words of our Saviour and writings of his apostles, speaking according to the Septuagint, must at least be reformed. It is an old saying, and a true, that one inconvenience being granted, many do follow; and so you may heap up an hundred after this manner. But for answer I say, that neither our Saviour, nor his apostles, citing any place out of the Old Testament, do bring anything disagreeing in sense and substance of matter (the purpose for which they allege it considered) from the truth of the Hebrew text. Therefore there is no need that the LXX. in those places should be rejected. Although our Saviour Christ, speaking in the Syrian tongue, is not to be thought ever to have cited the text of the LXX., which is in Greek. And his apostles and evangelists, using

[1 Ignoscite prolixitati: non enim possum, et historiam et tropologiam sequens, breviter utrumque comprehendere: maxime quum et interpretationis varietate torquear, et adversus conscientiam meam cogar interdum vulgatæ editionis consequentiam texere. —Comment. Hieronymi in Nahum. cap. 1. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1567.]

that text, regard the substance of the sentence, and not the form of words. For many times they cite not the very words of the Greek LXX. neither; and St Jerome, *in Catalogo script. Eccles.*, which is set as a preface to St Matthew's gospel, telleth you expressly, that in the Hebrew example of St Matthew, which he had, wheresoever the evangelist St Matthew, either in his own person, or in the person of our Lord and Saviour, useth the testimonies of the Old Testament, he followeth not the authority of the seventy translators, but the Hebrew, of which these are two places: "Out of Egypt have I called my son," and "he shall be called a Nazarite." See you not what a perilous perplexity we are in by defending both the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, when neither are contrary to the other?

MARTIN, 21. *Martin.* All which must needs follow, if this be a good consequence, "I find it not in Moses, nor in the Hebrew, therefore I struck it out," as Beza doth and saith concerning the foresaid words, *qui fuit Cainan.* This consequence therefore let us see how they will justify; and withal let them tell us, whether they will discredit the New Testament because of the Septuagint, or credit the Septuagint because of the New Testament; or how they can credit one and discredit the other, where both agree and consent together; or whether they will discredit both for credit of the Hebrew; or rather, whether there be not some other way to reconcile both Hebrew and Greek, better than Beza's impudent presumption. Which if they will not maintain, let them flatly confess that he did wickedly, and not (as they do) defend every word and deed of their masters, be it never so heinous, or salve it at the least.

FULKE, 21. *Fulke.* No whit of that doth follow by striking out *qui fuit Cainan*, because it is not found in Moses; and therefore we have nothing to do to justify your vain consequence, grounded upon an absurdity of your own devising. But we must tell you, whether we will discredit the New Testament because of the Septuagint! No, not for a thousand millions of Septuagints, nor for all the world will we credit the Septuagint against the truth of the Old Testament. But whatsoever is cited out of the LXX. in the New, is not contrary to the Hebrew in the Old; and therefore the way of reconciliation is easily found, without discrediting both, or either of both, in those places. And in this place, which is a mere corruption, borrowed out of the corruption of the Septuagint, or a Judaical addition, Genesis xi. I think there is no better way of reconciling than to strike it clean out, as Beza hath done; which generation

neither is in the Hebrew verity, nor in your own vulgar Latin translation, either Genesis xi., or 1 Par. i. Beside that it maketh a foul error in the computation of time, adding no less than two hundred and thirty years between Arphaxad and Sala, more than the Hebrew verity, or the vulgar Latin agreeing therewith, doth number. And therefore he was more presumptuous, that out of the corrupt and false text of the Septuagint added the same unto the genealogy in St Luke, than Beza, which by the authority of Moses removed the same. If you will still persist to defend the authority of the Septuagint against the Hebrew verity, which like an atheist you deride, at leastwise defend your own vulgar Latin translation of the Old Testament, and deliver yourself out of that perplexity in which you would place us between the Hebrew of the Old and the Greek of the New Testament; seeing no less doubts entangleth you between the Latin of the New, and the Latin of the Old, differing altogether alike as the Greek and the Hebrew do.

MARTIN, 22. How the fathers reconcile the said Hebrew and Greek.

Martin. Alas! how far are these men from the modesty of the ancient fathers, and from the humble spirit of obedient catholics, who seek all other means to resolve difficulties, rather than to do violence to the sacred scripture; and when they find no way, they leave it to God. St Augustine, concerning the difference of the Hebrew and the Greek, saith often to this effect, that it pleased the Holy Ghost to utter by the one that which he would not utter by the other. And St Ambrose[1] thus: "We have found many things not idly added of the seventy Greek interpreters." St Jerome[2], though an earnest patron of the He-

lib. 18. de Civit. cap. 43.

[1] Lib. de Doct. Chr. cap. 15.

Hexam. lib. 3. cap. 6.

In Proœm. lib. Paralip.

[1 Multa enim non otiose a Septuaginta viris Hebraicæ lectioni addita et adjuncta comperimus.—Hexaemeron. Lib. III. cap. 5. Opera. Vol. I. p. 42.]

[2 Legimus in apostolo: *In aliis linguis et in labiis aliis loquor populo huic, et nec sic exaudient me, dicit Dominus.* Quod mihi videtur juxta Hebraicum de præsenti sumptum capitulo: et hoc in veteri observavimus Testamento (absque paucis testimoniis, quibus Lucas solus abutitur, qui magis Græcæ linguæ habuit scientiam) ubiquumque de veteri instrumento quid dicitur, non eos juxta Septuaginta, sed juxta Hebraicum ponere, nullius sequentes interpretationem, sed sensum Hebraicum cum suo sermone vertentes. Symmachus, Theodotio, et LXX. de hoc loco (nempe Isaiæ xxviii. 9-13) diversa senserunt: et quia longum est de omnibus dicere, LXX. Interpretes, qui leguntur in ecclesiis, breviter transcurramus.—Comment. Hieronymi in Isaiæ xxviii. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 237, 238.

Neque vero Septuaginta Interpretum, ut invidi latrant, errores ar-

brew (not without cause, being at that time perhaps the Hebrew verity indeed) yet giveth many reasons for the differences of the Septuagint; and concerning the foresaid places of St Luke, he doth give a reason

Comment. in 28. Isai. and in Quæstion. Hebrai.

guimus. * * * * Nec nostrum laborem illorum reprehensionem putamus, quum illi Ptolemæo, regi Alexandriæ, mystica quæque in scripturis sanctis prodere noluerint; et maxime ea quæ Christi adventum pollicebantur; ne viderentur Judæi et alterum Deum colere: quos ille Platonis sectator magni idcirco faciebat, quia unum Deum colere dicerentur. Sed et evangelistæ, et Dominus quoque noster atque Salvator, necnon et Paulus apostolus, multa quasi de veteri Testamento proferunt, quæ in nostris codicibus non habentur: super quibus in suis locis plenius disseremus. Ex quo perspicuum est, illa magis vera esse exemplaria, quæ cum novi Testamenti auctoritate concordant.—Præfatio Hieronymi in Lib. Heb. Quæst. in Genesim. Opera, Vol. II. pp. 506, 507.

Si Septuaginta interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, mi Chromati, episcoporum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem: quod enim semel aures hominum occupaverat, et nascentis ecclesiæ roboraverat fidem, justum erat etiam nostro silentio comprobari. Nunc vero, cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata; nostri arbitrii putas, aut e pluribus judicare quid verum sit, aut novum opus in veteri opere cudere, illudentibusque Judæis cornicum, ut dicitur, oculos configere. Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani Martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat. Et certe Origenes non solum exemplaria composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens statim ceteris inter se consentientibus arguatur; sed, quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis designans quæ minus ante fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo videbantur apposita. Si igitur aliis licuit non tenere quod semel susceperant; et post Septuaginta cellulas, quæ vulgo sine auctore jactantur, singulas cellulas aperuere, hocque in ecclesiis legitur quod Septuaginta nescierunt; cur me non suscipiant Latini mei, qui inviolata editione veteri ita novam condidi, ut laborem meum Hebræis et, quod his majus est, apostolis auctoribus probem? * * * * Christus Dominus noster, utriusque Testamenti conditor, in Evangelio secundum Johannem, *Qui credit*, inquit, *in me, sicut dicit scriptura, flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ.* Utique scriptum est, quod Salvator scriptum esse testatur. Ubi scriptum est? Septuaginta non habent; apocrypha nescit ecclesia. Ad Hebræos igitur revertendum est, unde et Dominus loquitur, et discipuli exempla præsumunt.—Præfat. Hieronymi in Paralipom. Opera, Vol. I. pp. 1022, 1023.]

thereof, both for the seventy, and for the evangelist that followed them, neither doubting of the truth thereof, nor controlling them "by the authority of Moses" (as Beza speaketh), that is, by the Hebrew. Others say concerning Cainan, that Moses might leave him out in the genealogy of Shem by the instinct of the same Spirit, that St Matthew left out three kings in the genealogy of our Saviour. Where if a man would control the evangelist by the Hebrew of the Old Testament that is read in the books of the Kings, he should be as wise and as honest a man as Beza. Lastly, venerable Bede thinketh it sufficient in this very difficulty of Cainan to marvel at it reverently, rather than to search it dangerously. And thus far of picking quarrels to the original text, and their good will to alter and change it as they list, if they might be suffered.

Matt. i.

Præf. in Act. Apost.

Fulke. Here of pity you will shew unto us a piece of learning, how the fathers reconcile the said Hebrew and Greek without violence to the text, as they do always, or else leave the matter to God.

FULKE, 22.

First, St Augustine, *De Civitate*, lib. 18, cap. 43. *De Doct. Chr.* lib. 2, cap. 15, of their agreement, notwithstanding they were separated into several cells, gathereth, that those Septuagints were inspired with the same prophetical spirit of interpreting, that the prophets were in foreshewing. But this doth St Jerome utterly deny, and derideth the ground of this imagination, those seventy-two cells at Alexandria, as a fable and a lie. That St Ambrose saith, "we have found that many things are not idly added of the seventy Greek interpreters;" we confess as much, where their addition serveth for explication of that which is contained in the Hebrew: and so meaneth Ambrose; not that they had authority to add any thing, which Moses had omitted. And we acknowledge with St Jerome, that there may be many reasons given for the difference of the one from the other. But concerning this place of St Luke now in question, you say he giveth a reason thereof, both for the LXX. and for the evangelist that followed them, neither doubting of the truth thereof, nor controlling them by the authority of Moses. And for this you quote *Comment. in* 28 *Esa.* and *in Question. Hebrai.* in neither of which places is any mention of this place, much less any reason given to reconcile it or the Septuagint with the Hebrew. It seemeth, you read not the books yourself, but trusted too much some man's collection, which you understood not. In the preface to the Hebrew Questions Jerome ex-

Præfat. in Pentateuch.

Hexam. lib. 3. cap. 6.

cuseth himself against envious persons, that barked against him as though he did nothing but reprove the errors of the LXX., saying, "That he thinketh not his labour to be a reprehension of them, seeing they would not express unto Ptolemæus, king of Alexandria, certain mystical things in the scriptures, and especially those things which promised the coming of Christ, lest the Jews might have been thought to worship another God, whom that follower of Plato therefore did greatly esteem, because they were said to worship but one God. But the evangelists also, and our Lord and Saviour, and St Paul the apostle, bring forth many things, as it were out of the Old Testament, which are not had in our books, of which in their due places we will more fully discuss. Whereof it is clear, that those are the more true examples, which agree with the authority of the New Testament." Thus much Jerome in that place; but neither in his questions upon Genesis, nor 1 Paralip. the proper places for this text, is there any mention of this place of Luke, *qui fuit Cainan.* In the place cited by you upon the 28th of Isaiah, he saith, *Legimus in apostolo, &c.* "We read in the apostle, 'In other tongues and lips will I speak to this people, and neither so shall they hear me, saith the Lord:' which seemeth to me to be taken out of this present chapter, according to the Hebrew. And this we have observed in the Old Testament, except a few testimonies which only Luke useth otherwise, which had knowledge of the Greek tongue rather wheresoever any thing is said out of the Old Testament, that they set it not according to the LXX., but according to the Hebrew, following the translation of no man, but turning the sense of the Hebrew into their own speech." You see that Jerome saith nothing particularly; and that which he saith generally, concerneth this place nothing at all. And very like it is, that this corruption was not crept into St Luke's text in his time, especially seeing neither St Ambrose in his Commentary upon St Luke once toucheth this controversy, as he doth all other questions about that genealogy. Where you say, St Jerome was "a great patron of the Hebrew, not without cause, being at that time perhaps the Hebrew verity indeed;" it is without perhaps, or peradventure, that not one iota or prick of the law of God can perish, by the testimony of our Saviour Christ, Matthew v. And if you

will believe Arias Montanus[1], an excellent learned papist, he will tell you as much, out of the same text doubtless, in his preface unto the great bible by him set out, with diligent observation of all the accents and Hebrew points, which Christ (saith he) will never suffer to perish. And if the Hebrew verity were in Jerome's time (as doubtless it was), whether he had a perfect copy thereof or no, the same Arias Montanus testifieth, if you dare credit him, being one of your sect for opinion, though in sincerity of mind and love of the truth, which I pray to God to reveal unto him, I think him far better than a number of you; he (I say) affirmeth in the same preface, against the objection that is made of the Jews' corruption of the Hebrew books: *Etenim apud nonnull.* "For we read in some authors that, through the fraud and impulsion of the spirit of error, some of the nation of the Jews in times past were brought to that point of insolence or madness, that in the beginning of the christian church they changed some words, which might altogether break off that their contention of impugning the christian verity. But those places so defiled by them were very few; and in the books of our writers, and also in the copies both printed and written of the Jews themselves, are all for the most part noted and shewed out. For although either by the fraud of those men, or by the ignorance of the book-writers, or by injury of the times, some change hath been made in the Hebrew books which we use; yet is there not one word, nor one letter, nor point, that is mentioned to have been of old time, which is not found to have been safely kept in that most rich treasury, which they call the Mazzoreth. For in that, as in an holy and faithful custody, appointed with uttermost diligence and great study, the remnants, monuments, tokens, steps, and examples of the ancient reading are all contained, and the way how to compare the old and new reading is shewed; of which truly, being compared together, a very certain way

[1 Nam præter excellentem formarum, chartæ, et characterum præstantiam, integras etiam Chaldaicas in veteri Testamento paraphrases, et Syriacæ in novo lectionis libros, eosdemque diligenti studio et censura examinatos, et commoda Latinarum interpretationum copia instructos, opus hoc Complutensibus Bibliis addit; et quod ad lectionis et sententiarum distinctionem explicationemque plurimum confert, accentus omnes, Hebraicosque apices, (quos nunquam perire Christus patietur,) diligentissime observatos adjungit.—Præfatio, fol. 26.]

is extant, to the prescript rule whereof the holy mysteries may be shewed forth, examples whereof sometime in this work, in due place, and elsewhere also, with God's help, we will set forth." Thus far Arias Montanus, whose judgment if you say you are not bound to follow, yet I suppose you can yield no sufficient reason, why you should not credit his testimony concerning the certainty of the Hebrew verity, remaining to this day, and which shall remain to the world's end, although all the smatterers among you would burst for spite against it. Concerning the opinion of them which think, that Moses might leave out Cainan in the Genealogy of Shem by the same Spirit that Matthew left out three kings in the genealogy of our Saviour, I answer, If it be lawful so to imagine, we may without study answer all controversies; although the same reason is not of Moses, compiling a certain account of the time from the flood to the calling of Abraham, and of Matthew, shewing by the legal descent, which every man might take out of the books of Kings and Chronicles, that Christ was the son of David, and therefore he was not bound to the number of successors, seeing for memory it was his purpose to recite but thrice fourteen generations.

That Bede marvelleth at the doubt which he could not dissolve, his modesty is to be commended rather than his knowledge. Nevertheless the same Bede[1], in his preface unto his Retractation upon the Acts of the Apostles, speaking of such difference as he found in the Greek text of the Acts from the Latin, he saith: *Quæ utrum negligentia interpretis omissa, &c.* "Which things, whether they were omitted through negligence of the interpreter, or otherwise uttered, or for lack of regard of the writers depraved, or otherwise left, as yet we could not know. For I dare not so much as suspect that the Greek copy was falsified: wherefore I admonish the reader, that wheresoever we have done these things, he read them for his learning; yet that he interlace them not in his

[1] Quæ utrum negligentia interpretis omissa, vel aliter dicta, an incuria librariorum sint depravata, sive relicta, nondum scire potuimus. Namque Græcum exemplar fuisse falsatum, suspicari non audeo: unde lectorem admoneo, ut hæc ubicunque fecerimus, gratia eruditionis legat, non in suo tamen volumine velut emendatos interserat, nisi forte ea in Latino codice suæ editionis antiquitus sic interpretata repererit.—Præfatio ad Retractationem in Acta Apostolorum. Bedæ Opera, Vol. VI. p. 1. edit. Coloniæ Agrippinæ. 1612.]

book, as places corrected, except perhaps he shall find the same in some Latin book of a peculiar edition, to have been of old so interpreted." This place sheweth that in Bede's time there were more Latin translations than one, and that the vulgar Latin was not of such authority, but that it might be corrected by the Greek, with the consent of other ancient Latin translations. Likewise upon the text in question, lib. 1, *in Luc.* cap. 3[2], he confesseth that the name and generation of Cainan, according to the Hebrew verity, is found neither in Genesis nor in the Chronicles; saying that St Luke took this generation from the edition of the Septuagint. But whether is the truer, or whether both can be true, he leaveth it to the knowledge of God; noting that whereas, according to the Hebrew verity, from the flood to the birth of Abraham there were but 292 years, the LXX. make 1077, so that the difference is no less than of 785 years.

But to favour this fact of Beza, in putting out the name of Cainan, there is an ancient copy of the Gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin, of as great antiquity by all likelihood as any copy this day extant in Christendom, sent unto the university of Cambridge this last year by Beza himself, there to be kept in the common library, in which copy this generation of Cainan, both in the Greek and in the Latin, is clean left out, even as Beza hath done in his translation. So that he hath not only the authority of Moses, which of itself is sufficient, but also the testimony of this most ancient book, both for the Greek and for the Latin, to approve his fact in putting out *qui fuit Cainan.* What your vulgar

[2 Nomen et generatio Cainan, juxta Hebraicam veritatem, neque in Genesi neque in verbis Dierum invenitur; sed Arphaxat Sala vel Sale filium, nullo interposito, genuisse perhibetur. Sic enim habes: *Porro Arphaxat vixit triginta annos et genuit Sale.* Itemque in Paralipomenon, *Arphaxat autem genuit Sala, qui et ipse genuit Heber.* Scito ergo beatum Lucam hanc generationem de Septuaginta interpretum editione sumpsisse, ubi scriptum est, quod Arphaxat centum triginta quinque annorum genuerit Cainan, et ipse Cainan, cum 130 fuerit annorum, genuerit Sala. Sed quid horum sit verius, aut si utrumque verum esse possit, Deus noverit. Nos simpliciter admonemus lectorem, tantam inter utrosque codices in serie temporum esse discrepantiam, ut a diluvio usque ad nativitatem Abrahæ in Hebraica veritate anni CCXCII, in Septuaginta interpretum translatione M. septuaginta septem reperiantur esse comprehensi.—Beda in Lucæ Evangelium, cap. iii. Opera, Vol. v. pp. 256-7.]

Latin translation hath left out in the latter end of the Lord's prayer in St Matthew, and in the beginning and midst in St Luke, whereby that heavenly prayer is made imperfect, not comprehending all things that a christian man ought to pray for, beside many other like omissions, whether of purpose, or of negligence, and injury of time, yet still by you defended, I spare to speak of in this place.

MARTIN, 23.

The 5th abuse of Scriptures, *Corrupt Translation*, which is the argument and purpose of this book.

• *Martin.* Which also may be proved by all their false translations (being the principal point I mean to speak of) most evidently. For as now they translate falsely to their purpose, because they cannot alter the text; so would they, if it were possible, have the text agreeable to their translation. For example, he that translateth "ordinances," when it is in the original Greek text "justifications" and "traditions," he would rather that it were "ordinances" also in the Greek: but because he cannot bring that about, he doth at the least what he can, to make the ignorant believe it is so, by so translating it.

FULKE, 23.

Fulke. You shall never be able to prove by any translation of ours (though perhaps in some we may err), that we have any purpose either to falsify the truth, or to change the text, though it were possible for us. In translating we have dealt with a good conscience, albeit not always peradventure we have attained to the full truth, which in translating out of one tongue into another is a very hard point throughly to observe. Your example of "ordinances" translated for that which in the Greek is "justifications" and "traditions," when you shew where and by whom it is so translated, you shall receive an answer. In the meantime I say, a translator that hath regard to interpret for the ignorant people's instruction, may sometimes depart from the etymology or common signification or precise turning of word for word, and that for divers causes. You yourselves translate not *ecclesia* always "the church," but sometimes the assembly; nor *seniores*, "elders," but seniors, or ancients. Neither would you translate *presbyter* always "a priest," if you translated the Old Testament. In the story of Susannah you would not call them priests, that laid wait for her honesty and life; yet in your vulgar Latin they are called priests. So are they called πρεσβύτεροι in Greek in the New Testament, which you turn sometimes priests, sometimes ancients, and sometimes seniors.

MARTIN, 24.

Martin. And this of all other is the most fine and subtle treachery

against the scriptures, to deceive the ignorant readers withal, (which St Paul calleth "the secret things of dishonesty and adulterating of the word of God," as it were mingling water with wine, like false vintners,) when they give them for God's word, and under the name of God's word, their own words, and not God's, forged and framed, altered and changed, according to differences of times, and variety of new opinions, and diversity of humours and spirits, diversely and differently, one heretic not only correcting his fellow every day, but one eagerly refuting and refelling another: Bucer and the Osiandrians and Sacramentaries against Luther for false translations; Luther against Munster, Beza against Castalio, Castalio against Beza, Calvin against Servetus, Illyricus both against Calvin and Beza. The puritans control the grosser Calvinists of our country; yea, the later translations of the selfsame heretics control the former exceedingly, not only of oversights but of wilful falsifications; as is notorious in the later editions of Luther and Beza, and in our English bibles set forth in divers years, from Tindal their first translator until this day: yea (which is more) the English translators of Beza's New Testament control him and his translation, which they protest to follow, being afraid sometimes and ashamed to express in English his false translations in the Latin.

2 Cor. iv.

The heretics' dissension about their translations. Dial. cont. Melan. Lind. dubit. p. 84. 96. 98. See Zuing. resp. 1. and Confess. Tigurinorum. Ibid. p. 83 97. The New Testament of the year 1580.

Luke iii. 36.

Fulke. By false translations wilfully and of purpose to falsify the truth of God's word is as gross and as abominable treachery, as to corrupt the very text; although I think St Paul, speaking of the covertures, or cloaks of dishonesty, and adulterating of the word of God, 2 Cor. iv. meaneth a further cunning than false translations. That those whom you call heretics find fault with one another's translations, they do none otherwise than you popish heretics. Do not you, Gregory Martin, in the 7th chapter and 33rd section of this book, find fault with all the catholics, as you term them, that translate *sheol, sepulchrum,* "a sepulchre," and not always "hell"? If Bucer or Zuinglius do justly observe any error in Luther, or Luther in Munster, or Beza in Castalio, the anabaptist, or Calvin in Servetus, the horrible heretic, yea, and if froward and schismatical Illyricus can discover any error committed by Calvin and Beza, the truth loseth nothing, when the errors of men are found out, by what means soever. That you speak of the puritans controlling the grosser Calvinists of our country, I know not what you mean, neither do I think you can justify your words, for translation of the scriptures. Where you say, the later translations of the selfsame heretics control the former exceedingly, not only of oversights, but of wilful falsifications, it

FULKE, 24.

is a wilful and impudent slander; yet you blush not to say, it is notorious. How, I pray you? You answer, In the later editions of Luther and Beza, and in our English bibles set forth in divers years, from Tyndal, their first translator. That Luther, Beza, and the later translators of the English bibles, have corrected some small faults that have escaped in their former editions, it may be granted. But do Luther and Beza therefore accuse themselves, or the later English translators the former, of wilful falsifications? I think those brute beasts, to whom Ambrose[1] ascribeth the art of making syllogisms (if they could speak), would not conclude thus brutishly. Certain it is that Balaam's ass did reason substantially. But much more, you say, the English translators of Beza's New Testament do control him and his translation, being sometimes afraid and ashamed to express his false translations. If it be so, they are more modest than you, which seem to be afraid or ashamed of nothing so much, as lest you might seem to fail in unshamefacedness. But to the purpose. If they think Beza (as all men may err) hath somewhat trodden awry, is it a fault to avoid his step, or a proud controlling or accusing him of falsification? Nevertheless, whereinsoever Luther, Beza, or the English translators, have reformed any of their former oversights, the matter is not so great, that it can make an heresy. Yea, if you were of St Augustine's judgment, you would acknowledge that the multitude and diversity of translations is for the benefit of them that be ignorant in the tongues, yea, and of them also that be learned in them oftentimes, that of divers men's translations they may judge which is the aptest.

Hexam. lib. 6. cap. 4.

De Doct. Christ. lib. 2. cap. 11.

MARTIN, 25.

Martin. But in this catalogue of dissensions, falsifiers, and disagreeing translators, I will not greatly rip up old faults, neither abroad nor at home. I leave Luther's false translations into the German tongue to the credit of Staphylus, *Apolog.*, Part. II., and Emserus, *præf. Annot. in no. Test. Luth.*, and other German writers of his own

Acts i. 14, ii. 23, iii. 21. The German, French, and English corruptions of

[1] Ursa insidians licet, ut scriptura ait, (est enim plena fraudis fera,) tamen fertur informes utero partus edere, sed natos lingua fingere, atque in speciem sui similitudinemque formare. Non miraris in fera tam pii oris officia, cujus naturam pietas exprimit? Ursa igitur partus suos ad sui effingit similitudinem: tu filios tuos instituere similes tui non potes?—Hexaemeron. Lib. VI. cap. 4. p. 18. Ambrosii Opera, Vol. I. p. 119.]

time, that saw them and read them, and reckoned the number of them, in the New Testament only about 1400 heretical corruptions. I leave Calvin's and Beza's French corruptions to so many worthy men as have noted them in their French books against the said heretics: Tindal's and his companions' corruptions in their first English bible, to our learned countrymen of that age, and namely to the right reverend father and confessor bishop Tonstal, who in a sermon openly protested that he had found in the New Testament only no less than two thousand.* If we know it not, or will not believe it, strangers in their Latin writings testify it to the world.

the New Testament. See Lind. Dubit. p. 84, 85, &c. Vigor and the rest.

Lind. Dub. p. 98.

Fulke. We are much beholding to you, that you will not rip up old faults abroad, nor at home; and leave Luther's Dutch translation with a 1400 heretical corruptions in the New Testament only, with Calvin's and Beza's French corruptions noted by Vigor, and the rest: also Tyndal's and his companions' corruptions in their first English bible, in whose translation of the New Testament bishop Tonstal professed openly in a sermon, that he found no less than two thousand corruptions. This you know he protested with the same tongue with which he forsware the pope, and sware to the king's supremacy, and with which he preached a solemn sermon, which is in print, before the king, against the pope's usurped tyranny, pride, false doctrine, covetousness, cruelty, treason, perverting of scriptures, as in the same sermon more at large it appeareth; and therefore we need not Lindanus's writing to testify of his credit. But thanks be to God, that when you have scraped all that unto you seemed to have any shew of corruption, you cannot find two hundred faults in the translation of the whole bible, nor in three several translations of the same; which points you are fain to dilate with such vain tautologies and repetitions, that all learned men are ashamed of your tedious writing: and yet, to make your book to be of some tolerable length, you had no better shift than to note a sort of Beza's corruptions in his Latin Testament; who, if you would write against him in Latin any thing worth the noting, would thank you for your pains, and reform his errors; but if you brought nothing but cavils, would so shake you up, as you should have small joy of your insolent invective: but you provided well for that, by writing against a Frenchman in English. And as for the number of errors or corruptions that you would have the ignorant believe to be in our English translations, you think

FULKE, 25.

is so great, as must needs make the simple abhor it. But look homeward a little into your authentical vulgar Latin translation, how many faults be in that, which your Tridentine council hath authorised. And here I will not charge it with the adversaries thereof, as you do ours, but with great friends of it and your doctrine; Lindanus, bishop of Ruremond, and Isidorus Clarius[1], monk of Casine, and bishop Fulginatensis: of which the former writeth a whole book, discussing how he would have the errors, vices, corruptions, additions, detractions, mutations, uncertainties, obscurities, pollutions, barbarisms, and solecisms of the vulgar Latin translation corrected and reformed; bringing many examples of every kind, in several chapters and sections: the other, Isidorus Clarius, giving a reason of his purpose, in castigation of the said vulgar Latin translation, confesseth that it was full of errors almost innumerable; which if he should have reformed all according to the Hebrew verity, he could not have set forth the vulgar edition, as his purpose was. Therefore in many places he retaineth the accustomed translation, but in his annotations admonisheth the reader, how it is in the Hebrew. And, notwithstanding this moderation, he acknowledgeth that about eight thousand places are by him so noted and corrected[2]. This epistle the deputies

De Opt. Gen. interp. lib. 3.

In his epistle to the reader printed at Venice apud Juntas. 1557.

[1 Isidore Clarius, or de Clario, bishop of Foligno, born in 1495, in his youth a Benedictine of the monastery of Mount-Cassin. He distinguished himself greatly by his eloquence and talent on several occasions, principally at the council of Trent, in the disputes upon the authority of the text and versions of scripture. After having discussed the different translations, he decides that none of them are equivalent to the text of the original, though the version of Jerome, having been used for a thousand years in the church, was entitled to preference over the rest. In consequence of his stating in his Preface to an edition of the Vulgate (1542) that he had corrected eight thousand passages in it, his work was put among the prohibited, but subsequently allowed to be sold, with the suppression of the preface and prolegomena.

The work to which Fulke here makes allusion is, *Vulgata editio Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quorum alterum ad Hebraicam, alterum ad Græcam veritatem emendatum est quam diligentissime, ut nova editio non facile desideretur, et vetus tamen hic agnoscatur.* Venetiis. 1542, 1557, and 1564, fol.]

[2 Nam in his horum omnium studiis atque laboribus editio illa, qua totus Christianus orbis utitur, ac semper, ut facile conjecto, usurus est, nondum squalorem suum deposuerat, nec ei quisquam errores, quibus innumeris pene scatebat, adimere adhuc curaverat. * * * * Verum etsi ea,

of the council of Trent could not abide; and therefore in the later edition of this bible, set forth with observation of their censure, 1569, it is clean left out; as also a goodly collection of the same Isidorus, of places of scripture, exhorting to the study of holy scripture, and a like sound confession of those things which the scriptures teach, &c.

Martin. But I omit these, as unknown to our country or to this age, and will deal principally with the English translations of our time, which are in every man's hands within our country; the corruptions whereof, as they are partly touched here and there in the Annotations upon the late new English Testament catholicly translated and printed at Rheims, so by occasion thereof I will by God's help, to the better commodity of the reader and evidence of the thing, lay them closer together, and more largely display them, not counting the number, because it were hard, but esteeming the weight and importance of so many as I thought good to note, specially in the New Testament. Where I have to advertise the reader of certain special things, which he must observe. MARTIN, 26. The author's intent in this book.

Fulke. You should rather omit them as untrue; for albeit it cannot be denied but some faults may escape the most faithful and diligent translator, yet so many heretical corruptions, either in the Dutch or English, are incredible, and turn rather to the discredit of the accuser, in all wise men's judgment, than to the parties so charged; in like manner as Surius[3] noteth no less than eleven thousand lies in Sleidan, FULKE, 26.

quam diximus, usi fuerimus moderatione, loca tamen ad octo millia annotata atque emendata a nobis sunt.—Isid. Clarii Præfat. In Vulg. Edit. 1542.]

[3 The following passage will enable the reader to estimate the value of the opinion of Surius:

Pestis hoc anno multis locis plurimos extinxit, præsertim Argentinæ et in locis Rhenanis, et inter alios etiam Johannem Sleidanum, qui suis commentariis magnam orbi Christiano pestem invexit. Decreverant contra illum scribere viri duo longe clarissimi, Coloniæ Agrippinæ preclara lumina, Johannes Grofferus designatus Cardinalis, et Eberhardus Billicus Carmelitanus Provincialis, si et Sleidano et ipsis vita prolixior contigisset. Nemo me putet hominis illius odio sæpius illum perstringere. Mihi ille nec de facie unquam notus fuit. Mendacia et errores tetros illius detestor. Multi, immo plurimi, norunt Julium Pflugium Numbergensem Episcopum, quo ob multam ætatem nemo fere melius noverat res imperii. Is Sleidani Commentarios volebat sibi a quodam mihi notissimo, qui tum in ejus aula versabatur, legi. Porro vero inter legendum cum advertere res ipsi notas mala fide a Sleidano narrari, sæpius exclamabat, Ibi nebulo ille scelerate

(more to his own reproach, than to the defacing of Sleidan's credit,) you profess wisely, therefore, not to count the number, but to esteem the weight and importance of such faults as you thought good to note, if there were as great faithfulness in your performance, as there is wisdom in your profession. But now to your nine advertisements to the reader.

MARTIN, 27. Certain advertisements to the reader.

Martin. First, that in this book he may not look for the proof or explication and deciding of controversies, which is done in the Annotations upon the New Testament, but only the refuting or controlling of their false translations concerning the said controversies, which is the peculiar argument of this treatise.

FULKE, 27.

Fulke. I think there is no wise reader would look for the deciding of so many controversies in so small a book; and he that shall seek them in your Annotations, shall find even as little to the purpose, except he will take your determination without proof for a sufficient decision. As for the doctors you quote without judgment, fraudulently, falsely, truncately, and otherwise abusively, [they] have all, or the most, been answered long ago; and if need shall be, with little labour may be answered again.

MARTIN, 28.

Martin. Secondly, that we refute sometime one of their translations, sometime another, and every one as their falsehood giveth occasion. Neither is it a good defence for the falsehood of one, that it is truly translated in another; the reader being deceived by any one, because commonly he readeth but one. Yea, one of them is a condemnation of the other.

FULKE, 28.

Fulke. That sheweth your malice rather than either wisdom or honesty; for if we ourselves in our later translations have corrected some small and few errors, that have overslipped us in our former translations, we have shewed our sincerity and care of setting out the truth by all means. And where you say it is no good defence, the reader being

mentitur. Quin et Carolus V. integerrimus et potentissimus imperator, cum ipsi quoque legerentur Commentarii Sleidani, itidem subinde exclamabat, Nebulo ille mentitur, nebulo ille mentitur. Et sane datum erat ab eodem imperatore negotium cuidam, ut comitiorum acta, ob Sleidani mendacia confutanda, sincere excuderentur; sed nescio quo casu res illa impedita fuit, et omnia in Hispanas transferri jussa feruntur. Certe hæretico homini nunquam tuto credi potest.—Surii Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum, pp. 370, 371. Coloniæ. 1574.]

deceived by any one, because commonly he readeth but one; I answer you first, there is not in the worst translation any fault escaped, that may of itself lead him into a damnable error. Secondly, he hath the word of God expounded by catechising, sermons, and lectures, in which he may learn the substance of christian religion. Thirdly, he hath at hand every where learned divines, unto whose counsel he may resort, if he be offended with anything that he readeth in his bible, sounding contrary to the publicly received doctrine of the church. In that you say the one of our translations condemneth the other, it had been sufficient to have said, reproveth: which is only where there is a manifest error in the one; for otherwise, the diversities of translations, (as St Augustine teacheth you,) may much profit the simple readers; and they that be diligent students of the scriptures in the English tongue will not satisfy themselves with every translation, but will seek for the best approved.

Martin. Thirdly, that we speak indifferently against Protestants, Calvinists, Bezites, and Puritans, without any curious distinction of them, being all among themselves brethren and pew-fellows, and sometime the one sort of them, sometime the other, more or less corrupting the holy scriptures. MARTIN, 29.

Fulke. A wise advertisement. But this is to be noted, that now you acknowledge them to be all brethren among themselves, and pew-fellows; but when you list, they shall be at deadly feud one against another, and no community or fellowship between them. FULKE, 29.

Martin. Fourthly, that we give but a taste of their corruptions, not seeing so far, nor marking all so narrowly and skilfully, as themselves know their own subtleties and meanings, who will smile at the places which we have not espied. MARTIN, 30.

Fulke. He that considereth your quarrels picked to words of one signification, as "church" and "congregation," "justice" and "righteousness," "elder" and "priest," "image" and "idol," "works" and "deeds," and such like, will not think that you have passed over any great matters worth the writing of; but that you would set a vain brag of the case, as though there were much worse matter than you have wit to conceive. Yet you say confidently that we, as guilty of our own subtleties and meanings, will smile at the places which you have not FULKE, 30.

espied. You are like to those soothsayers mentioned in Tully, of whom one said that he marvelled if, when they met together, one of them did not smile upon another, because they deluded the city, and got themselves much honour with such vain superstitions. So you, being newly become subtle and partial translators, think other men to be like yourselves. But even as the head of your church[1] once jested with his cardinal, how great wealth and honour that fable of Christ (so the beast called the christian religion) had brought them; even so you, his lewd limbs, make sport among yourselves of the holy word of God, which you have corrupted somewhat with your blind translations, but much more with your heretical annotations. So said your great friend, Campion, in open audience, that he could make as good sport upon the incarnation of Christ. According to your own affection, therefore, you judge of us, and not according to the truth, as the day will try, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest.

MARTIN, 31. *Martin.* Fifthly, that the very use and affectation of certain terms, and avoiding other some, though it be no demonstration against them, but that they may seem to defend it for true translation, yet was it necessary to be noted, because it is and hath been always a token of heretical meaning.

FULKE, 31. *Fulke.* When our translation is true, I doubt not but we shall defend the use of some terms, and the avoiding of other some, by as good reason as you shall defend the like in your translations; especially where you affect new terms unused, or not understood, and avoid common and usual terms of the same signification, as evangelizing for preaching the gospel; advent of Christ for the coming of Christ; scandalizing for offending; scandal for offence, &c. Which if it be, as you say, always a token of heretical meaning, first pluck yourself by the nose, and then see if we cannot defend our doings.

MARTIN, 32. *Martin.* Sixthly, that in explicating these things we have endeavoured to avoid, as much as was possible, the tediousness of Greek and Hebrew words, which are only for the learned in these tongues, and which made some little doubt whether this matter (which of necessity must be examined by them) were to be written in English or no. But being persuaded by those (who themselves have no skill in the said tongues) that every reader might reap commodity thereby, to the understanding and detesting of such false and heretical translations, it

[1] This is told of Leo X.

was thought good to make it vulgar and common to all our dear countrymen, as the New Testament itself is common, whereof this discovery is as it were a handmaid, attending thereupon for the larger explication and proof of corruptions there briefly touched, and for supply of other some not there mentioned.

Fulke. He that seeth your margin painted with Greek and Hebrew words in so many places, may guess whether it were possible for you to have avoided the tediousness of them, when in divers places the Greek and Hebrew words are set without all need of them, and sometimes where there is no controversy about them, as in the fifth section of this preface, where you shew the corruptions of the Arians and Pelagians; and in the nineteenth section, where you would shew the difference of the New Testament from the Old in citing of testimonies. But the Hebrew word in the Psalm xxi. or xxii., which you falsely say signifieth no such thing as "piercing," you set not down, lest your falsehood, by them that have skill, might be convinced. And if you had cared as much to find out the truth, as to shew your skill in both the tongues, you would have written in Latin, especially against Beza, which never wrote in English. And vain it is, that you pretend to make the matter common to your dear countrymen, that be unlearned; for the judgment must rest in them that have knowledge in the tongues, albeit you had written in Latin. It is all one, therefore, to the unlearned, as if you had only said, there are many faults or corruptions, which in a Latin book shall be discovered to the judgment of the learned, seeing the ignorant cannot understand your demonstrations. FULKE, 32.

Martin. Seventhly, that all the English corruptions here noted and refuted are either in all or some of their English Bibles printed in these years, 1562[2], 1577[3], 1579[3]. And if the corruption be in one bible, not in another, commonly the said bible or bibles are noted in the margin: if not, yet sure it is that it is in one of them, and so the reader shall find it, if he find it not always in his own bible. And in this case the reader must be very wise and circumspect, that he think not by and by we charge them falsely, because they can shew him some later edition that hath it not so as we say. For it is their common and MARTIN, 33.

[2 The great bible, or that of Coverdale's translation, first printed in 1535, and reprinted by Cranmer's direction 1539. The edition of 1562, revised by Parker, will be quoted in the present volume for the Old, and that of 1539 for the New Testament, as the case may require.]

[3 The Genevan and Bishops' bible were each printed in this year.]

known fashion, not only in their translations of the bible, but in their other books and writings, to alter and change, add and put out, in their later editions, according as either themselves are ashamed of the former, or their scholars, that print them again, dissent and disagree from their masters. So hath Luther, Calvin, and Beza's writings and translations been changed both by themselves and their scholars in many places; so that catholic men when they confute that which they find evident faults in this or that edition, fear nothing more than that the reader hath some other edition, where they are corrected for very shame, and so may conceive that there is no such thing, but that they are accused wrongfully. For example: call to mind the late pretended conference in the tower, where that matter was denied and faced out for Luther's credit, by some one book or edition of his, which themselves and all the world knoweth, was most truly laid to his charge.

Touching St James' Epistle.

FULKE, 33. *Fulke.* First, this is untrue; for some you have noted in the New Testament printed 1580. Secondly, it is uncertain; for two of these translations might be printed in one year, and so I think they were. Therefore I know not well which you mean; but I guess that the bible 1562 is that which was of Doctor Coverdale's translation, most used in the church service in king Edward's time. The bible 1577, I take to be that which, being revised by divers bishops, was first printed in the large volume, and authorised for the churches, about ten or twelve years ago[1]. That of 1579[2], I know not what translation it be, except it be the same that was first printed at Geneva in the beginning of the queen's majesty's reign. And this conjecture, as the fittest I can make, I must follow, seeing your note of distinction is as good as that fellow's, that would know his master's horse by the bridle.

But it is a common and known fashion, you say, used of us, that not only in translations, but in other books and writings of ours, we alter and change, add and put to, in our later editions. And who useth not so to do, if by later cogitations, that often are wiser, he find anything meet to be changed? Do not you papists use the same? Is Bristow's chapter of obedience, in his *Motives*, nothing altered from the high treason contained in the first edition? Is nothing added, taken away, or changed in your Jesus' Psalter, in any of your editions? Or are you yourselves ashamed of the former? Or have your

[1 Commonly called the Bishops' bible.]

[2 It is the Genevan bible printed at Edinburgh in this year, that Martin quotes.]

scholars presumed to alter their masters' writings? If you have an evasion in these cases, I trust we are not so pent in, but we may change our own writings without shame of the former; or corruption in the latter. As for the example of St James' epistle, denied (as you say) and faced out for Luther's credit, [it] will serve you for no proof. For so far off is it, that we or the world do know, that it was most truly laid to his charge, that now we know of a certainty, that it was a very slander, as false as it was common; seeing Luther's words of that epistle are not absolute, but in comparison, as is confessed by you, and found by some of us to be none otherwise in deed, who have not stood upon one only book or edition, but upon as many as they could come by, both in the Latin and in the Dutch tongue.

Martin. Eightlily, in citing Beza, I mean always (unless I note otherwise) his Latin translation of the New Testament, with his annotations adjoined thereunto, printed in the year 1556. MARTIN, 34.

Fulke. You were afraid, lest they that understood not Latin, for whose sake you wrote in English this treatise, might take hurt by Beza's translations and annotations in Latin. And if he himself have espied and corrected any thing of his first edition, that was either faulty or offensive, in his two later editions; with great equity, as though you were the only man that had discovered his errors, you must let all the unlearned in England know, what shameful corruptions you have observed in Beza's translation or annotations. FULKE, 34.

In his later edition 1565. he hath *Qui fuit Cainan*, both in the Greek and in the vulgar Latin.

Martin. Lastly and principally is to be noted, that we will not charge them with falsifying that which indeed is the true and authentical scripture, I mean the vulgar Latin bible, which so many years hath been of so great authority in the church of God, and with all the ancient fathers of the Latin church, as is declared in the preface of the New Testament: though it is much to be noted, that as Luther, only in favour of his heresies, did wilfully forsake it, so the rest followed, and do follow him at this day, for no other cause in the world, but that it is against them. And therefore they inveigh against it, and against the holy Council of Trent, for confirming the authority thereof, both in their special treatises thereof, and in all their writings where they can take any occasion. MARTIN, 35.

We charge them not with forsaking the old approved Latin text, though it be an ill sign, and to their evident confusion.

Kemnitius. Calvin.

Fulke. In the margin, "You will not charge us with forsaking the old approved Latin text, though it be an ill sign FULKE, 35.

and to our evident confusion." St Augustine[1], although a mere Latin man, whom you yourself do after confess to have understood but one tongue well, and that was even his mother tongue, learned (as he confesseth) of his nurses, is not so addicted to the Latin translation, but that he would have men to seek to the Hebrew and Greek fountains, which you, like a blasphemous hypocrite, deny to be the true and authentical scriptures indeed; allowing only the vulgar Latin translation, as though neither the churches of Greece, Syria, Armenia, Æthiopia, nor any other in the world, which have not the vulgar Latin, had not the true and authentical scriptures. And though your vulgar Latin hath for many years been of great authority in the Latin church, from the time when the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek tongues have decayed; yet is it utterly false, that you say, that it hath been of great authority with all the fathers of the Latin church; whereas there is not one that lived within 400 years after Christ that knew it, but almost every one followed a several translation. And St Augustine in the place before cited telleth you, that there were innumerable translations out of the Greek into the Latin. Again, that your vulgar Latin is full of many errors and corruptions, I have shewed by the confession of Isidorus Clarius and Lindanus, two of your own profession; of which the one took pains by the Hebrew and Greek to correct it, the other shewed means how it should be corrected. And where you say that Luther and his followers forsook it for none other cause in the world, but that it is against them, it is utterly untrue. For beside that they have made clear demonstration of many palpable errors therein, (which they that have any forehead amongst you cannot deny,) they have and do daily convince you of horrible heresies, even out of your own corrupt vulgar translation. Finally, whosoever shall read what Calvin and Kemnitius have written against the

[1] Ex hac Septuaginta interpretatione etiam in Latinam linguam interpretatum est, quod ecclesiæ Latinæ tenent. Quamvis non defuerit temporibus nostris presbyter Hieronymus, homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus, qui non ex Græco, sed ex Hebræo in Latinum eloquium easdem scripturas converterit.—Augustinus, De Civitate Dei. Lib. XVIII. c. 43. Opera, Vol. VII. p. 525. See also the passage from Augustine De Doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. c. 11. Opera, Vol. I. pars 1. pp. 24, 25, quoted at p. 47, beginning, Contra ignota, &c.]

council of Trent for authorising that translation, shall plainly see that they had something else to allege against it, which nothing at all concerneth their opinions, that be contrary to the popish heresy.

Martin. And concerning their wilful and heretical avoiding thereof in their new translations, what greater argument can there be than this, that Luther, who before always had read with the catholic church and with all antiquity these words of St Paul, "Have not we power to lead about A WOMAN A SISTER, as also the rest of the apostles?" and in St Peter these words, "Labour that BY GOOD WORKS you may make sure your vocation and election;" suddenly, after he had contrary to his profession taken "a wife" (as he called her), and preached that all other votaries might do the same, and that faith only justified, "good works" were not necessary to salvation; suddenly, I say, after he fell to these heresies, he began to read and translate the former scriptures accordingly, thus: "Have not we power to lead about a SISTER A WIFE, as the rest of the apostles?" and, "Labour that you may make sure your vocation and election:" leaving out the other words, "by good works." And so do both the Calvinists abroad, and our English Protestants at home read and translate at this day, because they hold the self-same heresies. MARTIN, 36. 1 Cor. ix. Mulierem sororem. 2 Pet. i.

Fulke. If there be no greater argument, as you confess there can be none, that their avoiding of this vulgar Latin is wilful and heretical, than this, that Luther defended his marriage, being a votary, by that text of 1 Cor. ix. wherein the apostle challengeth power to lead about with him a sister to wife, which your text hath *mulierem sororem*, "a woman a sister;" and that to prove that faith only justifieth, and good works are not necessary to salvation, he left out of the text of St Peter "good works," by which the apostle exhorteth us to make sure unto ourselves our vocation and election; there is none argument at all of wilful, needless, or heretical avoiding. For although the marriage of ecclesiastical ministers generally is proved by that scripture, yet the marriage of votaries specially is nothing confirmed. And for the marriage of bishops, priests and deacons, your own translation[2] of 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i., both Latin and English, will warrant them to FULKE, 36.

[2 It behoveth therefore a bishop to be irreprehensible, the husband of one wife. 1 Tim. i. 2. And shouldest ordain priests by cities, as I also appointed thee; if any be without crime, the husband of one wife. Titus i. 5, 6. Rhemish Test. 1557.]

be the husbands of one wife; so that every child may see that he needed not for that purpose to corrupt the text, 1. Cor. ix. And as for the other texts, 2 Pet. i., although this word, "by good works," is not expressed in the most Greek copies[1], yet the whole circumstance of the place giveth it necessarily to be understood; and yet it maketh nothing against justification by faith only. For our election, which is most certain and immutable in God's determination, is made certainly known unto us by good works, the fruits of justifying faith, even as the effects do necessarily prove the cause gone before. And so doth Thomas Matthew's bible note, likewise the Bishops' bible, and the Geneva bible; for so I had rather call them, than by the years in which they were once printed, which have been often printed, and perhaps all in some one year. Coverdale's bible also addeth these words, "by good works," which is read in some Greek copies. So true it is that you say, we leave it out, because we hold the self-same heresy: as likewise that you slander us to hold, that good works are not necessary to salvation; whereas we believe that good works are as necessary to salvation as faith, in all them that are justified by faith only. But because you are not able to withstand the truth which we believe, you feign odious monsters, as dragons, centaurs, hydras, to fight withal before the people, that you might get the praise of glorious conquerors, like St George on horseback, that in a pageant vanquisheth an hideous dragon made of paper or painted clothes.

MARTIN, 37. *Martin.* So do they in infinite places alter the old text, which pleased them well before they were heretics; and they do it with brasen faces and plain protestation, having no shame nor remorse at all in fleeing from that which all antiquity with one consent allowed and embraced until their unhappy days. Which though it be an evident condemnation of their novelties in the sight of any reasonable man, that hath any grace; yet as I began to admonish thee, gentle reader, we will not charge them for altering the ancient approved Latin translation, because they pretend to follow the Hebrew and Greek; and our purpose is not here to prove that they should not follow the Hebrew and Greek that now is, before the ancient approved Latin text, which is done briefly already in the preface to the New Testament.

FULKE, 37. *Fulke.* You were afraid belike to be overmatched in railing, and therefore you thought to bear us down at once

[1 It is not admitted into the text by either Griesbach or Scholz.]

with a whole flood of reproachful slanders; and that you utter even with the same face with which you affirm, that all antiquity with one consent allowed and embraced your vulgar Latin text: for what else you should mean I cannot conjecture, seeing you say afterward you will not charge us for altering the ancient approved Latin translation. What say you, Martin? Doth all antiquity with one consent allow and embrace your vulgar Latin translation? What is the cause then that the most of all antiquity of the Latin church used not your vulgar Latin text? Or dare you join issue with me, that all the Latin doctors for 400 years after Christ used none other Latin translation but that? or that they all knew your vulgar Latin translation? You are never able to prove it. The Seventy translation indeed was greatly esteemed, and almost generally received in the Greek and Latin churches[2], and out of it were innumerable Latin versions, as St Augustine affirmeth. But your vulgar Latin followeth it not in many places, as it were easy to shew if time and occasion served, and I suppose you will not deny. As for the reasons you bring in the preface to the New Testament, to prove that we should not follow the Hebrew and Greek that now is, before that ancient approved text; when they come to be considered, it shall appear how vain and frivolous they are. But as for the Hebrew and Greek that now is, [it] may easily be proved to be the same that always hath been; neither is there any diversity in sentence, howsoever some copies, either through negligence of the writer, or by any other occasion, do vary from that which is commonly and most generally received in some letters, syllables, or words.

Martin. Neither will we burden them for not following the vulgar Latin text, when the same agreeth with most ancient Greek copies: which notwithstanding is great partiality in them, and must needs be of an heretical wilful humour, that among the Greek copies themselves they reject that which most agreeth with the vulgar Latin text, in places of controversies. Yet will we not, I say, neither in this case lay falsehood and corruption to their charge, because they pretend to translate the common Greek text of the New Testament, that *is*, one certain copy. But here at the least let them shew their fidelity, and that they be true and exact translators. For here only shall they be examined and called to account.

MARTIN, 38.

We charge them not with forsaking the Greek copies that agree with the ancient approved Latin text, though this be a sign of their incredible partiality.

[2 August. De Civit. Dei. Lib. XVIII. c. 43. Opera, Vol. VII. p. 843.]

FULKE, 38.

Fulke. In translation we follow the common, usual, and printed copies, as you do in your translation; and yet you know there be as many, yea, ten times as many diverse readings in the Latin as are in the Greek: witness hereof the bible printed at Antwerp by Christopher Plantine, 1567, of Hentenius' castigation; where the margins almost of every leaf be full of diverse readings, obelisks, asterisks, stigmates, signifying the variety that is in many copies, by adding, detracting, changing.

In apparat. Bibl. De opt. Gen. interpret. sc. lib. 3.

The same is confessed by Arias Montanus.

Lindanus likewise acknowledgeth as much.

Of that which you say, we reject that which best agreeth with the vulgar Latin in places of controversy, you bring none example. But that among your diverse readings you reject that which agreeth best with the Hebrew and with the Greek in places of controversy, I will give you an example. Gen. iii. 15., where the Hebrew truth teacheth, that the seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head, and the Greek translateth the pronoun in the masculine gender, (he) meaning Christ, and some ancient copies of your vulgar Latin have *ipse;* you nevertheless follow that blasphemous corruption, that in these latter times hath been received in your vulgar Latin bibles, and read still in your text *ipsa, she;* which though you would wrest blasphemously to the virgin Mary, which is proper to Christ, cannot by the circumstance of the place be aptly referred to any but to Eve.

MARTIN, 39.

We charge them for forsaking and false translating their own Hebrew and Greek text.

Martin. And if they follow sincerely their Greek and Hebrew text, which they profess to follow, and which they esteem the only authentical text, so far we accuse them not of heretical corruption. But if it shall be evidently proved, that they shrink from the same also, and translate another thing, and that wilfully and of full intention to countenance their false religion and wicked opinions, making the scriptures to speak as they list; then we trust the indifferent reader, for his own soul's sake, will easily see and conclude, that they have no fear of God, no reverence of the scriptures, no conscience to deceive their readers: he will perceive that the scriptures make against them, which they so pervert and corrupt for their purpose; that neither the Hebrew nor Greek text is for them, which they dare not translate truly and sincerely; that their cause is naught, which needeth such foul shifts; that they must needs know all this, and therefore do wilfully against their conscience, and consequently are obstinate heretics.

Fulke. We crave no pardon, if it can be proved that we have wilfully translated another thing than is contained in the Hebrew and Greek, to maintain any false religion or wicked opinion. Provided always, that if any translator, or all the translators, have ignorantly erred in misunderstanding any word or phrase of the Hebrew or Greek text, that if it may be plainly shewed unto them, they acknowledging the fault, they may not be charged with heretical corruption, from which it is certain their intention was most free. FULKE, 39.

Martin. And the more to understand their misery and wretchedness, before we enter to examine their translations, mark and gather of all that which I have said in this preface, their manifold flights and jumps from one shift to another, and how catholic writers have pursued, and chased them, and followed them, and driven them even to this extreme refuge and seely covert of false translation, where also they must of necessity yield, or devise some new evasion, which we cannot yet imagine. MARTIN, 40.

Fulke. Hitherto I hope the indifferent reader will confess, that you have driven us to no jumps nor shifts, but only uttered your own malicious and unlearned quarrels. And how popish writers have pursued and chased us to extreme refuge, and seely covert of false translation, let it appear by the learned answers[1] of Mr Jewell, Mr Horne, Mr Nowell, Mr Bridges, Mr Calfhill, and others; that I speak nothing of FULKE, 40.

[1 For instance, Jewel's Defence of the Apology of the Church of England, containing an answer to a certain book lately set forth by Mr Harding. Lond. 1564. Jewel's Answer to Mr Harding's book, entitled a detection of certain errors. Lond. 1565. Jewel's Reply to Mr Harding's Answer. Lond. 1566.—This was translated into Latin by Whitaker.

Letters between Jewel and Dr Henry Cole.

Rastel's Return of Untruths, answered by Jewel.—This work has hitherto escaped the notice of Jewel's biographers.

Feckenham's Declaration of scruples and stays of conscience touching the oath of supremacy, answered by Horne, bishop of Winchester.

Nowell's Reproof of a book entitled a proof of certain articles in religion, denied by Master Jewel, set forth by Thos. Dorman. Nowell's Reproof of Mr Dorman's Proof continued.

Nowell's Confutation of Dorman's last book, entitled a Defence &c.

Bridges' Reply to the Horn-blast of Thos. Stapleton.

Calfhill's Answer to John Martiall's Treatise of the Cross.]

mine own simple labours, who being one of the meanest, having confuted ten or twelve of your popish treatises, can receive no reply of any man, but only of poor Bristow, to whom in this respect I confess myself more beholding than to all the papists beside, saving that I have rejoined to him almost two years ago, and yet I hear not of his answer.

MARTIN, 41.

The divers shifts and flights that the protestants are driven unto by the catholics, as it were the jumps and turnings of an hare before the hounds.

Martin. First, we are wont to make this offer (as we think) most reasonable and indifferent: that forasmuch as the scriptures are diversely expounded of us and of them, they neither be tied to our interpretation, nor we to theirs; but to put it to the arbitrement and judgment of the ancient fathers, of general councils, of universal custom of times and places in the catholic church. No, say they, we will be our own judges and interpreters, or follow Luther, if we be Lutherans; Calvin, if we be Calvinists; and so forth.

FULKE, 41.

Fulke. For expounding of the scriptures, we will not refuse the arbitrement and judgment of the ancient fathers, of general councils, of universal custom of times and places in the catholic church; for this you say is your offer, which was never refused of us, though you most falsely affirm, that we say we will be our own judges and interpreters, or follow Luther, if we be Lutherans; Calvin, if we be Calvinists, &c. Who ever said so, you shameless slanderer? What have you differing from us, wherein you have the judgment of the ancient fathers, of general councils, of universal custom of times and places in the catholic church? Unless perhaps you mean some wretched sophistry, by disjoining these that you here seem to join together. And if you so do, we must first ask you, whether you yourselves in all expositions of the scriptures will stand to the arbitrement of every ancient father, or of every general council, or of any custom in any time or place? I know, and you cannot deny it, that you will stand to nothing, that is not allowed by your pope, though fathers, councils, custom, time or place, or all the world be against it, yea, the manifest scripture, which is so plain that it needeth no exposition: as the commandment against images in religion, Theodoret, Gelasius, Vigilius, Chrysostom against transubstantiation, Epiphanius against images, the sixth council of Constantinople for condemning the pope of heresy, the councils of Constance and Basil for deposing the popes, and decreeing that the council is above the pope, and many other like

matters beside, in which you go clearly from the consent of all antiquity for 600 years, as the bishop of Sarum hath made plain demonstration, and you are not able to reply.

Martin. This being of itself a shameless shift, unless it be better coloured, the next is to say, that the scriptures are easy and plain, and sufficient of themselves to determine every matter, and therefore they will be tried by the scriptures only. We are content, because they will needs have it so, and we allege unto them the books of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Machabees. No, say they; we admit none of these for scripture. Why so? Are they not approved canonical by the same authority of the church, of ancient councils and fathers, that the other books are? No matter, say they, Luther admitteth them not; Calvin doth not allow them. MARTIN, 42.

Fulke. That the scriptures are plain and easy to be understood, of them that use the ordinary means to come to it, for all doctrine necessary to be known, and sufficient to determine every matter, the Holy Ghost himself doth testify, 2 Tim. iii. and some of the ancient fathers also do bear witness, as Augustine, *de Doct. Christ.* lib. 2, Chrysostom, *in Gen.* hom. 13, *de verb. Esai. Vidi dominum, &c.* hom. 2. FULKE, 42.

If therefore you had the spirit of the ancient fathers, you would be content to be tried by the scriptures, for reverence you owed to God's most holy and perfect writings; and not because we will have it so, who are content in many controversies to be tried by the judgment of the ancient fathers, or general councils, or universal custom of times and places; and in all controversies, wherein all the ancient fathers, all councils, and universal custom of all times and places do consent, if any think such things can be brought against us, as it is falsely and sophistically bragged. But whereas we refuse the books of Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Machabees, for canonical scripture, it is not (as you say ridiculously) because Luther and Calvin admitted them not, but because they are contrary to the canonical scriptures, and were never received of the church of Israel for canonical, nor of the catholic church of Christ for more than 400 years after Christ, as I have shewed before.

Martin. Well, let us go forward in their own dance. You allow at the least the Jews' canonical books of the Old Testament, that is, all that are extant in the Hebrew bible, and all of the New Testament without exception. Yea, that we do. In these books then, will you be MARTIN, 43

tried by the vulgar ancient Latin bible, only used in all the west church above a thousand years? No. Will you be tried by the Greek bible of the Septuagint interpreters, so renowned and authorised in our Saviour's own speeches, in the evangelists' and apostles' writings, in the whole Greek church evermore? No. How then will you be tried? They answer, only by the Hebrew bible that now is, and as now it is pointed with vowels. Will you so? and do you think that only the true authentical Hebrew, which the Holy Ghost did first put into the pens of those sacred writers? We do think it (say they), and esteem it the only authentical and true scripture of the Old Testament.

FULKE, 43. *Fulke.* Where so many of your own popish writers do accuse your vulgar Latin text of innumerable corruptions, what reason is there, that we should follow that translation only; especially seeing God hath given us knowledge of the tongues, that we may resort to the fountains themselves, as St Augustine exhorteth? As for the Greek translation of the Septuagint, from which your own vulgar Latin varieth, (although we reverence it for the antiquity, and use it for interpretation of some obscure places in the Hebrew,) why should you require us to be tried thereby, which will not be tried by it yourselves? If I were as captious as you are with John Keltridge about the Greek bible of the Septuagint interpreters, I might make sport with you, as you do with him: but I acknowledge your *synecdoche*, that you mean the Old Testament only, whereas the word bible is commonly taken for both. But to the purpose: we acknowledge the text of the Old Testament in Hebrew and Chaldee, (for in the Chaldee tongue were some parts of it written,) as it is now printed with vowels, to be the only fountain, out of which we must draw the pure truth of the scriptures for the Old Testament, adjoining herewith the testimony of the Mazzoreth, where any diversity of points, letters, or words, is noted to have been in sundry ancient copies, to discern that which is proper to the whole context, from that which by error of the writers or printers hath been brought into any copy, old or new.

MARTIN, 44. כארי ידי *Martin.* We ask them again, What say you then to that place of the psalm, where in the Hebrew it is thus, "As a lion my hands and my feet," for that which in truth should be thus, "They digged *or* pierced my hands and my feet;" being an evident prophecy of Christ's nailing to the cross? There indeed (say they) we follow not the Hebrew, but the Greek text. Sometimes then you follow the Greek, and not the Hebrew only. And what if the same Greek text make for the

catholics, as in these places for example, "I have inclined my heart to keep thy justifications for reward," and "Redeem thy sins with alms;" might we not obtain here the like favour at your hands for the Greek text, specially when the Hebrew doth not disagree? No, say they, nor in no other place where the Greek is never so plain, if the Hebrew word at the least may be any otherwise interpreted, and drawn to another signification.

Fulke. We say to you first, that you have falsely pointed the Hebrew word in the margin; for all the printed books that ever I have seen, as Bomberg, both in *folio* and *quarto*, Stephanus, Basil, Plantine, Arias Montanus, Complutensis, all place *camets* under *caph*, where you make *patach*. But perhaps your Hebrew is most out of Munster's dictionary, where it is pointed as you make it. But for answer to your question, we say, that there is a double testimony of the Mazzorites to prove, that in the most ancient and best corrected copies the Hebrew was *caru*, "they have digged or pierced": this is testified not only by our translators, but also by Johannes Isaac, your own rabbin, against Lindanus, a prelate of yours. And this the authors of the Complutensian edition do acknowledge; for thus they have pointed it, *caru*, כארו where is nothing but the redundance of *aleph* (which is understood in every *camets*) differing from the usual reading and declining of the verb *carah*, that signifieth "to pierce or כרה dig." Again, where it is read otherwise, if it be rightly pointed, as it is in Arias Montanus, *caari*, it cannot signify *sicut leo*, "as a lion," as both the Mazzorites do teach, and Johannes Isaac, a grammarian, out of them by the points and the note over *iod* doth plainly demonstrate. For what should *shurech* sound in *iod?* or if you would contend it should be *daghes*, to what purpose should it be in *iod*, if the word should signify "as a lion"? Therefore, howsoever this variety of copies came, either by negligence of some writers, or by corruption of the Jews, we have sufficient warrant for the ancient and true reading, which the Greek translator did follow, which also was in St Jerome's copy; otherwise he would not have translated out of the Hebrew *fixerunt*, "they have pierced." Therefore Rabbi Joseph, which made the Chaldee paraphrase upon the Psalter, laboured to express both the copies, as well that which hath plainly "they have pierced," as that which hath it corruptly, כארי FULKE, 44.

as though it spake of a lion, and yet cannot rightly be so translated, because the points are imperfect even for that reading. Therefore he hath said, *nikethin heich cheariah*, "they have indented and pierced like a lion my hands and my feet," as it is in the Venice print of Daniel Bomberg, although Arias Montanus, in his bible, have no more but *nachethin*, which he translateth, "biting my hands and my feet." I have played the fool to utter these matters in the mother tongue to ignorant men, that can make no trial of them; but you have not only given me example, but also enforced me with your insoluble question (as you thought), by one word somewhat out of frame, to overthrow the whole Hebrew text. But you are to be pardoned, for that you follow your Mr Lindanus herein, who hath nothing else in effect to quarrel against the Hebrew text, but this; and therefore he repeateth it in many places, to make greater shew of it, as you do. In other places, where the Hebrew word hath divers significations, who shall forbid us to choose that which is most agreeable to the circumstance of the text, and to the analogy or rule of faith?

נִכְתִּין הֵיךְ כְּאַרְיֵה

נָכְתִּין

MARTIN, 45.

Martin. We reply again and say unto them, Why? Is not the credit of those Septuagint interpreters, who themselves were Jews, and best learned in their own tongue, and (as St Augustine often, and other ancient fathers say) were inspired with the Holy Ghost in translating the Hebrew bible into Greek,—is not their credit, I say, in determining and defining the signification of the Hebrew word, far greater than yours? No. Is not the authority of all the ancient fathers, both Greek and Latin, that followed them, equivalent in this case to your judgment? No, say they; but because we find some ambiguity in the Hebrew, we will take the advantage, and we will determine and limit it to our purpose.

FULKE, 45.

Fulke. St Jerome abundantly answereth this cavil, denying that supposed inspiration, and deriding the fable of their 70 cells[1], (which yet pleased Augustine greatly,) yea, calling in question, whether any more were translated by them, than the five books of Moses; because Aristæus, a writer in Ptolemy's time, and after him Josephus, make mention of no more. The same cause therefore, that moved St Jerome to translate out of the Hebrew, moveth us: whose translation, if we had it sound and perfect, might

Præfat. in pent.

[[1] See before, p. 52.]

much further us for the same purpose: although for the signification of the Hebrew words we require no more credit, than that which all they that be learned in the Hebrew tongue, must be forced to yield unto us. And seeing your vulgar Latin departeth from the Septuagint interpretation, even in the books of Moses, which (if any be theirs) may most rightly be accounted theirs, because it is certain they translated them, although it be not certain whether they translated the rest: with what equity do you require us to credit them, which your own vulgar translation affirmeth to have translated amiss, as I have shewn before in the example of Cainan's generation? Another example you have in the 4th of Genesis, *Nonne si bene egeris recipies*, &c. "If thou shalt do well, shalt thou not receive? but if thou shalt do evil, straightway thy sins shalt be present in the doors." The Greek text hath, Οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, &c. "Not if thou hast rightly offered, but thou hast not rightly divided; hast thou sinned? be still." Where your translation cometh much nearer to the Hebrew, as might be shewed in very many examples. As for the ancient fathers' credit of the Greek church, and the Latin that followed them, if our judgment alone be not equivalent unto them, yet let these ancient fathers, Origen and Jerome,—that thought them not sufficient to be followed, and therefore gathered or framed other interpretations,—let their judgment, I say, joining with ours, discharge us of this fond and envious accusation.

Martin. Again, we condescend to their wilfulness, and say: What if the Hebrew be not ambiguous, but so plain and certain to signify one thing, that it cannot be plainer? As, "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell;" which proveth for us, that Christ in soul descended into hell. Is not the one Hebrew word as proper for *soul*, as *anima* in Latin? the other, as proper and usual for *hell*, as *infernus* in Latin? Here then at the least will you yield? No, say they, not here neither; for Beza telleth us, that the word which commonly and usually signifieth "soul," yet for a purpose, if a man will strain, it may signify not only "body," but also "carcase," and so he translateth it. But Beza (say we), being admonished by his friends, corrected it in his later edition. Yea, say they, he was content to change his translation, but not his opinion concerning the Hebrew word, as himself protesteth. MARTIN, 46. Psal. xv. נֶפֶשׁ בִּשְׁאוֹל

Fulke. You have chosen a text for example, wherein is least colour (except it be with the unlearned) of an hun- FULKE, 46.

dred. For whereas you ask, whether *nephesh* be not as proper for soul as *anima* in Latin, and *sheol* for hell as *infernus* in Latin; I utterly deny both the one and the other. For *nephesh* is properly the life, and *sheol* the grave or pit, though it may sometimes be taken for hell, which is a consequent of the death of the ungodly, as *nephesh* is taken for person, or one's self, or (as it is sometimes) for a dead carcase. Yea, there be that hold, that it is never taken for the reasonable immortal soul of a man, as *anima* is, specially of ecclesiastical writers. That Beza translated the Greek of the New Testament after the signification of the Hebrew words, although it was true in sense, yet in mine opinion it was not proper in words; and therefore he himself hath corrected it in his latter editions, as you confess: he hath not changed his opinion concerning the Hebrew: the reason is, because it is grounded upon manifest texts of scripture, which he citeth, Levit. xix. 27, and xxi. 1, and 11. Num. v. 2, and ix. 10. In the first place your own vulgar Latin translation for *lanephesh* turneth *mortuo:* you shall not cut your flesh for one that is dead. In the second place your vulgar Latin hath, *Ne non contaminetur sacerdos in mortibus;* and, *Ad omnem mortuum non ingredietur omnino:* Let not the priest be defiled with the deaths of his countrymen; and, The high priest shall not enter in to any dead body at all: where the Hebrew is *lenephesh,* and ועל כל־נפשת מת לא יבא. In the third place your vulgar Latin readeth *pollutusque est super mortuo,* they shall cast out him that is polluted by touching a dead carcase; where the Hebrew is *lanephesh.* In the first place your vulgar Latin hath indeed *anima,* but in the same sense, that it had before *mortuo:* for the text is of him that is unclean by touching any dead body, which in Hebrew is *nephesh.* How say you now, is the Hebrew word as proper for soul as *anima* in Latin?—except you will say, the Latin word *anima* doth properly signify a dead body. Hath not Beza good reason to retain his opinion concerning the Hebrew word, when he hath the authority of your own vulgar translation? You that note such jumps and shifts in us, whither will you leap to save your honesty? Will you say, the Hebrew text is corrupted since your translation was drawn out of it? The Seventy interpreters then will cry out against you: for they with one mouth,

ועל כל־נפשת מת לא יבא

לנפש

in all these places, for the Hebrew word *nephesh* render the usual signification ψυχὴ, adding in the xxi. of Lev. 11, τετελευτηκυῖα, which either you must translate a dead body, or you shall call it absurdly a dead soul. Would any man think to have found in you either such gross ignorance, or shameful negligence, or intolerable malice against the truth, that, Beza sending you to the places, either you would not or you could not examine them; or if you did examine them, that you would notwithstanding thus maliciously, against your own knowledge and conscience, rail against him? You make us to say, if a man will strain the word, it may signify not only body, but also carcase. What say you? did Moses strain the word to that signification? You said before, that we were at the jumps and turnings of an hare before the hounds; such mighty hunters you are, and we such fearful hares before you. I am not skilful in the terms of hunting, but in plain English I will speak it, that if all the traitorous wolves and foxes that be in the kennel at Rhemes, would do their best to save your credit in this section, nay, in this whole preface, they shall never be able to maintain their own, with any indifferent reader.

Martin. Well then, doth it like you to read thus, according to Beza's translation, "Thou shalt not leave my carcase in the grave?" No; we are content to alter the word carcase, (which is not a seemly word for our Saviour's body,) and yet we are loth to say soul; but if we might, we would say rather "life," "person," as appeareth in the margin of our bibles: but as for the Hebrew word that signifieth hell, though the Greek and Latin bible throughout, the Greek and Latin fathers in all their writings, as occasion serveth, do so read it and understand it, yet will we never so translate it; but for "hell" we will say "grave," in all such places of scripture as might infer *limbus patrum*, if we should translate "hell." These are their shifts, and turnings, and windings, in the Old Testament. MARTIN. 47.

Fulke. I have shewed you before, that in the New Testament we like better to translate according to the proper and usual signification of the Greek word. But the Hebrew word in the Old Testament may be translated, according to the circumstance of the place, life, person, self, yea, or dead body, and in some place perhaps carcase. You follow us very near, to seek advantage of the English word *carcase*, which commonly is taken in contempt, and therefore FULKE. 47.

we would not use it, speaking of the body of our Saviour Christ, when it was dead. But you hunt yourself out of breath, when you would bring the same contempt to the Latin word *cadaver*, which Beza used. For *cadaver* signifieth generally a dead body of man or beast, and by your vulgar Latin translator is used for the dead bodies of sacrifices, of saints and holy men, as indifferently as for carrion of beasts, or carcases of evil men: namely, in Job xxxix. 33, "Wheresoever the dead body is, thither will the eagle resort;" which similitude our Saviour Christ applieth to himself, Matt. xxiv. 28, "Wheresoever the dead body is, thither will the eagles be gathered;" where he compareth himself to the dead body, and the faithful to the eagles.

Cadaver.

τὸ πτῶμα.

Now concerning the other Hebrew word, which you say signifieth *hell*, because the Greek and vulgar Latin interpreter do so translate it: when just occasion shall be given afterward, cap. VII., I will shew that it properly signifieth a grave, pit, or place for dead bodies; and that in this place of the xvi. psalm it must needs so signify, not only the latter part of the verse, expressing in other words that which was said in the former, but also the apostle's proving out of it the resurrection of Christ, do sufficiently declare. If you have no place therefore in the scriptures, to prove your *limbus patrum*, but where the Holy Ghost speaketh of the death and burial of the fathers, no marvel though you must strain the Hebrew word, which properly signifieth grave, and the Greek word, which properly signifieth a dark place, and especially the Latin, which signifieth generally a low place: none of all the three words signifying hell, as we commonly understand the word *hell*, properly and only, but by a figure, where mention is made of the death of the ungodly, whose reward is in hell. These be the poor shifts, turnings and windings, that you have to wreath in those fables of *limbus patrum* and purgatory, which the church of God from the beginning of the world unto the coming of Christ never heard of, nor many hundred years after Christ, until the Montanists, or such like heathenish heretics, brought in those fantasies.

MARTIN, 48. *Martin.* In the New Testament, we ask them, will you be tried by the ancient Latin translation, which is the text of the fathers and the whole church? No; but we appeal to the Greek. What Greek?

say we; for there be sundry copies, and the best of them (as Beza confesseth) agree with the said ancient Latin. For example, in St Peter's words, "Labour that by good works you may make sure your vocation and election," doth this Greek copy please you? No, say they; we appeal to that Greek copy which hath not these words, "by good works;" for otherwise we should grant the merit and efficacy of good works toward salvation. And generally, to tell you at once, by what Greek we will be tried, we like best the vulgar Greek text of the New Testament, which is most common and in every man's hands. 2 Pet. i.

Fulke. We need not appeal to the Greek, for any thing you bring out of the vulgar Latin against us. As for that text, 2 Pet. i. "Labour that by good works," &c., I have answered before in the 36th section. We like well the Latin, or that Greek copy which hath those words, "by good works;" for we must needs understand them where they are not expressed: and therefore you do impudently believe us to say they do not please us. Calvin upon that text saith: *Nonnulli codices habent* bonis operibus; *sed hoc de sensu nihil mutat, quia subaudiendum est etiam si non exprimatur.* "Some books have, 'by good works'; but this changeth nothing of the sense, for that must be understood although it be not expressed." The same thing in effect saith Beza: "that our election and vocation must be confirmed by the effects of faith, that is, by the fruits of justice, &c.; therefore in some copies we find it added, 'by good works.'" So far off is it, that Beza misliketh those words, that he citeth them to prove the perpetual connection of election, vocation, justification, and sanctification. This is therefore as wicked a slander of us, as it is an untrue affirmation of the vulgar Latin, that it is the text of the fathers and the whole church; whereby you shew yourself to be a Donatist, to acknowledge no church, but where the Latin text is occupied: so that in Greece, Syria, Armenia, Æthiopia, and other parts of the world, where the Latin text is not known or understood, there Christ hath no church by your unadvised assertion. That we like best the most common Greek text, I am sure that we do it by as good reason, if not by better, than you in so great diversities of the Latin text, who like best of that which is most common and in every man's hands. FULKE, 48.

Martin. Well, say we, if you will needs have it so, take your pleasure in choosing your text. And if you will stand to it, grant us that Peter was chief among the apostles, because your own Greek MARTIN, 49.

Matt. x. text saith, "The first, Peter." No, saith Beza, we will grant you no such thing; for these words were added to the Greek text by one that favoured Peter's primacy. Is it so? then you will not stand to this Greek text neither? Not in this place, saith Beza.

FULKE, 49. *Fulke.* In granting Peter to be the first, we need not grant him to be the chief; and if we grant him to be the chief, it followeth not that he is chief in authority. But if that were granted, it is not necessary that he was head of the church. And albeit that were also granted, the bishop of Rome could gain nothing by it. But what saith Beza, where the text saith, "the first Peter"? If we must believe you, he saith, "No, we will grant you no such thing; for these words were added to the Greek text by one that favoured Peter's primacy." I pray you, Martin, where hath Beza those words? will you never leave this shameful forgery? Beza, in the tenth of Matthew, doth only ask the question: *Quid si hoc vocabulum*, &c. "What if this word were added by some that would establish the primacy of Peter? for nothing followeth that may agree with it." This asketh Beza, but as an objection, which immediately after he answereth, and concludeth that it is no addition, but a natural word of the text found in all copies, confessed by Theophylact, an enemy of the pope's primacy, and defendeth it in the third of Mark (where it is not in the common Greek copies, nor in the vulgar Latin) against Erasmus, who, finding it in some Greek copies, thought it was untruly added out of Matthew. But Beza saith, *Ego vero non dubito quin hæc sit germana lectio:* "But I doubt not but this is the true and right reading of the text;" and therefore he translateth *Primum Simonem*, "the first Simon," out of the few copies Erasmus speaketh of. Therefore it is an abominable slander to charge him with following the common received text, where it seemeth to make against you, when he contendeth for the truth against the common text, yea, and against your own vulgar Latin, to give you that which you make so great account of, that Peter in the catalogue of the apostles was first. So greatly he feareth to acknowledge that Peter was called first! and so true it is that you charge him to say, "No, we will grant you no such thing; for these words were added to the Greek text by one that favoured Peter's primacy!" I hope your favourers, seeing your forgery thus manifestly discovered, will give you less credit in other your shameless slanders: at the leastwise this in equity I trust all papists will

grant, not to believe your report against any man's writing, except they read it themselves. Now that this word "the first" argueth no primacy or superiority, beside those places quoted by Beza, Acts xxvi. 20, Rom. i. 8, and iii. 2, you may read 1 Par. xxiii. xxiv. where the posterity of Levi and Aaron are rehearsed, as they were appointed by David in their orders or courses: *Subuel primus, Rohobia primus, sors prima Joiarib,* &c. where lest you should think of any headship or principality, because the Hebrew is sometime ראש, and the Greek ἄρχων, you may see that *Subuel* is called *primus* of the sons of Gerson, when there is no more mention; and more expressly, Rohobia is called *primus* of the sons of Eleazer, of whom it is said, that he had no more sons; and that ראש signifieth here the first in order, it appeareth by those generations, where the second, third, or fourth, is named, as in the sons of Hebron and of Oziel. Also in the sons of Semei, where Jehoth is counted the first, Riza the second, Jaus and Beria, because they increased not in sons, were accounted for one family. In all which there is no other primacy than in the first lot of Joiarib, where the Hebrew word is *harishuon*, and so follow the rest in order, unto four and twenty courses. Therefore there is no cause why we should not stand to the Greek text in that place, neither did Beza ever deny to stand to it.

[1 Chron. xxiii. 16, 17. xxiv. 7.]

הראשון

Martin. Let us see another place. You must grant us (say we) by this Greek text, that Christ's very blood which was shed for us is really in the chalice, because St Luke saith so in the Greek text. No, saith Beza; those Greek words came out of the margin into the text, and therefore I translate not according to them, but according to that which I think the truer Greek text, although I find it in no copies in the world: and this his doing is maintained and justified by our English Protestants in their writings of late.

MARTIN, 60.

See chap. i. num. 37; chap. xvii. num. 11.

Fulke. Still Beza speaketh as you inspire into him, while he speaketh through your throat or quill. The truth is, Beza saith, that either there is a manifest *solœcophanes*, that is, an appearance of incongruity; or else those words "which is shed for you" seem to be added out of St Matthew; or else it is an error of the writer's, placing that in the nominative case which should be in the dative: for in the dative case did Basil read them in his Morals[1], 21. definition.

FULKE, 60.

[1 Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνομένῳ. Hic calix novum testamentum est in sanguine

Nevertheless, all our old books, saith Beza, had it so written, as it is commonly printed, in the nominative case. Here are three several distinctions, yet can you find none but one proposition that you set down, as though it were purely and absolutely affirmed by Beza. Likewise, where you speak of no copies in the world, you say more than Beza, who speaketh but of such copies as he had; who, if he were of no better conscience than you would have him seem to be, might feign some copy in his own hands to salve the matter. But the truth is, that since he wrote this, he found one more ancient copy, both in Greek and Latin, which now is at Cambridge, where this whole verse is wanting. But of this matter, which somewhat concerneth myself particularly, I shall have better occasion to write in the places by you quoted, cap. I. 37, and cap. XVII. 11, where I will so justify that which I have written before touching this place, as I trust all learned and indifferent readers shall see how vainly you insult against me, where you bewray grosser ignorance in Greek phrases than ever I would have suspected in you, being accounted the principal linguist of the seminary at Rhemes.

MARTIN, 51. *Martin.* Well, yet, say we, there are places in the same Greek text, as plain for us as these now cited, where you cannot say, it came 1 Thess. ii. out of the margin, or it was added falsely to the text. As, "Stand and hold fast the traditions," &c.: by this text we require that you grant us traditions delivered by word of mouth, as well as the written word, that is, the scriptures. No, say they, we know the Greek word signifieth tradition, as plain as possibly; but here and in the like places we rather translate it "ordinances," "instructions," and what else soever. Nay, sirs, say we, you cannot so answer the matter, for in other places you translate it duly and truly "tradition;" and why more in one place than in another? They are ashamed to tell why; but they must tell, and shame both themselves and the devil, if ever they think it good to answer this treatise: as also, why they changed "congregation," which was always in their first translation, into "church" in their later translations, and did not change likewise "ordinances" into "traditions," "elders" into "priests."

FULKE, 51. *Fulke.* That the Thessalonians had some part of christian doctrine delivered by word of mouth, that is, by the apostle's preaching, at such time as he did write unto them,

meo, qui pro vobis funditur. Basilii Moralia. Regula XXI. c. 3. Opera, v. iii. p. 254. Edit. Garnier, Parisiis, 1722.]

and some part by his epistles, the text enforceth us to grant, and we never purposed to deny: but that the church at this day, or ever since the New Testament was written, had any tradition by word of mouth of any matter necessary to salvation, which was not contained in the Old or New Testament, we will never grant, neither shall you ever be able out of this text or any text in the bible to prove. Make your syllogisms when you dare, and you shall be answered.

But "we know," you say, "that the Greek word signifieth tradition as plain as possibly; but here, and in like places, we rather translate it ordinances, instructions, and what else soever." We know that it signifieth tradition, constitution, instruction, precept; also mancipation, treatise, treason: for all these the Greek dictionaries do teach that it signifieth. Therefore if in any place we have translated it "ordinances", or "instructions", or "institutions", we have not gone from the true signification of the word; neither can you ever prove that the word signifieth such a doctrine only as is taught by word of mouth, and is not or may not be put in writing. But in other places you can tell us, that we translate it duly and truly "tradition"; and you will know, why more in one place than in another, affirming that we are shamed to tell why. For my part, I was never of counsel with any that translated the scriptures into English; and therefore it is possible I cannot sufficiently express what reason moved the translators so to vary in the exposition of one and the same word. Yet can I yield sufficient reason that might lead them so to do, which I think they followed. The papists do commonly so abuse the name of tradition, which signifieth properly a delivery, or a thing delivered, for such a matter as is delivered only by word of mouth, and so received from hand to hand, that it is never put in writing, but hath his credit without the holy scriptures of God, as the Jews had their cabala, and the scribes and Pharisees had their traditions, beside the law of God; and the Valentinian heretics accused the scriptures, as insufficient of authority and ambiguously written, and that the truth could not be found in them by those that knew not the tradition, which was not delivered by writing, but by word of mouth, just as the papists do. This abusing of the word "tradition" might be a sufficient cause for the translators to render the Greek

Irenæus, lib. 3. cap. 2.

word, where it is taken for such doctrine as is beside the commandment of God, by the name of tradition, as the word is commonly taken. But where the Greek word is taken in the good part, for that doctrine which is agreeable with the holy scriptures, they might with good reason avoid it, as you yourself do not always translate *tradere*, to betray, but sometimes to deliver. So did the translators give these words, "ordinances", "instructions", "institutions", or doctrine delivered; which do generally signify the same that tradition, but have not the prejudice of that partial signification in which the papists use it, who, wheresoever they find tradition, straightway imagine they have found a sufficient argument against the perfection and sufficiency of the holy scripture, and to bring in all riff-raff and trish-trash of man's doctrine, not only beside, but also contrary to the manifest word of God, contained in his most holy and perfect scriptures. To the shame of the devil therefore, and of all popish maintainers of traditions uncommanded by God, this reason may be yielded.

Now to answer you, why *ecclesia* was first translated "congregation", and afterward "church"; the reason that moved the first translators, I think, was this: the word *church* of the common people at that time was used ambiguously, both for the assembly of the faithful, and for the place in which they assembled; for the avoiding of which ambiguity they translated *ecclesia* the congregation; and yet in their creed, and in the notes of their bibles, in preaching and writing, they used the word church for the same: the later translators, seeing the people better instructed and able to discern, when they read in the scriptures, the people from the place of their meeting, used the word church in their translations, as they did in their preaching. These are weighty matters that we must give account of them. Why we change not ordinances into traditions, and elders into priests, we will answer when we come to the proper places of them. In the mean season we think, there is as good cause for us in translating, sometime to avoid the terms of traditions and priest, as for you to avoid the names of elders, calling them ancients, and the wise men sages, as though you had rather speak French than English, as we do: like as you translate *confide*, "have a good heart," after the French phrase, rather than you would say as we do, "be of good comfort."

Martin. The cause is, that the name of church was at the first odious unto them, because of the catholic church which stood against them; but afterward this name grew into more favour with them, because of their English church, so at length called and termed. But their hatred of priests and traditions continueth still, as it first began; and therefore their translation also remaineth as before, suppressing the names both of the one and of the other. But of all these their dealings they shall be told in their several chapters and places. MARTIN, 52.

Fulke. I pray you, who first translated the creed into the English tongue, and taught it to the people, and for that cause were accounted heretics of the antichristian Romish rabble? If the name of church were odious unto them, why did they not suppress that name in the creed which they taught to young and old, and instead of catholic, church call it the universal congregation or assembly? Well, Davus, these things be not aptly divided according to their times. The first translation of the bible, that was printed in the English tongue, in very many places of the notes useth the name church, and most notoriously in the Song of Salomon, where before every other verse almost it telleth which is the voice of the church to Christ her spouse; which no reasonable man would think the translators would have done, if the name of the church had been odious unto them, or that they thought the catholic church stood against them. Look Thomas Matthews' bible, in the Canticles of Salomon, and upon the xvi. of St Matthew's Gospel, the 18th verse, the words of Christ to Peter. Therefore your senseless imaginations shew no hatred of the catholic church in our translators, but cankered malice and impudent folly in yourselves. FULKE, 52.

Martin. To conclude, as I began, concerning their shifts and jumps, and windings, and turnings every way from one thing to another, till they are driven to the extreme refuge of palpable corruptions and false translations: consider with me in this one case only of traditions, as may be likewise considered in all other controversies, that the ancient fathers, councils, antiquity, universality, and custom of the whole church allow traditions; the canonical scriptures have them, the Latin text hath them, the Greek text hath them; only their translations have them not. Likewise in the Old Testament, the approved Latin text hath such and such speeches, that make for us; the renowned Greek text hath it, the Hebrew text hath it; only their translations have it not.

These are the translations which we call heretical and wilful, and which shall be examined and discussed in this book. MARTIN, 53.

FULKE, 53. *Fulke.* By what windings and turnings, I pray you, are we driven to that miserable refuge of palpable corruptions and false translations? for hitherto you have shewed none, but such as shew your own ignorance or malice. Neither, I hope, you shall be able to shew any, though you swear never so sore at your work. Yes, I ween, this one case only of traditions, (for so you seem to say,) if it be considered, will discover no less. It is marvel, if for your sake all the Greek dictionaries in the world must not be corrected, and taught to say, that παράδοσις can signify nothing but a tradition, that is, not written. But yet you roll in your accustomed rhetoric, saying, that "the ancient fathers, councils, antiquity, universality, and custom of the whole church allow traditions:" and so do we, so many as be good and agreeable to the holy scriptures; but that there be traditions of matter necessary to salvation not contained in the holy scriptures, when you bring your fathers, councils, &c. you shall receive an answer to them. That the canonical scripture alloweth any traditions contrary to the doctrine thereof, or to supply any want or imperfection thereof, as though all things required to make the man of God perfect, prepared to all good works, were not contained in the scriptures, you shall never be able to prove, although for spite against the perfection of the canonical scripture you should brast asunder, as Judas did, which betrayed the author of the scripture. Finally, whatsoever you say out of the Old Testament without proof or shew of proof, it is as easily denied by us as it is affirmed by you. When you bring but only a shadow of reason, it shall soon be chased away with the light of truth.

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A DISCOVERY

MARTIN.

OF THE

MANIFOLD CORRUPTIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,

BY THE HERETICS OF OUR DAYS, SPECIALLY THE ENGLISH SECTARIES, AND OF THEIR FOUL DEALING HEREIN, BY PARTIAL AND FALSE TRANSLATIONS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR HERESIES, IN THEIR ENGLISH BIBLES USED AND AUTHORISED SINCE THE TIME OF SCHISM.

CHAPTER I.

That the Protestants translate the holy Scriptures falsely of purpose, in favour of their heresies.

Martin. THOUGH this shall evidently appear throughout this whole book in every place that shall be objected unto them; yet because it is an observation of greatest importance in this case, and which stingeth them sore, and toucheth their credit exceedingly, insomuch that one of them setting a good face upon the matter saith confidently, that all the papists in the world are not able to shew one place of scripture mistranslated wilfully of purpose; therefore I will give the reader certain brief observations and evident marks to know wilful corruptions, as it were an abridgement and sum of this treatise. MARTIN, 1. Confutation of J. Howlet, fo. 35, p. 2.

Fulke. ALTHOUGH this trifling treatise was in hand two or three years ago, as by the threatening of Bristow[1] and Howlet FULKE, 1.

[1] Richard Bristow, a most zealous advocate for the Roman Catholic cause, was born at Worcester in the beginning of the 16th Century. He left the University of Oxford in 1569, and becoming acquainted with Dr Allen, was made public lecturer on Divinity at Doway. He wrote, among other things, *A brief treatise of divers plain and sure ways to find out the truth in this doubtful and dangerous time of heresy, containing sundry motives unto the Catholic faith; or, considerations to move a man to believe the Catholics, and not the heretics.* Antwerp, 1574. These motives were answered by Fulke in his *Retentive to stay good Christians in true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow.* London, 1580.

Bristow also wrote *A Reply to William Fulke, in Defence of Dr Allen's Scroul of Articles, and Book of Purgatry.* Lovaine, 1580. To

it may appear; yet, that it might seem new, and a sudden piece of work compiled with small study, you thought good by carping at my confutation of Howlet[1] last made, and of M. Whitaker's[2] work, set forth later than it, as it were by setting on new ears upon your old pot, to make it seem to be a new vessel. And first of all, you would seem to have taken occasion of my confident speech in my confutation of Howlet's nine reasons[3], in rehearsing whereof you use such fidelity as commonly papists used to bear towards God, the church, your prince, and your country. For what face soever I set upon the matter, with a whorish forehead and a brasen face you make report of my saying; which, being testified by a thousand copies printed, as it were by so many witnesses, doth cry out upon your falsehood and injurious dealing. For my words, out of the place by you quoted against Howlet, are these: "That some error may be in translation (although by you it cannot be shewed) I will not deny; but that any shameless translations, or wilful corruptions, can be found of purpose to draw the scriptures to any heretical

Such doth Howlett charge us withal.

which Fulke rejoined the following year, in his book entitled *A rejoinder to Bristow's Replie in defence of Allen's Scroll of Articles and Booke of Purgatorie, &c.* 1581. p. 792. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. pp. 482—484.]

[1] The Howlet here referred to was Persons the Jesuit, who published under this name a treatise, entitled *A brief Discourse, containing the reasons why Catholics refuse to go to Church.* Doway, 1580. It was answered the same year, in *A Check to Mr Howlet's Screechings to her Majesty,* (Wood's Athenæ, Vol. v. pp. 68, 69.;) and in *a Caveat for Parson Howlet,* 1581, (Hartshorne's Book Rarities of Cambridge, p. 442;) and also by Fulke, in *Howlet's Nine Reasons;* and seems to be the same book as the one just mentioned. Wood's Athenæ, Vol. II. p. 60, and Possevinus in Apparat. Sacr. Vol. II., under Robert Persons.]

[2] Whitaker, a learned divine, and Master of St John's College, Cambridge: the able antagonist of Cardinal Bellarmine, Stapleton, Campian, Saunders, Rainolds, &c. He died in 1595.]

[3] "A briefe confutation of a Papist Discourse: lately set forth, and presumptuously dedicated to the Queen's most excellent Majestie: by John Howlet, or some other birde of the night, under that name, contayning certaine Reasons, why Papistes refuse to come to Church, which reasons are here inserted and set downe at large, with their several answers. By D. Fulke, Maister of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge. Seene and allowed. At London, printed for George Byshop, 1581. qto. b. l. 55 leaves."]

opinion, all the papists in the world shall never be able to make demonstration." This was my saying, and I repeat it again with as great confidence as before; yea, and with much greater too, forasmuch as all the papists in the seminary, having now beaten their heads together to find out "shameless translations and wilful corruptions of purpose to maintain heresies," can find nothing but old frivolous quarrels answered long before, or new trifling cavils, not worthy indeed of any learned man's answer, but for satisfying of the simple and ignorant. How this my saying differeth from your slanderous report, I trust every reasonable papist that will take pains to confer them together, will be enforced to acknowledge. For where I say "shameless translations and wilful corruptions," (as Howlet chargeth us), you report me to say "mistranslated;" although in plain words I did confess that there might be some errors even in the best and perfectest of our translations. For to translate out of one tongue into another is a matter of greater difficulty than it is commonly taken, I mean exactly to yield as much and no more than the original containeth, when the words and phrases are so different, that few are found which in all points signify the same thing, neither more nor less, in divers tongues. Wherefore, notwithstanding any translation that can be made, the knowledge of the tongues is necessary in the church, for the perfect discussing of the sense and meaning of the holy scriptures. Now, if some of our translators, or they all, have not attained to the best and most proper expressing of the nature of all words and phrases of the Hebrew and Greek tongues in English, it is not the matter that I will stand to defend, nor the translators themselves, I am well assured, if they were all living: but that the scriptures are not impudently falsified or wilfully corrupted by them, to maintain any heretical opinion, as the adversary chargeth us, that is the thing that I will (by God's grace) stand to defend against all the papists in the world. And this end you have falsely and fraudulently omitted in reporting my saying, whereupon dependeth the chief, yea, the whole matter of my assertion. You play manifestly with us the lewd part of Procrustes, the thievish host, which would make his guests' stature equal with his bed's, either by stretching them out if they were too short, or by cutting off their legs if they were too long. So

if our sayings be too short for your purpose, you strain them to be longer; if they be too long, you cut off their shanks; yea, that which is worse, the very head, as you play with me in this place. I myself, and so did many hundreds beside me, hear that reverend father, M. Doctor Coverdale, of holy and learned memory, in a sermon at Paul's cross, upon occasion of some slanderous reports that then were raised against his translation, declare his faithful purpose in doing the same; which after it was finished, and presented to king Henry VIII. of famous memory, and by him committed to divers bishops of that time to peruse, of which (as I remember) Stephen Gardiner was one; after they had kept it long in their hands, and the king was divers times sued unto for the publication thereof, at the last being called for by the king himself, they redelivered the book; and being demanded by the king what was their judgment of the translation, they answered that there were many faults therein. "Well," said the king, "but are there any heresies maintained thereby?" They answered, there were no heresies, that they could find, maintained thereby. "If there be no heresies," said the king, "then in God's name let it go abroad among our people." According to this judgment of the king and the bishops, M. Coverdale defended his translation, confessing that he did now himself espy some faults, which, if he might review it once over again, as he had done twice before, he doubted not but to amend; but for any heresy, he was sure there was none maintained by his translation. After the same manner, I doubt not (by God's help) so to defend all our translations, for all your evident marks to know wilful corruptions, that not one shall be found of purpose to maintain any heretical opinion, and not many errors committed through negligence, ignorance, or human frailty.

MARTIN, 2. "Evident marks or signs to know wilful corruptions in translating.

Martin. The first mark and most general is: If they translate elsewhere not amiss, and in places of controversy between them and us most falsely; it is an evident argument that they do it not of negligence, or ignorance, but of partiality to the matter in controversy. This is to be seen through the whole bible, where the faults of their translations are altogether, or specially, in those scriptures that concern the causes in question between us. For other small faults, or rather oversights, we will no further note unto them, than to the end that they may the more easily pardon us the like, if they find them.

FULKE, 2.

Fulke. This mark is too general to know anything

thereby: when you do exemplify it in special, you shall easily be answered: in the meantime, it is sufficient to deny generally, that wherewith you so generally charge us, that we have in places of controversy translated anything falsely. If one word be otherwise translated in any place of controversy, than it is in other places out of controversy, there may be rendered sufficient reason of that variety, without that it must needs come of partiality to the matter in controversy, but rather of love of the truth, which in all matters of question between us is confirmed by plain text of scriptures, or necessary collection out of the same; so that if the translation in those places were the same that yours is, of the New Testament, it should neither hinder our truth, nor fortify your error. As for small faults and oversights, reason it is (as you say) they should be pardoned on both sides.

Martin. If, as in their opinions and heresies they forsake the ancient fathers, so also in their translations they go from that text and ancient reading of holy scriptures, which all the fathers used and expounded; is it not plain that their translation followeth the vein and humour of their heresy? And again, if they that so abhor from the ancient expositions of the fathers, yet, if it seem to serve for them, stick not to make the exposition of any one doctor the very text of holy scripture; what is this but heretical wilfulness? See this, chap. i. numb. 43. chap. x. numb. 1, 2. chap. xviii. numb. 10, 11. and chap. xix. numb. 1. MARTIN, 3.

Fulke. We never go from that text and ancient reading, which all the fathers used and expounded; but we translate that most usual text, which was first printed out of the most ancient copies that could be found; and if any be since found, or if any of the ancient fathers did read otherwise than the usual copies, in any word that is any way material, in annotation, commentaries, readings, and sermons, we spare not to declare it as occasion serveth: but that we "stick not to make the exposition of any one doctor the very text of holy scripture," it is a very heinous slander, neither can it be proved in any of the places of your book, which you quote for that purpose. FULKE, 3.

Martin. Again, if they that profess to translate the Hebrew and Greek, and that because it maketh more for them (as they say), and therefore in all conferences and disputations appeal unto it as to the fountain and touchstone, if they (I say) in translating places of controversy flee from the Hebrew and the Greek; it is a most certain argu- MARTIN, 4.

ment of wilful corruption. This is done many ways, and is to be observed also throughout the whole bible, and in all this book.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* We never flee from the Hebrew and Greek in any place, much less in places of controversy; but we always hold, as near as we can, that which the Greek and Hebrew signifieth. But if in places of controversy we take witness of the Greek or vulgar Latin, where the Hebrew or Greek may be thought ambiguous; I trust no wise man will count this a flight from the Hebrew and Greek, which we always translate aright, whether it agree with the Seventy or vulgar Latin, or no.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* If the Greek be *idololatria* and *idololatra*, and they translate not *idolatry* and *idolater*, but, worshipping of images, and worshipper of images; and that so absurdly, that they make the apostle say, 'covetousness is worshipping of images;' this none would do but fools or madmen, unless it were of purpose against sacred images. See chap. iii. numb. 1, 2.

εἰδωλολατρεία. εἰδωλολάτρης. Eph. v. Col. iii. Bib. an. 1577.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* If the Greek words do signify as we translate, (as hath been often proved,) who but a wrangling quarreller would find fault therewith, except it were to maintain idolatry, or worshipping of images, which before God and all wise men of the world is all one? And where you say, none but fools or madmen would translate, Ep. v.[1] Col. iii., "covetousness is worshipping of images;" I pray you, in whether order will you place Isidorus Clarius, of a monk of Casinas made bishop Fulginas, which in the third to the Colossians upon your vulgar Latin text, (which according to the Greek calleth *idololatria, simulacrorum servitus*, the service of images,) in his notes upon the place writeth this: *Præter cetera peccata avaritia peculiare hoc nomen assecuta est, ut dicatur esse (horrendum nomen) cultus simulacrorum. Nam pecunia quid aliud est quam simulacrum quoddam, vel argenteum vel aureum, quod homines avari plus amant, et longe majore cultu atque honore prosequuntur, quam ipsum Deum?*[2] "Above other sins,

[1 The translations of Tyndale 1534, Cranmer 1539, and Bishops' Bible 1584, render Ephes. v. 5. ὃς ἐστιν εἰδωλολάτρης, "which is a worshipper of images." The Geneva versions 1557, 1560, have it the same as the Authorised version of 1611, "which is an idolater." The Vulgate has, "quod est idolorum servitus."]

[2 Critici Sacri. vii. 284.]

covetousness hath obtained this peculiar name, that it is called (which is an horrible name) the worshipping of images; for what other thing is money but a certain image, either of silver or gold, which covetous men do love more, and prosecute with far greater worship and honour, than they do God himself?" Or, if you make no count of Isidorus Clarius, in what degree will you account the deputies of the council of Trent[3], whose severe censure this note hath escaped? of fools, or of madmen, or of enemies to sacred images? Yea, how will you excuse your own vulgar Latin translation, which turneth *idololatria* out of Greek into *simulacrorum servitus*, "the service or worship of images"? I am not so unaquainted with your shameless shifts, but I know right well that you will say, this Latin word *simulacrum* signifieth a false image, or an idol that is worshipped as God; for nothing else you will acknowledge to be an idol. But who shall better tell us what the Latin word *simulacrum* doth signify, than the father of eloquence in the Latin tongue, even Tully himself, who in his oration *pro Archia poeta* useth *simulacrum* for the same that *statua* and *imago?* Speaking of the cunning image-makers of Greece, he saith, *Statuæ et imagines non animorum simulacra sunt, sed corporum:* "standing images and other images are not similitudes or images of the minds, but of the bodies." And in his accusation of Verres he nameth *effigies simulacrumque Mithridatis*, "the shape and image of Mithridates." In his second book *De Inventione* he sheweth that Zeuxis, that famous painter, did paint the image of Helena: *ut excellentem muliebris formæ pulchritudinem muta in sese imago contineret, Helenæ se pingere velle simulacrum dixit.* "That a dumb image might contain in it the excellent beauty of a woman's form, he said he would paint the similitude or image of Helena." Also in his familiar epistles, Epist. lxviii., *Illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant:* "those workmen did make the images of the bodies known to them that knew them not." And so commonly he useth *simulacrum justitiæ, virtutis, civitatis*, for the image or similitude of justice, of virtue, of a city or commonwealth, &c. And so do other good Latin writers, as well as he, use the word *simulacrum*, not only for an image

[3 The deputies who took off the interdiction pronounced on the edition of 1542.]

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that is religiously worshipped, but even generally for any image, and in the same signification that they use the word *imago*. But peradventure ecclesiastical writers use the word *simulacrum* only for idols forbidden; and I perhaps shall be chidden of Martin for citing testimonies out of profane authors, to know the use of ecclesiastical terms. Let us see then what christian writers say to this matter, and how they use this word *simulacrum*. You yourselves say we may not translate that verse of Genesis, "God made man after his idol." But Lactantius[1] calleth men *viventia Dei simulacra*, "living images of God," which we ought to garnish rather than *simulacra insensibilia Deorum*, "the senseless images of the Gods," which the heathen garnished: yea, he hath a whole chapter, intituled, *De simulacris et vero Dei simulacro et cultu*, "Of images and of the true image and worship of God"; in which also he sheweth that *simulacrum* is called of similitude: and therefore the heathenish idols, having no resemblance of God, cannot properly be called *simulacra*. St Ambrose[2], another writer of the church, upon 1 Cor. x., upon that text, *Non quia simulacrum est aliquid*, &c., "not that the image is anything": (the Greek is *idolum*:) *Simulacrum vere nihil est, quia imago videtur rei mortuæ*: "The image or idol is indeed nothing, because it seemeth to be an image of a dead thing." Also upon the 45th psalm: "God was high in the patriarchs and prophets, which did not compare him *imaginibus terrenis et simulacris scrupeis*[3], to images or similitudes of the earth and stone." Tertullian[4] also, a Latin writer, in his book *De Spectaculis*, speaking of cunning workmanship of imagery, shewed in those plays, and the authors of them, saith: *Scimus enim nihil esse nomina mortuorum, sicut nec ipsa simulacra eorum*: "we know that the names of those dead men are nothing, as also their images."

De vero Dei cultu. lib. 6. cap. 43.

De orig. error. lib. 2. cap. 2.

[1] Nam si deorum cultores simulacra insensibilia excolunt, et quidquid pretiosi habent, in ea conferunt, quibus nec uti possunt, nec gratias agere, quod acceperint; quanto justius est et verius, viventia Dei simulacra excolere, ut promereare viventem? Lactantii De vero Cultu, Lib. VI. cap. 13. Opera, Vol. I. p. 472. edit. Dufresnoy, Lutet. Paris. 1748.]

[2] Simulacrum vere nihil est, quia imago videtur rei mortuæ: sed sub tegmine simulacrorum diabolus colitur. Ambros. Op. Vol. II. p. 145.]

[3] In Psal. XLV. Enarratio, prop. fin.]

[4] Tertullianus de Spectaculis, p. 15. edit. Rigalt. 1634.]

Afterward to their names, *nominibus*, he joineth *imaginibus*, to shew that *simulacra* and *imagines* are all one, which of Christians at that time were greatly abhorred in detestation of idolatry. St Augustine[5] calleth the same *simulacra*, which before he called *imagines: Cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines, unde simulacrorum usus exortus est:* "when for desire of the dead images were made, whereof the use of images came, through flattery, divine honour was given unto them." And so they brought in idolatry, or the worshipping of images. The same Augustine[6], in his book *Octoginta Quæstion.*, in the seventy-eighth question, which is intituled *De simulacrorum pulchritudine*, "of the beauty of images," ascribeth to God the cunning by which they are made beautiful. And in his questions upon the book of Judges, lib. vii. cap. 41, inquiring how Gideon's ephod was a cause of fornication to the people, when it was no idol[7], he

[5 Non igitur mirum est, si prævaricatores angeli, quorum duo maxima vitia sunt superbia atque fallacia, per hunc aerem volitantes, quod uni vero Deo deberi noverant, hoc sibi a suis cultoribus exegerunt, a quibus dii putari voluerunt, dante sibi locum vanitate cordis humani: maxime cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines, unde simulacrorum usus exortus est. Augustini Contra Faustum. Lib. XXII. cap. 17. Opera, Vol. VIII. p. 577. edit. Paris. 1837.]

[6 Ars illa summa omnipotentis Dei, per quam ex nihilo facta sunt omnia, quæ etiam sapientia ejus dicitur, ipsa operatur etiam per artifices, ut pulchra atque congruentia faciant; quamvis non de nihilo, sed de aliqua materia operentur, velut ligno, aut marmore, aut ebore, et si quod aliud materiæ genus manibus artificis subditur. Sed ideo isti non possunt de nihilo aliquid fabricare, quia per corpus operantur, cum tamen eos numeros et lineamentorum convenientiam, quæ per corpus corpori imprimunt, in animo accipiant ab illa summa sapientia, quæ ipsos numeros et ipsam convenientiam longe artificiosius universo mundi corpori impressit, quod de nihilo fabricatum est; in quo sunt etiam corpora animalium, quæ jam de aliquo, id est, de elementis mundi fabricantur, sed longe potentius excellentiusque, quam cum artifices homines easdem figuras corporum et formas in suis operibus imitantur. Augustini Liber de diversis Quæstionibus, LXXVIII. Vol. VI. p. 125.]

[7 Hoc ergo illicitum cum fecisset Gedeon, *fornicatus est post illud omnis Israel*, id est, sequendo illud contra legem Dei: ubi non frustra quæritur, cum idolum non fuerit, id est, cujusquam Dei falsi et alieni simulacrum, sed ephud, id est, unum de sacramentis tabernaculi quod ad vestem sacerdotalem pertineret, quomodo fornicationem scriptura dicat populi ista sectantis atque venerantis. Augustini Quæstiones in Judices, XLI. Vol. III. p. 939.]

plainly distinguisheth *simulacrum* from *idolum*, as the general from the special, *Cum idolum non fuerit, id est cujuspiam dei falsi et alieni simulacrum:* "when it was no idol, that is to say, an image of some false or strange God." Again he saith: "Those things that were commanded to be made in the tabernacle, were rather referred to the worship of God, than that anything of them should be taken for God, or for an image of God, *pro Dei simulacro.*" So that *simulacrum* with St Augustine signifieth as generally as *image*, and cannot be restrained to signify an idol in the evil part, except you add, that it is an image of a false or strange god. Arnobius, an ecclesiastical writer of the Latin church, useth the word *simulacrum* for an image generally; calling man also *simulacrum Dei*, (as Lactantius[1] doth the image of God,) *Cont. gent. lib.* vi. *Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra et aras non habemus? Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam, cum si recte existimes sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum?* "Think you that we do hide that which we worship, if we have no temples and altars? For what image shall I feign to God? whereas, if you judge rightly, man himself is the image of God." You see therefore that *simulacrum* signifieth not an idol worshipped for God, but even as much as *imago*, by your own rule. Last of all, (for I will not trouble the reader with more, although more might be brought,) Isidorus Hispalensis, an ancient bishop of the Latin church, *Originum, lib.* viii., speaking of the first inventors of images, which after were abused to idolatry, saith: *Fuerunt etiam et quidam viri fortes aut urbium conditores, quibus mortuis homines qui eos dilexerunt simulacra finxerunt, ut haberent aliquod ex imaginum contemplatione solatium; sed paulatim hunc errorem*, &c. "There were also certain valiant men, or builders of cities, who when they were dead, men which loved them made their images or counterfeits, that they might have some comfort in beholding the images; but by little and little, the devils persuading this error, it is certain that so it crept into their posterity, that those whom they honoured for the only remembrance of their name, their successors esteemed

[1 Itaque simulacrum Dei non illud est, quod digitis hominis ex lapide, aut ære, aliave materia fabricatur; sed ipse homo, quoniam et sentit, et movetur, et multas magnasque actiones habet. Firm. Lactantii Divin. Institut. Lib. II. cap. 2.]

and worshipped as gods." Again he saith, *Simulacra autem a similitudine nuncupata*, &c. "Images are called *simulacra* of the similitude, because by the hand of the artificers of stone or other matter they resemble the countenance of them in whose honour they are feigned; or they are called *a simulando*, whereof it followeth they are false things[2]." These testimonies needed not for them that be but half-learned, which know right well that *simulacrum* is synonomon with *imago;* but that our adversaries are so impudent, that to serve their idolatrous affection they care not what idols they invent, of words, of significations, of distinctions, so they may seem to say somewhat in the ears of the unlearned, which are not able to judge of such matters. But perhaps they will say, their vulgar Latin interpreter useth the word *simulacrum* only for idols that are worshipped with divine honour. Neither is that true; and although it were, seeing it seldom useth *simulacra*, and most commonly *idola*, and sometimes *imagines*, what reason is there why we may not call those things images, which your interpreter calleth *simulacra?* And to prove that your interpreter useth *simulacrum* for an image generally, as all other Latin writers do, you may see 1 Sam. cap. xix.[3], where speaking of the image which Michol laid in the bed, to counterfeit the sickness of David, first he calleth it *statuam*, and afterward the same image he calleth *simulacrum*. And sure it is, that David had no idols in his house. And lest you should cavil about the Hebrew word *teraphim*[4], which the *Septuaginta* translate κενοτάφια, Aquila calleth μορφώματα, St Jerome telleth you Quæst. Heb. in Gen.

[2 Sed paulatim hunc errorem, persuadentibus dæmonibus ita ut posteris constet irrepsisse, ut quos illi pro sola nominis memoria honoraverunt, successores deos existimarent atque colerent. Simulacra autem a similitudine nuncupata, eo quod manu artificis ex lapide aliave materia eorum vultus imitantur, in quorum honorem finguntur. Ergo simulacra, vel pro eo quod sunt similia, vel pro eo quod simulata atque conficta, unde et falsa sunt. Etymologiarum, Lib. VIII. cap. 5, 6, Vol. III. p. 376. edit. Arevalo.]

[3 The LXX. have 1 Sam. 13. καὶ ἔλαβεν ἡ Μελχὸλ τὰ κενοτάφια: the Vulgate has, "Tulit autem Michol *statuam*." At the 16th verse the LXX. have, καὶ ἰδοὺ τὰ κενοτάφια: the Vulgate, "inventum est *simulacrum*."]

[4 *Et furata est Rachel idola patris sui:* (Gen. xxxi. 19.) ubi nunc idola legimus, in Hebræo THERAPHIM (תרפים) scriptum est, quæ

they signify *figuras* or *imagines*, "figures or images," which sometimes were abused to idolatry, as those which Rachel stole, and those which are mentioned Jud. xvii. Aben Ezra, and other of the rabbins, say they were astronomical images, to serve for dials, or other purposes of astrology; and such, it is most like, was that which was placed in David's bed, which your interpreter calleth *statuam* and *simulacrum*. Therefore, whereas we have translated *idololatria*, Col. iii.[1], "worshipping of images," we have done rightly; and your Latin interpreter will warrant that translation, which translateth the same word, *simulacrorum servitus*, the service of images. It is you therefore, and not we, that are to be blamed for translation of that word; for where you charge us to depart from the Greek text, which we profess to translate, we do not, except your vulgar translation be false. But you, professing to follow the Latin, as the only true and authentical text, do manifestly depart from it in your translation; for the Latin being *simulacrorum servitus*, you call it the service of idols, appealing to the Greek word, which you have set in the margin, εἰδωλολατρεία, and dare not translate according to your own Latin; for then you should have called covetousness even as we do, the worshipping or service of images. And yet you charge us in your notes with a marvellous impudent and foolish corruption. But I report me to all indifferent readers, whether this be not a marvellous impudent aud foolish reprehension, to reprove us for saying the same in English, that your own interpreter saith in Latin; for *simulacrorum servitus* is as well the service of images, as *simulacrorum artifex* is a maker of images, whom none but a fool or a madman would call a maker of idols; because, not the craftsman that frameth the image, but he that setteth it up to be worshipped as God, maketh an idol, according to your own

Aquila μορφώματα, id est, *figuras*, vel *imagines* interpretatur. Hoc autem ideo, ut sciamus quid Judicum libro THERAPHIM sonet. (Jud. xvii. 5.) Hieronymi Quæstionum Hebraic. in Genesim. Opera, Vol. II. p. 535. edit. Martianay.]

[1 καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία. Coloss. iii. 5. "Et avaritiam, quæ est simulacrorum servitus." Vulg. "And covetousness, which is worshipping of idols." Tyndale, Cranmer. "And covetousness, which is idolatry." Geneva, Authorised. "And covetousness, which is worshipping of images." Bishops' Bible. "And avarice, which is the service of idols." Rheims.]

acceptation of an idol. But of this matter enough at this time.

Martin. If the apostle say, a Pagan idolater, and a Christian idolater, by one and the same Greek word, in one and the same meaning; and they translate, a Pagan idolater, and a Christian worshipper of images, by two distinct words and diverse meanings; it must needs be done wilfully to the foresaid purpose. See chap. iii. numb. 8, 9. MARTIN, 6. 1 Cor. v. εἰδωλολάτρης. Bib. an. 1562.

Fulke. We translate not only pagan idolaters, but also Jewish idolaters, nor Christians only worshippers of images, but pagans also: wherefore this is a foolish observation. And if we do any where explicate, who is an idolater, by translating him a worshipper of images, both the word beareth it, and it is not contrary to the sense of the scriptures, in which we find the worshipping of images always forbidden, but never commanded or allowed. FULKE, 6.

Martin. If they translate one and the same Greek word *tradition*, whensoever the scripture speaketh of evil traditions; and never translate it so, whensoever it speaketh of good and apostolical traditions; their intention is evident against the authority of traditions. See chap. ii. numb. 1, 2, 3. MARTIN, 7. παράδοσις.

Fulke. This is answered sufficiently in confutation of the preface, sect. 51. The English word "tradition" sounding in the evil part, and taken by the papists for matter unwritten, yet as true and as necessary as that which is contained in the holy scriptures, we have upon just cause avoided in such places, as the Greek word signifieth good and necessary doctrine, delivered by the apostles, which is all contained in the scriptures; and yet have used such English words as sufficiently express the Greek word used in the original text. Do not you yourselves translate *tradere* sometimes to betray, and sometimes to deliver? FULKE, 7.

Martin. Yea, if they translate "tradition," taken in ill part, where it is not in the Greek; and translate it not so, where it is in the Greek, taken in good part; it is more evidence of the foresaid wicked intention. See chap. ii. numb. 5, 6. MARTIN, 8. τί δογματίζεσθε.[2] Col. ii. 20.

[2] τί ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε; Col. ii. 20. "Quid adhuc tamquam viventes in mundo decernitis?" Vulg. "Are ye led with traditions of them that say?" Tyndale. "Are ye led with traditions?"

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* Our intention can be no worse than your vulgar Latin interpreter's was, who, where the Greek hath ἔθη, translateth it *traditions*, Act. vi. And the right understanding of the word δογματίζεσθε, according to the Apostle's meaning, will yield traditions, as well as ἔθη in the place before mentioned.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* If they make this a good rule, to translate according to the usual signification, and not the original derivation of words, as Beza and
Pag. 209. Master Whitakers do; and if they translate contrary to this rule, what is it but wilful corruption? So they do in translating *idolum* an image, *presbyter* an elder; and the like. See chap. iv. and chap. vi. numb. 6, 7, 8, &c., numb. 13, &c.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* Neither Beza, nor Master Whitaker, make it a perpetual rule to translate according to the usual signification; for sometimes a word is not taken in the usual signification: as *Fœnerator*[1], used by your vulgar Latin interpreter, Luke vii., usually signifieth an usurer; yet do you translate it a creditor. Likewise *stabulum*, used Luke x., usually signifieth a stable, yet you translate it an inn. So *navis*, which usually signifieth a ship, you call it a boat, Mark viii.; and *navicula*, which usually signifieth a boat, you call a ship, Luke v. And yet I think you meant no wilful corruption. No more surely did they which translated *idolum* an image, and *presbyter* an elder, which you cannot deny. But they follow the original derivation of the words; whereas some of yours both go from the usual signification, and also from the original derivation.

Cranmer, Bishops' Bible. "Are ye burdened with traditions?" Geneva. "Are ye subject to ordinances?" Authorised. "Why do you yet decree as living in the world?" Rheims. (See c. II., n. 4.)]

[1 Luke vii. 41. Δύο χρεωφειλέται ἦσαν δανειστῇ τινι. Vulgate, "Duo debitores erant cuidam fœneratori." Rhemish translation, "A certain creditor had two debtors."

Luke x. 34. ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς πανδοχεῖον. Vulgate, "duxit in stabulum", rendered by the Rhemish translator, "brought him to an inn."

Mark viii. 10. ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. Vulg. "ascendens navim." Rhemish translation, "going up into the boat."

Luke v. 3. ἐδίδασκεν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου τοὺς ὄχλους. Vulgate, "docebat de navicula turbas." Rhemish version, "he taught the multitudes out of a ship."]

Martin. If *presbyter*, by ecclesiastial use, be appropriated to signify a priest, no less than *episcopus* to signify a bishop, or *diaconus* a deacon; and if they translate these two latter accordingly, and the first never in all the New Testament; what can it be but wilful corruption in favour of this heresy, that there are no priests of the New Testament? See chap. vi. numb. 12. MARTIN, 10. Whitak. p. 199.

Fulke. The word *priest*, by popish abuse, is commonly taken for a sacrificer, the same that *sacerdos* in Latin. But the Holy Ghost never calleth the ministers of the word and sacraments of the New Testament ἱερεῖς, or *sacerdotes.* Therefore the translators, to make a difference between the ministers of the Old Testament and them of the New, calleth the one, according to the usual acception, priests, and the other, according to the original derivation, elders. Which distinction seeing the vulgar Latin text doth always rightly observe, it is in favour of your heretical sacrificing priesthood, that you corruptly translate *sacerdos* and *presbyter* always, as though they were all one, *a priest*, as though the Holy Ghost had made that distinction in vain, or that there were no difference between the priesthood of the New Testament and the Old. The name of priest, according to the original derivation from *presbyter*, we do not refuse: but according to the common acception for a sacrificer, we cannot take it, when it is spoken of the ministry of the New Testament. And although many of the ancient fathers have abusively confounded the terms of *sacerdos* and *presbyter*, yet that is no warrant for us to translate the scripture, and to confound that which we see manifestly the Spirit of God hath distinguished. For this cause we have translated the Greek word πρεσβύτερος *an elder*, even as your vulgar Latin translator doth divers times, as Acts xv.[2] and xx.[3]; 1 Pet. v.[4], FULKE, 10.

[[2] Acts xv. 22. Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. The Vulgate translates, "tunc placuit apostolis et senioribus." This latter word is rendered "elders" by the translations of 1534, 1539, and Geneva, 1557. "Auncients," by the Rhemish version.]

[[3] Acts xx. 17. μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. Vulgate, "Vocavit majores."]

[[4] 1 Pet. v. 1. πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ. Vulgate, "Seniores ergo, qui in vobis sunt." Rhemish version, "The seniors therefore that are among you."

See also Acts ii. 17. καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, &c. Vulgate, "Seniores." Acts iv. 5. id.]

and elsewhere calleth them *seniores* or *majores natu*, which you commonly call the ancients, or seniors, because you dare not speak English, and say "the elders." Neither is *presbyter* by ecclesiastical use so appropriated to signify a priest, that you would always translate it so in the Old Testament, where your vulgar translator useth it for a name of office and government, and not for priests at any time. Neither do we always translate the Greek word *episcopus* and *diaconus* for a bishop and a deacon, but sometimes for an overseer, as Act. xx., and a minister generally oftentimes.

The word *baptisma*, by ecclesiastical use, signifieth the holy sacrament of baptism; yet are you enforced, Mark vii., to translate *baptismata* "washings." Even so do we, to observe that distinction, which the apostles and evangelists always do keep, when we call *sacerdotes* priests, for difference we call *presbyteros* elders, and not lest the name of priests should enforce the popish sacrifice of the mass. For this word *presbyter* will never comprehend a sacrificer, or a sacrificing priesthood.

MARTIN, 11. *Martin.* If for God's altar they translate *temple*, and for Bel's idololatrical table they translate *altar;* judge whether it be not of purpose against our altars, and in favour of their communion-table. See chap. xvii. numb. 15, 16.

FULKE, 11. *Fulke.* If there be any such mistaking of one word for another, I think it was the fault of the printer rather than of the translator; for the name of altar is more than a hundred times in the bible: and unto the story of Bel we attribute so small credit, that we will take no testimony from thence, to prove or disprove anything.

MARTIN, 12. Bib. in king Edw. time, printed again 1562. *Martin.* If at the beginning of their heresy, when sacred images were broken in pieces, altars digged down, the catholic church's authority defaced, the king made supreme head, then their translation was made accordingly; and if afterward, when these errors were well established in the realm, and had taken root in the people's hearts, all was altered and changed in their later translations, and now they could not find that in the Greek, which was in the former translation; what was it at the first, but wilful corruption to serve the time that then was? See chap. iii. 5. chap. xvii. numb. 15, chap. xv. numb. 22.

Fulke. For images, altars, the catholic church's authority, the king's supremacy, nothing is altered in the latter translations, that was falsely translated in the former, except perhaps the printer's fault be reformed. Neither can any thing be proved to maintain the popish images, altars, church's authority, or pope's supremacy, out of any translation of the scriptures, or out of the original itself. Therefore our translations were not framed according to the time; but if any thing were not uttered so plainly or so aptly as it might, why should not one translation help another? FULKE, 12.

Martin. If at the first revolt, when none were noted for heretics and schismatics but themselves, they did not once put the names of *schism* or *heresy* in the bible[1], but instead thereof *division* and *sect*, insomuch that for an heretic they said, an author of sects; what may we judge of it but as of wilful corruption? See chap. iv. numb. 3. MARTIN, 13. Bib. 1562. Titus iii.

Fulke. Yes, reasonable men may judge, that they did it to shew unto the ignorant people, what the names of schismatic and heretic do signify, rather than to make them believe, that heresy and schism was not spoken against in the scripture. That they translated heresy *sect*, they did it by example of your vulgar Latin interpreter, who, in the 24th of the Acts[2], translateth the Greek word αἱρέσεως *sectæ*. In which chapter likewise, as he also hath done, they have translated the same word *heresy*. FULKE, 13.

Martin. If they translate so absurdly at the first, that themselves are driven to change it for shame; it must needs be at the first wilful corruption. For example, when it was in the first *temple*, and in the later *altar;* in the first always *congregation*, in the later always *church;* in the first, "to the king as chief head," in the later, "to the MARTIN, 14.

[1 Titus iii. 10. Αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ. Wiclif, 1380, renders it, "Eschew thou a man heretic;" and Tyndale, 1534, "A man that is given to heresy, after the first and second admonition, avoid." Cranmer's version 1539, and 1562, has, "A man that is author of sects, after the first and second admonition, avoid." The Geneva versions of 1557, 1560, 1577, 1580, have, "Reject him that is an heretic, after once or twice admonition." The Rhemish, Bishops' 1584, and Authorised 1611, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid."]

[2 Acts xxiv. 5. · τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως. Vulgate, "Sectæ Nazarenorum." Rhemish version, "Sect of the Nazarenes." "Sect of the Nazarites," edit. 1534, 1539, 1557.]

king as having pre-eminence." So did Beza first translate *carcase*, and afterward *soul*[1]. Which alteration in all these places is so great, that it could not be negligence at the first or ignorance, but a plain heretical intention. See chap. xvii. numb. 15, chap. v. numb. 4, 5, chap. xv. numb. 22, chap. vii. numb. 2.

FULKE, 14. *Fulke.* Nay, it may be an oversight, or escape of negligence, or the printer's fault, as it is manifest in that quarrel you make of *temple* for *altar:* for in Thomas Matthew's translation, the first that was printed in English with authority, there is *altar* in both places, 1 Cor. ix. and x. For the term *congregation* changed into *church*, it was not for shame of the former, which was true, but because the other term of church was now well understood, to shew that the word of scripture agreeth with the word of our creed; or perhaps to avoid your fond quarrel, not now first picked, to the term *congregation.* Whereas the former was, "To the king or chief head," the latter saying, "the king as having pre-eminence," doth nothing derogate unto the former, and the former is contained under the latter. For I hope you will grant, that the king is chief head of his people; or if the word *head* displease you (because you are so good a Frenchman), tell us what chief doth signify, but an head? Now this place of Peter speaketh not particularly of the king's authority over the Church, or in church matters: therefore if it had been translated "supreme head," we could have gained no greater argument for the supremacy in question, than we may by the word *pre-eminence*, or by the word *extolling*, which you use[2]. That Beza altered the word *cadaver* into *animam*, I have shewed he did it to avoid

[1 Οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδου. "Non derelinques animam meam," Edit. 1582. "Non derelinques cadaver meum," Edit. 1556. Nov. Test. Bezæ. "Because thou wilt not leave my soul in grave," New Test. translated out of Greek by Beza, Englished by L. Tomson. C. Barker, 1583. fol.]

[2 *Extolling* a mistake apparently for *excelling.* The translations alluded to here are of 1 Pet. ii. 13: Ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι. "Whether it be unto the king as unto the chief head," Tyndale, 1534; Cranmer, 1539; Geneva, 1557. "Whether it be unto the king as unto the superior," Geneva, 1560. "Whether it be to the king, as excelling," Rheims, 1582. "Whether it be unto the king as having the pre-eminence," Bishops' Bible, 1584. "Whether it be to the king as supreme." Authorised version, 1611.]

offence, and because the latter is more proper to the Greek, although the Hebrew word, which David doth use, may and doth signify a dead body or carcase.

Martin. If they will not stand to all their translations, but fly to that namely, which now is read in their churches[3]: and if that which is now read in their churches, differ in the points aforesaid from that that was read in their churches in king Edward's time; and if from both these they fly to the Geneva bible, and from that again to the other aforesaid: what shall we judge of the one or the other, but that all is voluntary, and as they list? See chap. iii. numb. 10, 11, 12, chap. x. numb. 12. MARTIN, 15.

Fulke. If of three translations we prefer that which is the best, what sign of corruption is this? If any fault have, either of ignorance or negligence, escaped in one, which is corrected in another, and we prefer that which is corrected before that which is faulty, what corruption can be judged in either? Not every fault is a wilful corruption, and much less an heretical corruption. The example that you quote out of your 3rd chapter, concerning the translation of *idolum*, is no flying from our translation to another, but a confuting of Howlet's cavil against our church service; because this word is therein read translated an image, 1 John v.[4], whereas in that bible, which by authority is to be read in the church service, the word in the text is idols, and not images; and yet will we justify the other to be good and true, which readeth, "Babes, keep yourselves FULKE, 15.

[3 Archbishop Parker's translation, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, was first printed in folio in the year 1568, and in 4to. in 1569. It was ordered, in the Convocation of 1571, (Wilkins, Conc. Vol. IV. p. 263.) that copies should be provided by all dignitaries for their private houses, and by all church officers for the use of their cathedral and parish churches. (See Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, in Dr Cardwell's Synodalia, Vol. I. p. 123. Documentary Annals, Vol. II. p. 11.) The edition quoted in these notes is that printed by Barker, fol. 1584.

The Injunctions of Edw. VI. 1547, do not specify what particular translation shall be used: neither do Queen Elizabeth's in 1559.]

[4 Τεκνία, φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων, 1 John v. 21. "Filioli, custodite vos a simulacris," Vulgate. "Babes, keep yourselves from images," Tyndale, 1534; Cranmer, 1539. "Babes, keep yourselves from idols," Geneva, 1557, 1560; Bishops' Bible, 1584; Rhemish, 1582; Authorised Version, 1611.]

from images," as your vulgar Latin text is *a simulacris*, wherein you fly from your own authentical text to the Greek, which, except you think it make for your purpose, you are not ashamed to count falsified and corrupted.

MARTIN, 16. *Martin.* If they gladly use these words in ill part, where they are not in the original text, *procession, shrines, devotions, excommunicate, images;* and avoid these words which are in the original, *hymns, grace, mystery, sacrament, church, altar, priests, catholic traditions, justifications;* is it not plain that they do it of purpose to disgrace or suppress the said things and speeches used in the catholic church? See chap. xxi. numb. 5, and seq. chap. xii. numb. 3.

FULKE, 16. *Fulke.* Who would be so mad, but blind malice, to think they would disgrace or suppress the things or names of catholic church, whereof they acknowledge themselves members; of grace, by which they confess they are saved; of hymns, which they use to the praise of God; of justifications, when they profess they are of themselves unjust; of sacraments and mysteries, by which the benefits of Christ are sealed up unto them; of altar, when they believe that Jesus Christ is our altar; of priests, when they hold that all good Christians are priests; of devotions, when they dispute that ignorance is not the mother of true devotion, but knowledge; of excommunication, which they practise daily? As for the names and things of procession, shrines, images, traditions beside the holy Scriptures in religion, they have just cause to abhor. Neither do they use the one sort of terms, without probable ground out of the original text; nor avoid the other, but upon some good special cause, as in the several places (when we are charged with them) shall appear.

MARTIN, 17. *Martin.* If in a case that maketh for them they strain the very original signification of the word, and in a case that maketh against them they neglect it altogether; what is this but wilful and of purpose? See chap. vii. numb. 36.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* I answer, we strain no words to signify otherwise than the nature and use of them will afford us, neither do we spare to express that which hath a shew against us, if the property or usual signification of the word, with the circumstance of the place, do so require it.

Martin. If in words of ambiguous and diverse signification they will have it signify here or there as it pleaseth them; and that so vehemently, that here it must needs so signify, and there it must not; and both this and that to one end, and in favour of one and the same opinion; what is this but wilful translation? So doth Beza urge γυναῖκα to signify wife, and not to signify wife, both against virginity and chastity of priests: and the English bible translateth accordingly. See chap. xv. numb. 11, 12. MARTIN, 18. Beza in 1 Cor. vii. 1. and ix. 5. Bib. an. 1579.

Fulke. To the general charge I answer generally, We do not as you slander us; nor Beza, whom you shamefully belie, to urge the word γυναῖκα, 1 Cor. vii. 1[1]. not to signify a wife, against virginity and chastity of priests; for clean contrariwise, he reproveth Erasmus restraining it to a wife, which the apostle saith generally, "It is good for a man not to touch a woman;" which doth not only contain a commendation of virginity in them that be unmarried, but also of continency in them that be married. And as for the virginity or chastity of priests, he speaketh not one word of it in that place, no more than the apostle doth. FULKE, 18.

Now, touching the other place that you quote, 1 Cor. ix. 5[2],

[1 Bonum fuerit viro mulierem non attingere, is the rendering of Beza's version, upon which he has these remarks: *Mulierem non attingere, γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι.* Erasmus, *uxorem non attingere,* id est, (ut ipse interpretatur) ab uxore ducenda abstinere. Ego vero existimo Paulum verbo ἅπτεσθαι significasse in genere viri cum muliere congressum: quem tamen per se non damnat, quum eo velit homines ut remedio uti, idque in matrimonio, si continere se non possint, minime id facturus si malum esset conjugium. Nam præcipit quidem humana prudentia, ut ex duobus malis quod minus malum est eligamus: christiana verò religio contra, ut quicquid malum est sine ulla exceptione vitemus. Falsa est igitur Hieronymi doctrina, qui adversus Jovinianum disserens, verbum ἅπτεσθαι ita urget, quasi in ipso etiam mulieris contactu sit periculum: quum constet virum non minus bona conscientia uti posse ac debere uxore sua quam esca et potu, ut recte defendit Augustinus. Nov. Test. 1556.]

[2 The words are (1 Cor. ix. 5.), μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι; Translated in Tyndale's version of 1534: "Either, have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as other apostles?" In Cranmer's, 1539: "Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as other apostles?" In the Geneva version, 1557: "Either, have we not power to lead about a wife, being a sister, as well as other apostles?" The Rhemish

Beza doth truly translate ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, "a sister to wife," because the word *sister* is first placed, which comprehendeth a woman, and therefore the word γυναῖκα following must needs explicate, what woman he meaneth, namely, a wife. For it were absurd to say, a sister a woman. Therefore the vulgar Latin interpreter perverteth the words, and saith, *mulierem sororem.* It is true, that many of the ancient fathers, as too much addict to the singleness of the clergy, though they did not altogether condemn marriage in them, as the papists do, did expound the sister, whereof St Paul speaketh, of certain rich matrons, which followed the apostles whithersoever they went, and ministered to them of their substance; as we read that many did to our Saviour Christ, Matt. xxvii. 55. Luke viii. 3. But that exposition cannot stand, nor agree with this text for many causes. First, the placing of the words, which I have before spoken of. Secondly, this word, γυναῖκα, were needless, except it should signify a wife: for the word sister signifieth both a woman and a faithful woman; and otherwise it was not to be doubted, lest the apostle would lead a heathen woman with him. Thirdly, the apostle speaketh of one woman, and not many; whereas there were many that followed our Saviour Christ, whereas one alone to follow the apostle might breed occasion of ill suspicion and offence, which many could not so easily. Fourthly, those that are mentioned in the gospel our Saviour Christ did not lead about, but they did voluntarily follow him: but the apostle here saith, that he had authority, as the rest of the apostles, to lead about a woman, which argueth the right that an husband hath over his wife, or of a master over his maid. Fifthly, it is not all one, if women could travel out of Galilee to Jerusalem, which was nothing near an hundred miles, that women could follow the apostles into all parts of the world. Sixthly, if the cause why such women are supposed to have followed the apostles, was to minister to them of their substance, the leading them about was not burdenous to the church, but helpful: but the apostle testifieth, that he forbare to use this liberty, because he would

version, 1582, has it: "Have we not power to lead about a woman, a sister, as also the rest of the apostles?" The Authorised Version, 1611: "Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles?"]

not be burdenous to the church of Corinth, or to any of them. Seventhly, seeing it is certain that Peter had a wife, and the rest of the apostles are by antiquity reputed to have been all married; it is not credible that Peter, or any of the rest, would leave the company of their own wives, and lead strange women about with them. As for the objection that you make in your note upon the text, To what end should he talk of burdening the Corinthians with finding his wife, when he himself clearly saith that he was single? I answer, Although I think he was single, yet is it not so clear as you make it; for Clemens Alexandrinus thinketh he had a wife, which he left at Philippi by mutual consent. But albeit he were single, it was lawful for him to have married, and Barnabas also, as well as all the rest of the apostles. Again, to what end should he talk of burdening the church with a woman, which was not his wife, when such women, as you say, ministered to the apostles of their goods? Whereby it should follow, that none of the apostles burdened the churches where they preached with their own finding, which is clean contrary to the apostle's words and meaning. Wherefore the translation of Beza, and of our church, is most true and free from all corruption.

Martin. If the puritans and grosser Calvinists disagree about the translations, one part preferring the Geneva English bible, the other the bible read in their church; and if the Lutherans condemn the Zuinglians' and Calvinists' translations, and contrariwise; and if all sectaries reprove each another's translation; what doth it argue, but that the translations differ according to their diverse opinions? See their books written one against another. MARTIN, 19.

Fulke. Here again is nothing but a general charge of disagreeing about translations, of puritans and Calvinists, Lutherans and Zuinglians, and of all sectaries reproving one another's translation, with as general a demonstration, "See the books written one against another;" which would ask longer time than is needful to answer such a vain cavil, when it is always sufficient to deny that which is affirmed without certain proof. FULKE, 19.

Martin. If the English Geneva bibles themselves dare not follow their master Beza, whom they profess to translate, because in their MARTIN, 20. Luke iii. 36. Acts i. 14.

ii. 23; iii. 21; xxvi. 20. 2 Thess. ii. 15. and ix. 6.

opinion he goeth wide, and that in places of controversy; how wilful was he in so translating! See chap. xii. numb. 6, 8; chap. xiii. numb. 1.

FULKE, 20.

Fulke. It is a very impudent slander. The Geneva bibles do not profess to translate out of Beza's Latin translation[1], but out of the Hebrew and Greek; and if they agree not always with Beza, what is that to the purpose, if they agree with the truth of the original text? Beza oftentimes followeth the purer phrase of the Latin tongue, which they neither would nor might follow in the English. If in dissenting from Beza, or Beza from them, they or he dissent from the truth, it is of human frailty, and not of heretical wilfulness. The places being examined shall discover your vanity.

MARTIN, 21.

Martin. If for the most part they reprehend the old vulgar translation, and appeal to the Greek; and yet in places of controversy sometime for their more advantage (as they think) they leave the Greek, and follow our Latin translation; what is it else, but voluntary and partial translation? See chap. ii. numb. 8, chap. vi. numb. 10, 21, chap. vii. numb. 39, chap. x. numb. 6.

FULKE, 21.

Fulke. We never leave the Greek to follow your vulgar translation, as in the places by you quoted I will prove manifestly: but I have already proved that you leave the Latin and appeal to the Greek, in translating *simulacra*, idols, Col. iii. and 1 John v.

MARTIN, 22. Beza, Luke 1. Rom. ii. Rev. xix. 8. Beza in Rev. xix. 8.

Martin. If otherwise they avoid this word *justifications*[2] altogether, and yet translate it when they cannot choose, but with a commentary that it signifieth good works that are testimonies of a lively faith; doth not this heretical commentary shew their heretical meaning, when they avoid the word altogether? See chap. viii. numb. 1, 2, 3.

FULKE, 22.

Fulke. To avoid the word altogether, and yet sometime to translate it, I see not how they can stand together; for

[1 The Geneva bible, edit. Rouland Hall, 1560, professes, on the title page, to be "translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred with the best translations in divers languages."]

[2 πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι. Luke i. 6. "Incedentes in omnibus mandatis et constitutionibus." Vulgate. "Incedentes in omnibus mandatis et constitutionibus." Beza's version. "Going in all the maundementis and justifiyngis." Wiclif. "Walked in all the laws and ordinances." Tyndale, Cranmer. "Commandments and ordinances." Geneva, Bishops' Bible, Authorised.]

he that doth sometimes translate it, doth not altogether avoid it. But you will say, they do altogether avoid it in all such places where they do not translate it. That is altogether false; for the Geneva translation, Luke i.[3], telleth you that the Greek word signifieth justifications, and yieldeth a reason why it doth in that place otherwise translate it: and if to translate the Greek word δικαίωμα otherwise than justification, must needs shew an heretical meaning, then must you needs say, that your vulgar Latin translator had an heretical meaning; for in the second place by you quoted, namely, Rom. ii. 26, he translateth it *justitias*[4], likewise Rom. i. 32[5], *justitiam*, so likewise Rom. v. 18[6]. And if it be an heretical commentary, to say that good works are a testimony of a lively faith, you will also condemn the apostles of heresy, which teach it to be impossible to please God without faith, Heb. xi., and that whatsoever is not of faith, is sin, Rom. xiv., if there be any good works that are not testimonies of a lively faith. But it is sufficient for you to call what you will heresy, and heretical falsification, and corruption; for your disciples are bound to believe you, though you say the gospel be heresy, and the apostles themselves heretics. Gregory Martin calleth this an heretical commentary: what need you seek other proof?

Martin. When by adding to the text at their pleasure they make the apostle say, that by Adam's offence sin came on all men, but that by Christ's justice the benefit only abounded toward all men, not that justice came on all; whereas the apostle maketh the case alike, without any such diverse additions, to wit, that we are truly made just by Christ, as by Adam we are made sinners: is not this most wilful corruption for their heresy of imputative and phantastical justice? See chap. xi. numb. 1.

MARTIN, 23.

Rom. v. 18. No. Test. an. 1580. Bib. 1579.

Rom. v. 19.

[3] The Geneva Bible 1560, has this note on Luke i. 6. "The Greek word signifieth justifications, whereby is meant the outward observation of the ceremonies commanded by God."]

[4] Τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσῃ. Rom. ii. 26. "Justitias legis custodiat." Vulgate.]

[5] οἵτινες τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιγνόντες. Rom. i. 32. "Qui cum justitiam Dei cognovissent." Vulg.]

[6] οὕτω καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς. Rom. v. 18. "Sic et per unius justitiam in omnes homines in justificationem vitæ." δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί. Rom. v. 19. "Many schuln be just." Wiclif. "Shall many be made righteous." Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised.]

FULKE, 23. *Fulke.* The verse by you quoted, Rom. v. 18[1], is a manifest *eclipsis* or defective speech, to make any sense whereof there must needs be added a nominative case and a verb. Now by what other nominative case and verb may the sense be supplied, but by that which the apostle himself giveth before, ver. 15.? unto which all that followeth must be referred for explication: where he saith, as you yourselves translate it, "If by the offence of one many died, much more the grace of God and the gift in the grace of one man Jesus Christ hath abounded upon many." Seeing therefore that defective speech must be supplied for understanding in this probation, what is so apt as that which the apostle himself hath expressed before in the proposition? Although you in your translation are not disposed to supply it, because you had rather the text should be obscure and wondered at, than that it should be plain and easy, or able to be understood: albeit in other places you stick not to add such words as be necessary for explication of the text, as every translator must do, if he will have any sense to be understood in his translation. For that defective speech, which in some tongue is well understood, in some other

[1 "Therefore as by the guilt of one into all men into condemnation, so by the righteousness of one into all men into justifying of life." Wiclif. "Likewise, then, as by the sin of one condemnation came on all men, even so by the justifying of one cometh the righteousness that bringeth life upon all men." Tyndale. "Likewise, then, as by the offence of one giltship came on all men to condemnation; even so, by the justifying of one, the benefit abounded upon all men to the justification of life." Geneva. "Therefore, as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." Authorised version.

Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς κατάκριμα· οὕτω καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς.

"As by the sin of one (sin came) on all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one (good came) upon all men, even to the righteousness of life." Rom. v. 18. edit. Jugge. 1568.

"Likewise, then, as by the offence of one (the fault came) on all men to condemnation; so by the justifying of one (the benefit abounded) toward all men to the justification of life." Rom. v. 18. edit. 1579.]

is altogether void of sense, and must be explicated by addition of that which is necessarily or probably to be understood. So you translate, Matth. viii. *Quid nobis?* "What is between us?" Mark ii. *Post dies*[2], "after some days." *Accumberet*, "he sat at meat;" and many such like. But where you charge our translation to say, the benefit (only) abounded toward all men, not that justice came on all; you do shamefully add to our translation: for the word 'only' is of your own slanderous addition, and the rest is your malicious collection. For we mean not to extenuate the benefit of Christ's redemption, but by all means to set it forth to the uttermost: as the word 'abounded' doth shew, if you do not blemish the light of it by your blockish addition of this word 'only'. And that we are truly made just by Christ, and yet by imputation, as we are truly made sinners by Adam, and yet partly by imputation, as we are actually by corruption, we do at all times and in all places most willingly confess: for the justice of Christ which is imputed unto us by faith, is no false or phantastical justice, as you do no less blasphemously than phantastically affirm; but a true and effectual justice, by which we are so truly made just, that we shall receive for it the crown of justice, which is eternal life, as the apostle proveth at large, Rom. iv. and v., whom none but an hell-hound will bark against, that he defendeth "imputative and phantastical justice."

Martin. But in this case of justification, when the question is whether only faith justify, and we say no, having the express words of St James; they say, yea, having no express scripture for it: if in this case they will add 'only' to the very text, is it not most horrible and devilish corruption? So did Luther, whom our English protestants honour as their father, and in this heresy of only faith are his own children. See chap. xii.

MARTIN, 24. James ii. 14. Rom. iii. 28. Luth. tom. 2. fol. 405. edit. Witteb. an. 1551. Whitak. pag. 198.

Fulke. In the question of justification by faith only, where St James saith no, we say no also; neither can it be proved that we add this word 'only' to the text in any translation of ours. If Luther did in his translation add the word 'only' to the text, it cannot be excused of wrong translation in word, although the sense might well bear it. But

FULKE, 24.

[2 "Intravit Capharnaum post dies." Vulg. edit. Clem. "Post dies octo." edit. Sixt.]

seeing Luther doth himself confess it, he may be excused of fraud, though not of lack of judgment. But why should our translation be charged with Luther's corruption? Because "our English protestants honour him as their father." A very lewd slander: for we call no man father upon earth, though you do call the pope your father; albeit in another sense Luther was a reverend father of the church for his time. But as touching the doctrine of only faith justifying, it hath more patrons of the fathers of the ancient primitive church, than Martin can bear their books, though he would break his back, who in the same plain words do affirm it as Luther doth, that only faith doth justify. And the apostle which saith[1] "that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law," speaketh more plainly for justification by faith only (as we do teach it), than if he had said a man is justified by faith only. Which text of Rom. iii., and many other, are as express scripture to prove that we teach and believe, as that St James saith against justification by faith only, where he speaketh of another faith, and of another justification, than St Paul speaketh of, and we understand, when we hold that a man is justified by faith only, or without works of the law, which is all one.

MARTIN, 25. Their ignorance of the Greek and Hebrew tongue, or their false and wilful translation thereof against their knowledge.

Martin. If these that account themselves the great Grecians and Hebricians of the world, will so translate for the advantage of their cause, as though they had no skill in the world, and as though they knew neither the signification of words, nor propriety of phrases in the said language; is it not to be esteemed shameless corruption?

FULKE, 25.

Fulke. Yes; but if it cannot be proved that so they translate, then is this an impudent slander, as all the rest are; and so it will prove when it cometh to be tried.

MARTIN, 26. Brentius. Melancth. See Lindan[2]. Dubi. Dial. i. c. 12. Psal. li. σοὶ μόνῳ. לְךָ לְבַדְּךָ Whitak. pag. 109.

Martin. I will not speak of the German heretics, who to maintain this heresy, that all our works, be they never so good, are sin, translated for *Tibi soli peccavi*, "to thee only have I sinned," thus, *Tibi solum peccavi*, that is, "I have nothing else but sinned: whatsoever I do, I sin:" whereas neither the Greek nor the Hebrew will possibly admit that sense. Let these pass as Lutherans, yet wilful corrupters, and acknowledged of our English protestants for their good brethren. But if Beza translate,

[1 Rom. iii. 28.]

[2 Lindani Dubitantium Dialogus: de origine Sectarum hujus seculi. Coloniæ. 1571. 8vo. Foppen's Bib. Belg. p. 411.]

ἔτι ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν[3], "when we were yet of no strength," as the Geneva English Bible also doth interpret it, whereas every young Grecian knoweth that ἀσθενὴς is weak, feeble, infirm, and not altogether without strength: is not this of purpose to take away man's free will altogether? See chap. x. numb. 13. Rom. v. 6.

Fulke. I know not what German heretics those be which maintain that heresy, that all our works, be they never so good, are sin, except they be the Libertines, with whom we have nothing to do. For we never say that good works are sin, for that were all one to say that good were evil. But that all our good works are short of that perfection which the law of God requireth, we do humbly confess against ourselves: or else, whatsoever seemeth to be a good work, and is done of men void of true faith, is sin. For these assertions we have the scripture to warrant us. And if, to prove the latter, any man hath translated those words of David in the 51st psalm, *lecha, lebadecha, tibi solum*, or, *tantummodo tibi peccavi*, &c. "To thee only, or altogether to thee I have sinned," in respect of his natural corruption which he doth express in the next verse, he hath not departed one whit from the Hebrew words, nor from the sense which the words may very well bear; which he that denieth, rather sheweth himself ignorant in the Hebrew tongue, than he that so translateth. For what doth *lebad* signify, but *solum* or *tantum?* and therefore it may as well be translated *solum tibi*, as *soli tibi*. And the apostle, Rom. iii., proving by the latter end of that verse all men to be unjust, that God only may be true, and every man a liar, as it is written, "that thou mayest be justified in thy words," &c. favoureth that interpretation of Bucer, or whosoever it is beside. "But if Beza translate ἔτι ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν, 'when we were yet of no strength,' as the Geneva English Bible doth also interpret it, whereas every young Grecian knoweth that ἀσθενὴς is weak, feeble, infirm, and not altogether without strength: is not this of purpose to take away man's free will altogether?" Chapter x. numb. 13. Nay, it is to shew, as the apostle's purpose is, that we have no strength to fulfil the law of God without the grace of Christ; FULKE, 26. לְךָ לְבַדְךָ לְבַד

[3 "Quum adhuc nullis viribus essemus." Beza's version, edit. 1556. "Quum adhuc infirmi essemus." Vulg. Rom. v. 6.]

even as Christ himself saith, "Without me you can do nothing," John xv. 5. But every young Grecian (say you) knoweth that ἀσθενὴς is weak, feeble, infirm, and not altogether without strength. And is there then any old Grecian that will prove, that ἀσθενὴς alway signifieth him that is weak, but not void of strength? Doth ἀσθενὴς always signify him that hath some strength? Certain it is, that the apostle speaketh here of those that were void of strength; for the same he calleth in the same verse ἀσεβεῖς, *ungodly*, or void of religion, for whom Christ died. How say you then? had ungodly persons any strength to be saved, except Christ had died for them? Therefore he that in this place translateth ἀσθενὴς, weak, feeble, infirm, must needs understand men so weak, feeble, and infirm, as they have no strength. For how might it else be truly said, "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" 1 Cor. iv. 7. Yes, say you, we have some piece of free will at least, some strength to climb to heaven, even without the grace of God, without the death and redemption of Christ. If you say no, why cavil you at Beza's translation and ours? The Greek word ἀσθενὴς, as great a Grecian as you would make yourself, signifieth weak or infirm, sometime that which yet hath some strength, sometime that which hath no strength at all, as I will give you a plain example out of St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 43. The dead body is sown ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, in weakness: it riseth again in power. Doth not weakness here signify privation of all strength? It is marvel but you will say, a dead body is not altogether void of strength. Beza telleth you out of St Paul, Rom. viii. 6, that the wisdom of the flesh without Christ is death, it is enmity against God, it is neither subject unto the law of God, neither can it be: where is the strength of free will that you complain to be taken away by our translation? Beza doth also tell you, that St Paul calleth all the ceremonies of the law ἀσθενῆ, as they are separated from the Spirit of Christ, the weak and beggarly elements, Gal. iv. Are they not void of strength and riches, which are void of Christ's grace and Spirit? But your purpose was only to quarrel, and seek a knot in a rush; and therefore you regarded not what Beza hath written to justify his translation.

Martin. If Calvin translate, *Non ego, sed gratia Dei quæ mihi aderat,* may not mean Grecians control him, that he also translateth falsely against free will, because the preposition σὺν doth require some other participle to be understood, that should signify a co-operation with free will, to wit, συγκοπιάσασα, "which laboured with me"? See chap. x. numb. 2. MARTIN, 27. 1 Cor. xv. ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

Fulke. The Greek is, ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοὶ, "the grace of God which is with me." A mean Grecian will rather understand the verb substantive, than the participle, as you do, and then must needs again understand the verb ἐκοπίασε, "hath laboured." For thus the sense must be, if your participle be understood, 'I have laboured more than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God which laboured with me, hath laboured.' Who would commit such a vain tautology? The sense is therefore plain, which the apostle's words do yield in the judgment of better Grecians than ever G. Martin was, or will be. 'I have not laboured more than the rest of the apostles, of mine own strength or will; but the grace of God which is in me, or with me, hath given me greater strength and ability to travail in the gospel, than to them.' But you are afraid lest it should be thought, that the apostle had done nothing, like unto a block, forced only: a blockish fear, and a forced collection. For when the apostle first saith, he hath laboured, and after denieth, and saith, I have not laboured; what sensible man will not gather, that in the former he laboured as a man endued with life, sense, and reason, and in the latter that he laboured not by his own strength or virtue, but by the grace of God, to which he attributeth all that he is in such respect? "By the grace of God I am that I am," saith he; which manifestly excludeth natural free will, to that which is good and appertaining to the glory of God. For which cause he denieth that he laboured more than the rest: "Not I, but the grace of God which was present with me." FULKE, 27.

Martin. If when the Hebrew beareth indifferently, to say, Sin *lieth* at the door[1]; and unto thee the desire *thereof* shall be subject, and thou shalt rule *over it;* the Geneva English bible translate the first without MARTIN, 28. Gen. iv. 7. an. 1579.

[1] Explained in the margin, "Sin shall still torment thy conscience." Geneva bible, 1560.]

scruple, and the latter not, because of the Hebrew grammar; is not this also most wilful against free will? See chap. x. numb. 9.

FULKE, 28.

Fulke. I grant this to be done willingly against free will, but yet no false nor corrupt translation. For in the participle *robets*, which signifieth *lying*, is a manifest enallage or change of the gender, to declare that in *chataoth*, which word being of the feminine gender signifieth sin, is to be understood *auon*, or some such word as signifieth the punishment of sin, which may agree with the participle in the masculine gender, that the *antithesis* may be perfect. 'If thou doest well, shall there not be reward or remission? if thou doest evil, the punishment of thy sin is at hand.' But that the latter end of the verse can not be referred to sin, but unto Cain, not only the grammar, but also the plain words and sense of the place, doth convince. For that which is said of the appetite, must have the same sense, which the same words have before, of the appetite of Eve towards her husband Adam, that in respect of the law of nature, and her infirmity, she should desire to be under his government, and that he should have dominion over her. So Abel the younger brother should be affected toward his elder brother Cain, to whom by the law of nature he was loving and subject, and therefore no cause why Cain should envy him as he did. Otherwise it were a strange meaning, that sin, which is an insensible thing, should have an appetite or desire toward Cain, who rather had an appetite to sin, than sin to him. But you are so greedy of the latter part, that you consider not the former. I know what the Jewish rabbins, favourers of heathenish free will, absurdly do imagine to salve the matter; but that which I have said may satisfy godly Christians.

רוֹבֵץ חַטָּאת עָוֹן

MARTIN, 29. Calv. in 5. Hebr. Bib. an. 1579.

Martin. If Calvin affirm that ἀπὸ εὐλαβείας cannot signify *propter reverentiam*, because ἀπὸ is not so used, and Beza avoweth the same more earnestly, and the English bible translateth accordingly, (which may be confuted by infinite examples in the scripture itself, and is confuted by Illyricus the Lutheran;) is it not a sign either of passing ignorance, or of most wilful corruption, to maintain the blasphemy that hereupon they conclude? See chap. vii. numb. 42, 43.

FULKE, 29.

Fulke. If Beza, Calvin, and the English translations be deceived about the use of the preposition ἀπὸ, it proveth

not that they are deceived in the translation of the word εὐλαβείας, which is the matter in question. They have other reasons to defend it, than the use of the preposition, although you slander Calvin in saying he affirmeth that ἀπὸ is not used for *propter*, For he saith no more, but that the preposition is ἀπὸ not ὑπὲρ, or some such like, that may design a cause, *quæ causam designet;* that is, that certainly may point out a cause, and cannot otherwise be taken. Likewise Beza saith, *Atqui non facile mihi persuaserim, proferri posse ullum exemplum in quo ἀπὸ ita usurpetur:* 'But I cannot easily persuade myself, that any example may be brought forth, in which ἀπὸ is so used,' that is, for *propter*, or *secundum*, for which διὰ, κατὰ, or ὑπὲρ were more proper and usual. Now, if Illyricus have helped you ,with a few examples where ἀπὸ is so taken, what say Beza or Calvin against it, but that it doth not usually and certainly signify so? Their judgment upon the place remaineth still grounded upon other arguments, although that reason of the acception of ἀπὸ be not so strong, as if ἀπὸ had never been so taken. But as for the blasphemy, you say, they conclude upon that place, [it] will redound upon your own neck; for their exposition is honourable and glorious to God the Father, and Christ his Son, and to the Holy Ghost, by whom that epistle was indited, to the confusion of your popish blasphemies, of the sacrifice propitiatory offered in the mass.

Martin. If Beza in the self-same place contend, that εὐλάβεια doth not signify reverence or piety, but such a fear as hath horror and astonishment of mind; and in another place saith of the self-same word clean contrary; what is it but of purpose to uphold the said blasphemy? See chap. vii. numb. 39, 40. MARTIN, 30.

Fulke. Beza in the same place doth bring many examples to prove, that the Greek word εὐλάβεια doth signify a great fear, and so is to be taken Heb. v. [7.] But it is an impudent lie to say, he doth contend that it never signifieth reverence or piety: and therefore that he saith it signifieth piety in another place, is nothing contrary to that he spake in this place; for the word signifieth both, as no man that will profess any knowledge in the Greek tongue can deny. FULKE, 30.

MARTIN, 31. πρόγνωσις. Acts ii. 23. ψυχὴ ᾅδου. Ibid. 27. Annotat. in No. Test. post. edit.

Martin. If he translate for God's foreknowledge[1], God's providence; for soul, carcase; for hell, grave[2]: to what end is this, but for certain heretical conclusions? And if upon admonition he alter his translation for shame, and yet protesteth that he understandeth it as he did before; did he not translate before wilfully according to his obstinate opinion? See chap. vii.

FULKE, 31.

Fulke. Beza doth indeed translate προγνώσει *providentia;* but he expoundeth himself in his annotation: *id est, æterna cognitione.* For what heretical conclusion he should so do, you do not express, neither can I imagine. To your other quarrels, of *soul* and *carcase, hell* and *grave,* I have said enough in answer to your preface. Sects. 46 and 47.

MARTIN, 32. Annotat. in Acts ii. 27. שְׁאוֹל כֶּבֶר

Martin. If to this purpose he avouch that *sheol* signifieth nothing else in Hebrew but a grave, whereas all Hebricians know that it is the most proper and usual word in the scriptures for hell, as the other word *keber* is for a grave; who would think he would so endanger his estimation in the Hebrew tongue, but that an heretical purpose against Christ's decending into hell blinded him? See chap. vii.

FULKE, 32.

Fulke. Nay, rather all learned Hebricians know, that *sheol* is more proper for the grave, than for hell; and that the Hebrews have no word proper for hell, as we take hell, for the place of punishment of the ungodly, but either they use figuratively *sheol,* or more certainly *topheth,* or *gehinnom.* For *sheol* is in no place so necessarily to be taken for hell, but that it may also be taken for the grave. That *keber* signifieth the grave, it is no proof that *sheol* doth not signify the same; and therefore you shew yourself to be too young an Hebrician, to carp at Beza's estimation in the knowledge of the tongue.

MARTIN, 33.

Martin. And if all the English bibles translate accordingly, to wit, for hell *grave,* wheresoever the scripture may mean any lower place that is not the hell of the damned; and where it must needs signify that

[1 προγνώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔκδοτον. Acts ii. 23. "Præscientia Dei traditum." Vulgate. "Providentia Dei deditum." Beza. All the English versions have *foreknowledge,* except the Rhemish, which has *prescience.*]

[2 The versions of Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, and of James, all render εἰς ᾅδου *hell;* the only ones having *grave,* being the Genevan versions of 1557 and 1560.

"Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno." Vulg. "Cadaver meum in sepulcro." Beza. Acts ii. 27.]

hell, there they never avoid so to translate it; is it not an evident argument, that they know very well the proper signification, but of purpose they will never use it to their disadvantage in the questions of limbus, purgatory, Christ's descending into hell? chap. vii.

Fulke. I have said before, there is no place in the Old Testament, where *sheol* must needs signify that hell, in which are the damned, but the place may be reasonably and truly translated the grave: although, as in divers places by death is meant eternal death, so by grave is meant hell, or damnation. Concerning the questions of *limbus*, purgatory, and the descending of Christ into hell, they are nothing like: for the last is an article of our faith, which we do constantly believe in the true understanding thereof; but the other are fables and inventions of men, which have no ground, in the scripture, but only a vain surmise, builded upon a wrong interpretation of the words of the scripture, as in the peculiar places shall be plainly declared. FULKE, 33.

Martin. If further yet in this kind of controversy, Beza would be bold to affirm (for so he saith), if the grammarians would give him leave, that *chebel* with five points signifieth *funem*, no less than *chebel* with six points; is he not wonderfully set to maintain his opinion, that will change the nature of words, if he might, for his purpose? MARTIN, 34. Annot. in Acts ii. 24. חֶבֶל חֶבֶל

Fulke. Wonderfully, I promise you; for he translateth the word for all this, *doloribus*, and sayeth, *Nihil tamen ausus sum mutare ex conjectura:* "Yet I durst change nothing upon conjecture." *Annotat.* in Acts ii. 24[3]. You say, he would change the nature of words. Nothing so; but if the word might bear that signification, he thinketh it more agreeable to the Hebrew phrase, which the evangelist doth often follow. Is not this a great matter to make an evident mark of corruption? That is, he would translate, solutis funibus mortis, not, solutis doloribus inferni. FULKE, 34.

Martin. If passives must be turned into actives, and actives into passives, participles disagree in case from their substantives, or rather be plucked and separated from their true substantives, solecisms imagined, where the construction is most agreeable, errors devised to creep out of the margin, and such like; who would so presume in the text of holy scriptures, to have all grammar, and words, and phrases, and constructions at his commandment, but Beza and his like, for the advantage of MARTIN, 35.

[3 "Quem Deus suscitavit solutis doloribus mortis." Beza. "Quem Deus suscitavit solutis doloribus inferni." Acts ii. 24. Vulg.]

their cause? See chap. v. numb. 6, and the numbers next following in this chapter.

FULKE, 35. *Fulke.* But if all these be proved to be vain cavils and frivolous quarrels, as in the chap. v. numb. 6. and in the numbers following in this chapter it shall be plainly declared, then I hope all men of mean capacity and indifferent judgment will confess, that ignorance hath deceived you, malice hath blinded you, hatred of the truth hath overthrown you, the father of lies and slanders hath possessed you.

MARTIN, 36. Acts iii. 21. δέξασθαι[1]. Pag. 43. *Martin.* For example, St Peter saith, "Heaven must receive Christ." He translateth, "Christ must be contained in heaven," which Calvin himself misliketh, the Geneva English bible is afraid to follow, Illyricus the Lutheran reprehendeth: and yet M. Whitakers taketh the advantage of this translation, to prove that Christ's natural body is so contained in heaven, that it cannot be upon the altar. For he knew that this was his master's purpose and intent in so translating. This it is, when the blind follow the blind, yea, rather, when they see and will be blind: for certain it is (and I appeal to their greatest Grecians) that howsoever it be taken for good in their divinity, it will be esteemed most false in their Greek schools, both of Oxford and Cambridge; and howsoever they may presume to translate the holy scriptures after this sort, surely no man, no not themselves, would so translate Demosthenes, for saving their credit and estimation in the Greek tongue. See chap. xvii. numb. 7, 8, 9.

FULKE, 36. *Fulke.* Beza translateth *quem oportet cœlo capi*, Acts iii. 21. You say, "Heaven must receive Christ:" Beza saith, "Christ must be received of heaven." Call you this turning of actives into passives, and passives into actives? Or will you deny us the resolution of passives into actives, or actives into passives? What difference is there in sense between these propositions? Your purse containeth money, and money is contained in your purse: the church must receive all Christians, or all Christians must be received of the church. But Calvin, you say, misliketh this translation,

[καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων. Acts iii. 20, 21.

"Et miserit eum qui prædicatus est vobis, Jesum Christum. Quem oportet quidem cœlum recipere usque in tempora restitutionis omnium." Vulg.

"Et miserit eum qui ante prædicatus est vobis, Jesum Christum. Quem oportet quidem cœlo capi usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium." Beza.]

and the Geneva bible is afraid to follow it. Yet neither of them both misliketh this sense, nor can; for it is all one with that which you translate, "whom heaven must receive." Calvin only saith, the Greek is ambiguous, whether heaven must receive Christ, or Christ must receive heaven. But when you grant that heaven must receive Christ, you can not deny for shame of the world, but Christ must be received of heaven: wherefore you understand neither Calvin nor Illyricus, who speak of the other sense, "that Christ must receive heaven." And Master Whitaker, not of Beza's translation, but of the text, and even of your own translation, may prove, that Christ's natural body is contained in heaven. And as for your appeal to the greatest Grecians, and the Greek schools both of Oxford and Cambridge, [it] is vain and frivolous; for the least grammarians that be in any country schools are able to determine this question, whether these propositions be not all one in sense and signification, *Ego amo te*, and *Tu amaris a me;* "I love thee," or "thou art loved of me." But it is strange divinity, that Christ should be contained in heaven. Verily, how strange soever it seemeth to Gregory Martin, it was not unknown to Gregory Nazianzen, as good a Grecian and as great a divine as he is. For in his second sermon περὶ υἱοῦ, not far from the beginning, he writeth thus of our Saviour Christ: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι τοῦδε, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὐρανοῦ δεχθῆναι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως. "For he must reign until then, and be received or contained of heaven until the times of restitution." Here you see Nazianzen[2] citing this very place of Saint Peter, Acts iii., for the mean verb of active signification, doubteth not freely to use the passive verb in the same sense that Beza translateth the place, against which you declaim so tragically. And if you think it be such an heinous offence, to render passively in the same sense that which is uttered actively in the text, so that no man for his credit would so translate Demosthenes, as Beza doth Saint Luke; I pray you, what regard had you of your credit and estimation? when Matt. iv. you translate, out of Latin, *Qui dæmonia habebant*, "such as were possest;" and Luke ii. *Ut profiterentur*, "to be enrolled."

[2 Greg. Naz. Oratio xxxvi. Opera. edit. Lutet. Parisiis 1609, p. 579.]

Belike you have a privilege to do what you list, when other men may not do that which is lawful.

MARTIN, 37. *Martin.* But yet there is worse stuff behind: to wit, the famous place Luke xxii., where Beza translateth thus, *Hoc poculum novum testamentum per meum sanguinem, qui pro vobis funditur*[1]: whereas in the Greek, in all copies without exception, he confesseth that in true grammatical construction it must needs be said, *quod pro vobis funditur;* and therefore he saith it is either a plain *solœcophanes* (and according to that presumption he boldly translateth), or a corruption crept out of the margin into the text. And as for the word *solœcophanes*, we understand him that he meaneth a plain solecism and fault in grammar, and so doth M. Whitakers: but M. Fulke saith, that he meaneth no such thing, but that it is an elegancy and figurative speech, used of most eloquent authors; and it is a world to see, and a Grecian must needs smile at his devices, striving to make St Luke's speech here, as he construeth the words, an elegancy in the Greek tongue. He sendeth us first to Budee's commentaries, where there are examples of *solœcophanes:* and, indeed, Budee taketh the word for that which may seem a solecism, and yet is an elegancy, and all his examples are of most fine and figurative phrases, but, alas! how unlike to that in St Luke! And here M. Fulke was very foully deceived, thinking that Beza and Budee took the word in one sense: and so taking his mark amiss, as it were a counter for gold, where he found *solœcophanes* in Budee, there he thought all was like to St Luke's sentence, and that which Beza meant to be a plain solecism, he maketh it like to Budee's elegancies. Much like to those good searchers in Oxford (as it is said, masters of arts,) who, having to seek for papistical books in a lawyer's study, and seeing there books with red letters, cried out, Mass books, Mass books: whereas it was the code or some other book of the civil or canon law.

Pag. 34, 35. Against D. Sand. Rocke, pag. 308.

See Comm. Bud. Figurata constructio, or σχῆμα Ἀττικόν.

FULKE, 37. *Fulke.* This must needs be a famous place for the real presence of Christ's blood in the sacrament, that never one of the ancient or late writers observed, until within these few years. But let us see what fault Beza hath committed in translation. The last word in the verse, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, he hath so translated, as it must be referred to the word τῷ αἵματι, signifying blood, with which in case it doth not agree. That is true; but that he confesseth that all Greek copies without exception have it as it is commonly read, it is false: only he saith, *Omnes tamen ve-*

[1 Beza's words are, "Hoc poculum est novum illud testamentum per sanguinem meum, qui pro vobis effunditur." Edit. 1556 and 1582.]

tusti nostri codices ita scriptum habebant. "All our old Greek copies had it so written." He speaketh only of his own, or such as he had, and not of all without exception; for since he wrote this note, there came to his hands one other ancient copy, both of Greek and Latin, in which this whole verse of the second delivery of the cup is clean left out. For immediately after these words, *τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ σῶμά μου, πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ* doth follow; and so in the Latin, *Veruntamen ecce manus qui tradet me,* &c. Moreover, Beza telleth you, that Basil in his Ethicks, *ὅρ. κά.* citing this whole text of St Luke, readeth, *τῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνομένῳ* in the dative case, agreeing with *τῷ αἵματι,* the word next before. By which it is manifest, that in S. Basil's time the reading was otherwise than now it is in most copies. Again, where you say, he confesseth that in true grammatical construction it must needs be said, *Quod pro vobis funditur,* his words are not so; but that those words, if we look to the construction, cannot be referred to the blood, but to the cup, which in effect is as much as you say: 'His judgment indeed is of these words, as they are now read, that either it is a manifest *solœcophanes,* or else an addition out of the margin into the text; and as for the word *solœcophanes,* you understand him that he meaneth a plain solecism and fault in grammar, and so doth M. Whitakers.' How you understand him, it is not material, but how he is to be understood indeed. M. Whitakers, whom you call to witness, doth not so understand him, but sheweth that if he had called it a plain solecism, he had not charged St Luke with a worse fault than Jerome chargeth St Paul. But what reason is there that you or any man should understand Beza, by *solœcophanes,* to mean a plain solecism? Think you he is so ignorant, that he knoweth not the difference of the one from the other? or so negligent of his terms, that he would confound those whom he knoweth so much to differ? "But Master Fulke (say you) saith that he meaneth no such thing, but that it is an elegancy and figurative speech, used of most eloquent authors: and it is a world to see, and a Grecian must needs smile at his devices, striving to make St Luke's speech here, as he construeth the words, an elegancy in the Greek tongue." Thus you write; but if I give not all Grecians and Latinists just oc-

casion, before I have done with you, to laugh at your proud ignorance, and to spit at your malicious falsehood, let me never have credit, I say not of a Grecian or learned man, which I desire not, but not so much as of a reasonable creature. Ah, sir! and doth M. Fulke say, that this speech of St Luke is an elegancy in the Greek tongue? I pray you, where saith he so? You answer me quickly, "Against D. Saunder's Rock, p. 308[1]." I tremble to hear what words you have there to charge me withal. Indeed in that page I begin to speak of that matter against Saunder, who chargeth Beza as you do, and moreover affirmeth that Beza should teach that St Luke wrote false Greek, because he saith, that here is a manifest *solœcophanes*. But that neither you shall quarrel, that I choose some piece of my saying for my purpose, nor any man doubt how honestly you charge me, I will here repeat whatsoever I have written touching that matter in the place by you quoted:

"But the protestants do not only make themselves judges of the whole books, but also over the very letter (saith he) of Christ's gospel, finding fault with the construction of the evangelists, and bring the text itself in doubt. Example hereof he bringeth Beza in his annotations upon Luke xxii., of the words, 'This cup is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you.' In which text, because the word blood in the Greek is the dative case, the other word that followeth is the nominative case, Beza supposeth that St Luke useth a figure called *solœcophanes*, which is appearance of incongruity; or else that the last word, 'which is shed for you,' might by error of writers, being first set in the margin out of Matthew and Mark, be removed into the text. Hereupon M. Saunder, out of all order and measure, raileth upon Beza and all protestants. But I pray you, good sir, shall the only opinion of Beza, and that but a doubtful opinion, indict all the protestants in the world of such high treason against the word of God? For what gaineth Beza by this interpretation? Forsooth, the Greek text is contrary to his sacramentary heresy. For thus he should trans-

[1 In Fulke's work, entitled "A retentive to stay good Christians in true faith and religion, against the motives of Richard Bristow. Also, the Discoverie of the daungerous Rocke of the Popish Church, Commended by Nicholas Saunder, D. of Divinitie. London, 1580."]

late it: "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which cup is shed for you." Not the cup of gold or silver (saith he), but the liquor in that cup, which is not wine, because wine was not shed for us, but the blood of Christ. Why, then the sense is this: This blood in the cup which is shed for you, is the new testament in my blood. What sense in the world can these words have? By which it is manifest, that the words 'which is shed for you', cannot be referred to the cup, but to his blood. For the cup was the new testament in his blood, which was shed for us; which sense no man can deny, but he that will deny the manifest word of God. Neither doth the vulgar Latin translation give any other sense, although M. Saunder is not ashamed to say it doth. The vulgar Latin text is this: *Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur.* What grammarian, in construing, would refer *qui* to *calix*, and not rather to *sanguine?* Again, Erasmus translateth it even as Beza: *Hoc poculum novum testamentum per sanguinem meum, qui pro vobis effunditur.* Now, touching the conjecture of Beza, that those words by error of the scrivener might be removed from the margin into the text, [it] is a thing that sometime hath happened, as most learned men agree, in Matthew xxvii., where the name of Jeremy is placed in the text for that which is in Zachary, and yet neither of the prophets was named by the evangelist, as in most ancient records it is testified. The like hath been in the first of Mark, where the name of Esay is set in some Greek copies, and followed in your vulgar translation, for that which is cited out of Malachi; which name was not set down by the evangelist, but added by some unskilful writer, and is reproved by other Greek copies. But this place, you say, is not otherwise found in any old copy, as Beza confesseth: then remaineth the second opinion, that St Luke in this place useth *solœcophanes*, which is an appearance of incongruity, and yet no incongruity. Wherein I cannot marvel more at your malice, M. Saunder, than at your ignorance, which put no difference between *solœcismus* and *solœcophanes;* but even as spitefully as unlearnedly you affirm that Beza should teach that St Luke wrote false Greek, whereas *solœcophanes* is a figure used of the most eloquent writers that ever took pen in hand, even Cicero,

Demosthenes, Greek and Latin, profane and divine, and even of St Luke himself in other places, whereof for examples I refer you to Budæus upon the word *solœcophanes*. The appearance of incongruity is, that it seemeth, that τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, which is the nominative case, should agree with τῷ αἵματι, which is the dative case; whereas indeed τὸ is used as a relative for ὃ, as it is often, and the verb ἐστι, which wanteth, is understood, as it is commonly in the Greek tongue; and so the translation must be, *Hoc poculum novum testamentum est in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis effunditur*, or *effusus est*. So that this is nothing else but an impudent and unskilful quarrelling against Beza, whereas you papists defend against the manifest institution of the cup, and the practice of the primitive church, the communion in one kind of bread only. Conc. Const. Sess. xiii. 21."

Where find you that I affirm St Luke's speech here to be an elegancy in the Greek tongue? yea, or *solœcophanes* to be nothing else but an elegancy and figurative speech? A figure indeed I say that it is; but are all figures elegancies, or all figurative speeches elegancies of speech? Some figures, I trow, serve to excuse similitudes of faults in speech. But I say *solœcophanes* is used of the most eloquent writers. Very well; doth it thereof follow that it is always an elegancy? Have not the most elegant authors used *hyperbatons, perissologies*, and other figures that are counted faults of speech, and not elegancies and fine speeches? But "all the examples of Budee, you say, to whose commentaries I send you, are of most fine and figurative phrases." If they be such, they do the better prove that for which I called him to warrantize, namely, that *solœcophanes* is not a *solecism*, or false Greek, wherewith Saunder accuseth Beza to charge St Luke. But where you utter your foolish pity, in saying, Alas, how unlike they are to that in St Luke! I think the case is not so clear as you make it; for I suppose those examples that he bringeth of the figure of the whole construction changed after a long *hyperbaton*, or *parenthesis*, may well be taken for figurative speeches, but not for elegancies and fine figurative phrases: as again, those popular sayings which, being taken out of the common people's speech, Budæus saith, the most eloquent orators have translated into their finest writings. Peradventure, as musicians use some-

time a discord to set forth the harmony of concord, so they by hardly avoiding of a *solecism* would shew the grace of congruity and elegancy. But of this whole matter let the judgment be with them that are learned and eloquent in both the tongues. It is sufficient for me that he which useth *solœcophanes* in Greek committeth not a *solecism*, or speaketh false Greek, as Saunder termeth it. But where you say, that "Master Fulke was foully deceived and took his marks amiss, as it were a counter for gold, to think that Beza and Budee took the word in one sense," you say your pleasure, but you shall well know, that Master Fulke is not so young a babe, to take a counter for gold, as you are a bold bayard, to pronounce of all men's meanings what you list. For how are you able to prove, that Beza by *solœcophanes* meaneth a plain *solecism?* Think you that Beza is so simple a child also, to term copper by the name of gold? If he had meant a *solecism*, could he not have said so? But you must play Procrustes' part; for neither my saying nor Beza's meaning were large enough for you, to frame your slanderous cavil against the truth, and therefore with a loud lie you must lengthen my saying, and with proud and false presumption you must stretch out his meaning. These be your arts, this is your eloquence, these are the sinews of your accusations. What "those good searchers in Oxford" were, which, being masters of arts, could not discern between mass books, and law books, for my part I never heard; but I think it to be a matter of as good credit as that you report of me and Beza.

Martin. This was lack of judgment in M. Fulke at the least, and no great sign of skill in Greek phrases; and he must no more call D. Saunders unlearned for not understanding Beza's meaning, but himself, who indeed understood him not. For if Beza meant that it was an elegancy used of the finest authors, and such as Budee doth exemplify of, why doth he say, "that he seeth not why Luke should use *solœcophanes*," but thinketh rather, it is a corruption crept into the margin? Tell us, M. Fulke, we beseech you, whether is the better and honester defence, to say, that it is an elegancy and fine phrase in St Luke, or to say, that it is a fault in the text, it came out of the margin, the gospel is here corrupted? Think you Beza such a fool, that he would rather stand upon this latter, if he might have used the former, and had so meant by *solœcophanes?* Yea, what needed any defence at all, if it had been an usual and known elegancy, as you would prove it? MARTIN, 38.

FULKE, 38.

Fulke. I had rather it should be counted want of judgment in me, so it were by a man of judgment, than to be taken so often with falsification and lack of truth. For my skill in Greek phrases, although I never professed any, yet I see nothing brought by you to change my opinion of Saunder's unlearned slander, in railing against Beza, for saying that St Luke should write false Greek. And if *solœcophanes* do differ as much from *solœcismus*, as gold doth from copper, as you seem to say, when you write that I take a counter for gold, I might think myself very unlearned indeed, if I did understand Beza speaking of *solœcophanes*, as though he spake of *solœcismus*. But you demand why Beza saith, that he seeth not why St Luke should use *solœcophanes*, if he meant that it was an elegancy used of the finest authors. Still you thrust in your lie in every corner: who saith he meant it was an elegancy? Beza saith, he seeth no cause why St Luke should use *solœcophanes*, that is, depart from the usual and ordinary construction; and therefore passeth to another conjecture. But you speak me fair to tell you, "whether is the better and honester defence, to say that it is an elegancy and fine phrase, or to say it is a fault in the text, it came out of the margin, the gospel is here corrupted." First, I answer you, that Beza affirmeth neither, but rather translateth as Basil did read. Secondly, I say, there is no dishonesty in either of both conjectures; for this *solœcophanes*, though it be no elegancy, yet may be defended from *solecism*, or false Greek. And certain it is that some words have crept out of the margin into the text, as the name of Jeremy in all copies that are extant, Matt. xxvii., and of Esay in many, Mark i. And yet we say not the gospel is corrupted; which foul phrase it seemeth you have great pleasure in, notwithstanding you yourself out of Lindanus charge all the Greek copies of the Epistle to the Corinthians to be corrupted by Marcion, the mischievous mouse of Pontus. You ask further, whether I "think Beza such a fool to stand rather upon the latter, if he might have used the former, and had so meant by *solœcophanes?*" Nay, rather, think you Beza such a fool, that he would mean a plain *solecism*, and call it only an appearance of *solecism?* What he rather stood upon, his translation doth best show, which is both with St Basil's

reading, and with the appearance of incongruity, which is none in deed. "Yea, what needed any defence at all," say you, "if it had been an usual and known elegancy?" So well you love a lie when you have made it, that you can never leave it until you have worn it all to nought. Now you have it, not only an elegancy, but an usual and known elegancy. Verily, I never said it was an elegancy, as my words are plain to be read of every man, and much less that it was an usual and known elegancy. Only I say it is usual and common in the Greek tongue, that the prepositive article is used for the relative; and so much in the next section you yourself do grant me: and as for defence you talk of, I see none needful, except it be for that this phrase here used of St Luke is lawful, though it be not so common as the ordinary construction.

Martin. For you say further, that τὸ is taken for ὃ, and ἐστι is understood, and that this is a common thing in the best Greek authors; but you must add, that the said relative must always be referred to the antecedent of the same case, as this speech, τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον may be resolved thus, τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐκχυνόμενόν ἐστι, or rather ὃ ἐκχύνεται: but that ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, may be resolved, ὃ ἐκχυνόμενόν ἐστι, you shall never be able to bring one example; and you wilfully abuse whatsoever knowledge you have of the Greek tongue to deceive the ignorant, or else you have no skill at all, that speak so barbarously and rustically of Greek elegancies. For if you have skill, you know in your conscience, that ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον is as great a solecism in Greek, and no more elegancy, than to say in Latin, *In meo sanguine fusus pro vobis*, which in the school deserveth whipping. And yet you ask very vehemently concerning these words, *Hic calix novum testamentum in meo sanguine qui pro vobis fundetur*, what mean grammarian would refer *qui* to *calix*, and not to *sanguis*? I answer that a mere Latinist, for ignorance of the Greek tongue, would refer it rather as you say: but he that knoweth the Greek, as you seem to do, though he be a very young grammarian, will easily see it cannot be so referred: as in the like, Acts xiv., *Sacerdos quoque Jovis qui erat ante civitatem eorum.* Here *qui* is ambiguous, but in the Greek we see that *qui* must be referred to *Jovis*, and cannot be referred to *Sacerdos*. MARTIN, 39. ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ διὸς τοῦ ὄντος.

Fulke. First, I take that you grant me, that it is a common thing in the Greek tongue, that the article prepositive is taken for the subjunctive, and the verb substantive may be understood where it is not expressed; which if FULKE, 39.

you would not have granted, might have been extorted from you by confession of all Grecians and Greek writers. Secondly, where you teach me a general rule, to add to the former concession, that the said relative must always be referred to the antecedent of the same case, as in the example you bring, τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον, you shall pardon me to learn of you. I take you for no such Aristarchus, that you have power to make new rules in the Greek grammar, and such as shall control not only Homer, but all good authors that ever did write in that language, of *solecism* and incongruity. For if the relative must always be referred to the antecedent of the same case, to agree with it in case, or else it is false Greek, I will abide by it, there is no Greek author whose works are extant, but he hath committed *solecism*. The examples that hereof might be brought out of every several writer, if they were heaped together, would make a book as big as Ilias. But in this so clear a case to cite any examples, I see not to what purpose it should be, unless it were to make little children, that learn τύπτω in the grammar schools, to be witnesses of your intolerable arrogancy and incredible ignorance. One example I will bring you out of St Mark, not unlike this of St Luke, but that the verb ἐστι is expressed: καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ γολγοθᾶ τόπον, ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον κρανίου τόπος, "and they bring him to the place Golgotha, which is, being interpreted, The place of sculls." This example is more than sufficient for so plain a matter. For although it be an elegancy for the relative to agree in case with the antecedent sometimes, yet to make a perpetual rule thereof it proceedeth of too much rashness, want of knowledge and consideration. But I "shall never be able to bring one example" like to this of St Luke, where, the relative not agreeing in case with the antecedent, the participle may be resolved by the verb substantive that is not expressed; and I "wilfully abuse whatsoever knowledge I have of the Greek tongue, to deceive the ignorant, or else I have no skill at all, to speak so barbarously and rustically of Greek elegancies, and I know in my conscience, it is as great a *solecism* in Greek, and no more elegancy, than to say in Latin, *In meo sanguine fusus pro vobis*, which in the school deserveth whipping:" and I know not what beside. But

touching the similitude of the *solecisms*, if you had made your example alike, that is, put in the relative in the Latin, as it is in the Greek, *In meo sanguine qui fusus pro vobis*, there is no more *solecism* in the one than in the other. But all this while I bring no example, and you urge an example, yea, so extremely, that you say confidently, I shall never be able to bring one: but what if I bring two or three? who then abuseth his knowledge in the Greek? who hath no skill at all? who deserveth whipping? Have you so read all authors, and bear them and all their phrases so well in mind, that you dare before all the world avouch, that I shall never be able to bring one example? But to let all the world see your vanity, I will begin with Theognis, who in the 863rd of his Elegiac Sentences writeth thus:

Πολλοῖς ἀχρήστοισι θεὸς διδοῖ ἀνδράσιν ὄλβον
Ἐσθλὸν, ὃς οὔθ' αὑτῷ βέλτερος οὐδὲν ἐὼν,
Οὔτε φίλοις.

See you here the relative ὃς, being the nominative case, not agreeing with his antecedent, ὄλβον, of the accusative case, but coming before the verb ἐστὶ, that is included in the participle ἐών? What can you here say? will you cavil at the subjunctive article? Then read a few verses after, and see whether this poet useth not as indifferently the prepositive article as the subjunctive for the relative.

Πῶ' οἶνον τὸν ἐμῆς κορυφῆς ἀπὸ Ταϋγέτοιο
Ἄμπελοι ἤνεγκαν, τὰς ἐφύτευσ' ὁ γέρων.

And within two verses,

Τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδώνας,

speaking of the same wine.

Also, Theocritus, in 24th Idyll:

Οὐλομένοις ὀφίεσσι, τὰ καὶ θεοὶ ἐχθαίροντι.

And in the 23rd Idyll:

Καὶ ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν ἦνθε τὸν ὕβρισε.

From Theocritus let us pass to Hesiodus, out of whom it were over tedious to cite how often he useth the article prepositive for the relative, and not agreeing in case with the antecedent: but an example or two shall serve, where the verb substantive is understood, and not expressed, nor

any other verb to govern the relative, yet not agreeing in case with the antecedent:

Κρήνης τ' ἀενάου καὶ ἀποῤῥύτου, ἥ τ' ἀθόλωτος.

Again, in Ἔργ. Ἡμέρ.

Οἰωνοὺς κρίνας οἳ ἐπ' ἔργματι τούτῳ ἄριστοι.

Here, methinks, I hear you grudge against poetry and poetical licence, as doubtless you would quarrel against profane authorities, if I should bring you any like examples out of prosaical writers.

We must see therefore, whether we are not able to bring examples of the like phrase out of the holy scriptures. First, that *solœcophanes* is found in St Luke, I will refer you to the first cap. of his gospel, ver. 74, and cap. vi. ver. 4; likewise, Acts xxvii. 3, and Acts xiii. 6. But for the like *solœcophanes* to this in question, Luke xxii., I will send you first to St Paul, Col. i. 25. *πληρῶσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν γενεῶν, νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώθη τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ.* In this verse *τὸ μυστήριον* must needs be the accusative case, as *τὸν λόγον* is, by apposition: then is *τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον* for all the world as *τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον*, the nominative case, signifying *Quod absconditum fuit*, which the latter part of the verse, *νυνὶ δὲ ἐφανερώθη*, doth most plainly declare: for what else should be the nominative case to the verb *ἐφανερώθη*? And even so your vulgar Latin text hath it translated: *Et impleam verbum Dei, mysterium quod absconditum fuit a sæculis et generationibus, nunc autem manifestatum est sanctis ejus.* But because this is not so evident, for that the nominative case and the accusative of the neuter gender be of one termination, I will bring you yet more plain examples out of the Revelation of St John, chap. i. 4. *χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.* "Grace to you, and peace from him (or from God, as some copies have) which is, and which was, and which is to come." Would not your grammar say it is a plain *solecism*, because he saith not, *τοῦ ὄντος*, and *τοῦ ἐρχόμενου*? What have you here to quarrel? Is not *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν* and *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* the same phrase that is in Luke, *τῷ αἵματι, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον*? Well, let us go

a little further, to the next verse of the same chapter, where we read thus: καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς, ὁ πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς. "And from Jesus Christ, which is a faithful witness, the first-born from the dead, and prince over the kings of the earth." The more usual construction would require that he should have said, ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μάρτυρος τοῦ πιστοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου καὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος, but that he useth the same *solœcophanes* which St Luke doth, chap. xxii. (if the reading be not altered), where the article prepositive is put in the place of the subjunctive, and agreeth not in case with the antecedent, as often it doth, but being the nominative case, cometh before the verb ἐστι, which is not expressed, but must needs be understood; as even your vulgar translator doth acknowledge, rendering it in both verses thus: *ab eo qui est, et qui erat, et qui venturus est,* and *a Jesu Christo qui est testis fidelis, &c.* These examples, I doubt not but they are sufficient to satisfy any reasonable man, to shew that I have not invented a new construction that never was heard of, to save Beza's credit, and whereof I am able to give not so much as one example.

But that I may overthrow M. Martin's vain insultation with a whole cloud of examples, I will yet add one or two more. In the same Revelation, chap. viii. 9, thus we read: καὶ ἀπέθανε τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχάς, "and there died the third of all creatures which are in the sea, which had lives." Your vulgar Latin text turneth it thus: *Et mortua est tertia pars creaturæ, eorum quæ habebant animas in mari:* "And there died the third part of the creatures, of those things which had life in the sea." In which translation, although the order of the words which St John useth is somewhat inverted, yet the sense remaineth the same; and τὰ ἔχοντα is translated, *quæ habebant,* which agreeth not with τῶν κτισμάτων in case, (as every child that can decline a Greek noun doth know,) where otherwise the most common construction were to have said, τῶν κτισμάτων, τῶν ἐχόντων. Therefore the phrase and construction is the same, which is Luke xxii., τῷ αἵματι, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον. What can fine M. Gregorie, which carpeth at my skill, that speak so barbarously and rustically of Greek elegancies, what can Master Gregorie Martin, I say,

the great linguist of the seminary of Rheims, allege, why these phrases are not alike? or rather, changing the words, in figure the very same? And if he have anything to cavil against this example, as I see not what he can have, yet have I another out of the same book, chap. iii. 12: καὶ γράψω ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ Θεοῦ μου τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ καταβαίνουσα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ μου. "And I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem, which descendeth out of heaven from my God." The vulgar Latin translation differeth not from this, which saith: *Et scribam super eum nomen Dei mei, et nomen civitatis Dei mei, novæ Jerusalem, quæ descendit de cœlo a Deo meo.* Here the antecedent is of the genitive case, the relative of the nominative, which cometh before the verb ἐστι, understood in the participle καταβαίνουσα, as in Luke xxii. it is in the participle ἐκχυνόμενον.

By these examples, in seeking whereof, I promise you, I spent no great time, you may learn to be wiser hereafter, and not to condemn all men, beside yourself, out of your reader's chair at Rheims, of ignorance, unskilfulness, barbarousness, rusticity, yea, wilfulness and madness, where you yourself deserve a much sharper censure through your immoderate insultation, the matter thereof being both more false and forged, than we might justly have borne, if we had been overtaken with a little grammatical ignorance. By these examples I trust you see, or if you will needs be blind, all the young Grecians in England may see, that as in the Latin translation you confess the relative standeth more likely to be referred to the word *sanguine* than to the word *calix*, so in the Greek there is no help to remove it from the next manifest and necessary antecedent to a word further off, with which the signification of the participle cannot agree. For who would say, that a cup is shed for us? And though you make a *metonymy* of the cup for that which is in the cup, what is that, I pray you? Not wine, you will say, I am sure, but the blood of Christ. If you so resolve it, then followeth that vain nugation which I have noted against Saunder: "This blood in the cup, which blood is shed for you, is the new testament in my blood." Is that blood in the cup diverse from that blood

in which the new testament is confirmed? If it be the same, how often was it shed? If it were shed in the cup, how holdeth your unbloody sacrifice? Or how can you say that it was shed in the cup, where, by your rule of concomitants, it is not separated from the body, as it was in his passion? If it were not separated, as certainly his blood was not separated from his body, in the supper, how can that which was in the cup, be his blood that was shed for us? for the word of "shedding" signifieth separation. Wherefore it cannot be referred to that in the cup, but to his blood which was shed on the cross for us; so that there is a manifest *enallage*, or change of the tense; the present being put for the future, as it is manifest by the other evangelists, where the word of shedding can be referred to nothing else, but to his blood shed upon the cross. Wherefore the Greek text can here resolve you of no ambiguity, as in the place you cite, Acts xiv. Neither was there ever any ancient writer that stumbled upon this ambiguity; but all with one consent refer the word of shedding to his blood, and not to the cup or the content thereof, so many as speak of it.

Martin. And this is one commodity among others, that we reap of the Greek text, to resolve the ambiguity that is sometime in the Latin: whereas you neither admit the one nor the other, but as you list; neither doth the Greek satisfy you, be it never so plain and infallible, but you will devise that it is corrupted, that there is a solecism, that the same solecism is an elegancy, and thereupon you translate your own device, and not the word of God. Which whence can it proceed, but of most wilful corruption? See chap. xvii. num. 10, 11, 12. MARTIN, 40.

Fulke. This is nothing but general railing, and impudent slandering, as in the particular sections before is proved. For we neither devise that the text is corrupted, to alter any thing of the text, no, not where it is undoubtedly corrupted, as in the name of Jeremy, Matt. xxvii.: neither devise we a *solecism*, when we admonish that there is a *solœcophanes*[1], which of no papist that ever I heard of was before observed: neither make we a *solecism* to be an elegancy, when we say against them that confound a *solecism* with *solœcophanes*, that *solœcophanes* is a figure used sometimes of most eloquent writers, neither is it straight- FULKE, 40.

[1] That which seems to be a solecism, but yet is not.]

way a virtue or elegancy of speech, whatsoever eloquent writers sometimes have used: wherefore we translate nothing of our own device, but we translate the word of God without any wilful corruption.

MARTIN, 41. *Martin.* If in ambiguous Hebrew words of doubtful signification, where the Greek giveth one certain sense, you refuse the Greek, and take your advantage of the other sense; what is this but wilful partiality? So you do in *Redime eleemosynis peccata tua,* Dan. iv.; and, *Inclinavi cor meum ad faciendas justificationes tuas propter retributionem;* and, *Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus, etc.:* and yet at another time you follow the determination of the Greek for another advantage, as Psalm xcviii. "Adore his footstool, because he is holy." Whereas in the Hebrew it may be as in our Latin, "because it is holy." See chap. xiii. num. 18; chap. ix. num. 23, 24; chap. xviii. num. 1, 2. So you flee from the Hebrew to the Greek, and from this to that again, from both to the vulgar Latin, as is shewed in other places; and as St Augustine saith to Faustus the Manichee, "You are the rule of truth: whatsoever is for you, is true; whatsoever is against you, is not true."

Psal. cxix. Octon. *Nun*[1]. Ps. cxxxix.

קָדוֹשׁ הוּא

Lib. ii. cont. Faust. cap. 2[2].

FULKE, 41. *Fulke.* If Hebrew words be ambiguous, we take that sense which agreeth with other places that are plain and without all ambiguity; and this is no partiality, but wisdom and love of the truth: not to ground any new doctrine upon such places only, where the Hebrew word is ambiguous, and may have divers significations; as you do the redemption of sins by alms, upon that place of Daniel iv.; where you confess that the Hebrew word is ambiguous, and are not able to bring any one plain text for it, where the words are not ambiguous. But we ground our refusal upon a hundred plain texts, that ascribe the whole glory of our ransom and redemption from sins to the only mercy of God. But as well this text as the other two, that you cite in the chapters by you quoted, shall be throughly discussed, to see if you can have any advantage at our translators of the same. But on the contrary side you say that at another time we follow the determination of the Greek for another advantage, as in that text, Psalm

[1] Ps. cxix. 112. i. e. in the *octonary,* or division of eight verses, which commences with the Hebrew letter נ, *nun.*]

[2] Vides certe quam nescias, vel te nescire fingas, quid sit evangelium, nec ex doctrina apostolica, sed ex vestro errore nomines evangelium. Augustin. Contra Faustum, Lib. II. 2. Opera. Vol. VIII. p. 316.]

xcviii. "Adore his footstool, because he is holy," whereas in the Hebrew it may be as in your Latin, "because it is holy." I answer, that we follow not the determination of the Greek, as moved by the only authority thereof, for any advantage, but because we learn our interpretation out of the very psalm itself. For whereas the prophet in the 5th verse hath said, "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship at the footstool of his feet, for he is holy;" in the last verse of the same he repeateth again the like exhortation: "Exalt ye the Lord our God, and worship him in his holy hill; for the Lord our God is holy." In this verse for his 'footstool' he placeth the 'holy hill,' which expresseth where his footstool was, namely the holy ark, and for *cadhosh hu*, 'holy is he,' now he sayeth, *cadosh Jehova*, 'holy is the Lord our God,' which putteth the other verse out of ambiguity. Wherefore if we take testimony of the Greek, we fly not to the Greek from the Hebrew, but shew that the Hebrew may so be understood, having other more certain arguments than the testimony of the Greek. Again, it is utterly false, that you say we fly from both Hebrew and Greek to the Latin; for we never fly from the Hebrew, but acknowledge it as the fountain and spring, from whence we must receive the infallible truth of God's word of the Old Testament, following the Latin or Greek so far as they follow the truth of the Hebrew text, and no farther. As for the saying of St Augustine to Faustus the Manichee, "You are the rule of truth," [it] doth most aptly agree to you papists and to your pope: for you will not afford unto the scriptures themselves any authority or certainty of truth, but upon your approbation and interpretation. Wherefore not only that which he saith to Faustus the Manichee agreeth aptly to you, 'Whatsoever is for you is true, whatsoever is against you is not true:' but that also which he reporteth Tyconius the Donatist said of his sect, *Quod volumus sanctum est*, "Whatsoever we will is holy," you yourselves take upon you. For no doctrine is good nor holy, though it be proved never so plainly out of the holy scripture, except it be allowed by you for catholic and holy.

[Psal. xcix.] קָדוֹשׁ הוּא קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה

Martin. What shall I speak of the Hebrew particle *vau*? which (Gen. xiv. 18.) must in no case be translated *because*, lest it should

MARTIN, 42.

והוא כהן prove that Melchisedec offered sacrifice of bread and wine, as all the fathers expound it: but (Luke i. 42) where they translate the equivalent Greek particle καὶ[1], there Beza proveth the said particle to signify *because*, and translateth accordingly, and the English Bezites likewise. I will not urge them, why: we like the sense well, and Theophylact so expoundeth it. But if the Greek copulative may be so translated, why not the Hebrew copulative much more, which often in the scripture is used in that sense? See chap. xvii. num. 13, 14.

Quia benedictus, *for* et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

FULKE, 42. *Fulke.* That the Hebrew particle *vau* is sometimes to be taken for a causal conjunction, and signifieth *because*, no man denieth: but that it must be taken so Gen. xiv. because καὶ is taken so Luke i. 42, what reason is this? But all the fathers (say you) expound Melchisedec's bringing forth of bread and wine to be a sacrifice. I grant that many do, but not all: yet do not they ground upon the conjunction causal; for Cyprian, Lib. II. Epist. 3, *ad Cœcilium*, readeth thus, *Fuit autem sacerdos*, "and he was a priest." So doth Hierome, *Epist. ad Evagrium*, expounding the very Hebrew text, say, *Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et vinum, erat autem sacerdos Dei excelsi.* The word *protulit* also hath Ambrose, *de mysteriis initiand.* Augustine upon the title of the 33rd Psalm, Cyprian in the epistle before named; and the vulgar Latin hath *proferens.* Hierome, *Ep. ad Evagrium*, sheweth that the best learned of the Hebrews' judgment was, that Melchisedec *Victori Abraham obviam processerit, et in refectionem tam ipsius, quam pugnatorum ipsius*[2], *panes vinumque protulerit*: "Melchisedec came forth to meet Abraham the conqueror, and for refection, as well of him as of his warriors, brought forth bread and wine." And after many interpretations of the Greek writers which he rehearseth, in the end he will determine nothing of his own judgment. The author of *Scholastica Historia*, cap. 64, agreeth with the interpretation of the Hebrews. [3]*At vero Melchisedech rex Salem obtulit ei*

[1] Εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶ, καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου. Luke i. 42.

"And blessed is the fruit of thy womb," Cranmer, Tyndale, Rheims, Authorised. "Because the fruit of thy womb is blessed," Geneva.

[2] ejus. Edit. Martianay, Vol. II. p. 56.]

[3] Genesis xiv. 18. The Vulgate has, "At vero Melchisedech rex Salem, proferens panem et vinum." Augustine says, Et tantus erat

panem et vinum: quod quasi exponens Josephus ait: Ministravit exercitui xenia, et multam abundantiam rerum opportunarum simul exhibuit, et super epulas benedixit Deum, qui Abrahæ subdiderat inimicos. Erat enim sacerdos Dei altissimi. "But Melchisedec, king of Salem, offered unto him bread and wine; which Josephus as it were expounding of it saith: 'He ministered to his army the duties of hospitality, and gave him great plenty of things necessary, and beside the feast, or at the feast, he blessed God, which had subdued unto Abraham his enemies: for he was a priest of the highest God'." Therefore not all the fathers so judged of Melchisedec's bread and wine. But against all them that referred the same to his priesthood, we oppose the apostle to the Hebrews, chap. vii., who, searching of purpose whatsoever was in Melchisedec, wherein he resembleth Christ, so that he omitteth not the interpretation of his name nor of his city, maketh no mention of his sacrifice of bread and wine; whereas nothing seemeth to have greater resemblance than that, which deceived many of the ancient fathers, but yet was not observed of the Holy Ghost.

Martin. But I would ask rather, why κεχαριτωμένη[4] may not in any case be translated, "full of grace;" whereas ἡλκωμένος[5] is translated, "full of sores;" both words being of like form and force. See chap. xviii. num. 4, 5. MARTIN, 43. Luke i. 28. Luke xvi. 20.

Fulke. The former word, being a participle, is best translated by a participle 'freely beloved:' for the other, if we had a participle in English, to say, 'sored or botched,' FULKE, 43.

Melchisedec, a quo benediceretur Abraham. Protulit panem et vinum, et benedixit Abraham, et dedit ei decimas Abraham. Videte quid protulit. Augustin. Enarratio in Psalmum xxxiii. cap. 5. Opera, Vol. iv. p. 301.

Et Melchisedech rex Salem protulit panem et vinum. Fuit autem sacerdos Dei summi, et benedixit Abraham. Cypriani Epist. lxiii. Opera, edit. Baluzi, Paris. 1726. p. 105.]

[4 χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη. Luke i. 28. "Ave, gratia plena," Vulg. "Hail, full of grace," Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, Rheims. "Hail, thou that art freely beloved," Geneva. "Hail, thou that art in high favour," Bishops'. "Hail, thou that art highly favoured," Authorised version.]

[5 ὃς ἐβέβλητο πρὸς τὸν πυλῶνα αὐτοῦ ἡλκωμένος. Luke xvi. 20. "Qui jacebat ad januam ejus ulceribus plenus," Vulg. "Full of sores," all the Versions.]

we would use it; but for lack of a participle, we are constrained to use the noun, 'full of sores.' I may likewise ask you, whether you would translate κεχρυσωμένος full of gold, or gilded? And so of all other verbs of that form, where there is in English a participle: why ought not likewise κεχαριτωμένος be translated by the participle?

MARTIN, 44. ἀφιλάργυρος[1] ὁ τρόπος. τίμιος ὁ γάμος[2].

Martin. Again, why say they (Heb. xiii.) "Let your conversation be without covetousness," and say not, "Let marriage be honourable in all, and the bed undefiled;" both being expressed alike by the apostle, and by way of exhortation, as the rest that goeth before and followeth? See chap. xv. num. 15.

FULKE, 44.

Fulke. Although the sense were not so greatly different, yet the participle δὲ following in the latter part of the verse, πόρνους δὲ, &c., "but fornicators and adulterers God will judge," sheweth that the former part of the verse is an affirmation rather than an exhortation. Again, the purpose of the apostle is plain, to dissuade them from whoredom and adultery; and not only to exhort married men to use marriage temperately, but for avoiding of whoredom and adultery, which God will punish, to shew the remedy that God hath provided for man's infirmity to be honourable and void of filthiness.

MARTIN, 45. Heb. v. 7. * Beza, Acts xxvi. 20. 2 Thess. ii. and iii.

Martin. Are we too suspicious, think you? How can "fear" be translated "that which he feared;" "repentance," "them that repent or amend their life;" "tradition," the doctrine delivered; "temples," shrines; "idols," devotions; "every human creature," all ordinances of man; "foreknowledge," providence; "sòul," carcase; "hell," grave; "altar," temple; "table," altar; and such like?

[1 ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος. Heb. xiii. 5. "Sint mores sine avaritia," Vulg. "Let your conversation be without covetousness," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops' Bible, Authorised version. "Let your manners be without avarice," Rheims.]

[2 τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος. Heb. xiii. 4. "Honorabile connubium in omnibus, et thorus immaculatus," Vulg. "Let wedlock be had in price in all points, and let the chamber be undefiled," Tyndale. "Wedlock is to be had in honour among all men, and the bed undefiled," Cranmer, Geneva. "Marriage, honourable in all, and the bed undefiled," Rheims. "Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled," Authorised. "Wedlock is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled," Bishops' Bible.]

Fulke. We think you not more suspicious, than mali- FULKE, cious. "From his fear," may well (for explication sake) be 45. translated, "from that which he feared[3]," Heb. v. 7, even as hope is sometime taken for that which we hope for, as Col. i. 5. Tit. ii. 13. So may "repentance" in Beza Acts xxvi.[4] 20, signify them that repent, as "circumcision" often signifieth them that are circumcised: neither is there any change of the sense, to say the fruits worthy of repentance, or the fruits worthy of them that repent, or amend their life. And I pray what doth "tradition," 2 Thess. ii. and iii. signify, but the doctrine delivered[5]? Doth not the apostle declare, what his tradition was, when he delivereth this doctrine, that if any man will not work, let him not eat, 2 Thess. iii. 10.? The word *ναοὺς*, as it is used, Acts xix. 24, signifieth neither temples nor shrines[6], but certain idolatrous coins, on which was stamped the figure of Diana's temple, more like to your popish shrines than to the temple of God. Where "idols"

[3 *καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.* Heb. v. 7. "Exauditus est pro sua reverentia," Vulg. "Exauditus esset ex metu," Beza, 1566. "And was herd for his reverence," Wiclif. "Heard, because of his godliness," Tyndale. "Was heard, because of his reverence," Cranmer, Rhemish. "And was heard in that which he feared," Geneva, Tomson's translation of Beza, Edit. Barker, 1583.]

[4 *τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀπαγγέλλων μετανοεῖν.* Acts xxvi. 20. "Annuntiabam ut pœnitentiam agerent," Vulgate. "Annuntiavi ut resipiscerent," Beza, edit. 1566. "That they should repent," New Test., Englished by W. Tomson, from Beza's version, 1583.]

[5 *καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις.* 2 Thess. ii. 15. "Et tenete traditiones," Vulgate. "Et retinete traditam doctrinam," Beza, 1582. "Et tenete traditam doctrinam," Beza, 1556. "Keep the instructions which ye have been taught," Tomson's translation of Beza, Geneva. "Holde ze the tradicioun̄s," Wiclif. "Keep the ordinances," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Hold the traditions," Rhemish, Authorised.

καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρέλαβε. 2 Thess. iii. 6. "Et non secundum traditionem," Vulgate. "Et non ex tradita doctrina," Beza, 1566. "And not after the techynge," Wiclif. "And not after the institution," Tyndale, Cranmer. "And not after the instruction," Geneva, Tomson's version. "And not according to the tradition," Rhemish. "And not after the tradition," Authorised.]

[6 *ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος.* Acts xix. 24. "Faciens ædes argenteas Dianæ," Vulg. "Qui faciebat templa argentea Dianæ," Beza, 1566. "Which made silver shrines for Diana," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised.]

are translated 'devotions', I know not, except you mean Acts xvii. 23, where the word is σεβάσματα[1], which your vulgar Latin translator, 2 Thess. ii., calleth *quod colitur*, "that which is devoutly worshipped," and so the word signifieth 'whatsoever is religiously worshipped or adored,' and not "idols," as you say, nor *simulacra*, "images," as your translator calleth them, Acts xvii.; for it is derived of σεβάζω, or σεβάζομαι, which signifieth 'to adore,' 'to worship,' 'to honour devoutly or religiously[2].' "Every human creature" signifieth in that place, 1 Pet. ii., every magistrate, of what creation or ordination soever he be; and so is meant by that translation (all ordinances of men), not all laws of men, which yet were not impious, if you add the restraint, "for the Lord," for whom nothing can be that is against his law. The rest of your quarrels be all answered before.

MARTIN, 46.

Martin. What caused these strange speeches in their English bibles? "Thou shalt not leave my soul in the grave." "Thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest grave." "A covetous man is a worshipper of images." "By laying on of the hands of the eldership." "Hail, freely beloved." "Sin lieth at the door, and thou shalt rule over him." "Break off thy sins with righteousness," for "redeem with alms." "Jealousy is cruel as the grave," for "as hell." Cant. viii. *Bib. anno* 1579. "The griefs of the grave caught me." Psalm cxvi. And, "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave." "O grave, I will be thy destruction." Os. 13, and such like. What made Calvin so translate into Latin, that if you turn it into English, the sense is, that God 'poured water upon us abundantly,' meaning the Holy Ghost? what else, but because he would take away the necessity of material water in baptism, as in his commentary and Beza's it is evident?

Psal. lxxxvi. 13. Bib. 1579.

Psal. xlix.

Titus iii.

FULKE, 46.

Fulke. These speeches are not strange in God's church, howsoever they sound in your ears. So many of them as

[1 ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν. Acts xvii. 23. "Videns simulacra vestra," Vulgate. "Contemplans sacra vestra," Beza. "For as I passed by and beheld your devotions," Geneva 1560, Tomson's translation of Beza, 1583, though this appeared a year later than Martin's book: it may, however, be from the first edition of the translation, printed in 1576.]

[2 Ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει. 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Subjecti igitur estote omni humanæ creaturæ," Vulgate. "Subjecti estote cuivis humanæ ordinationi," Beza, 1566. "Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance of man," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised. "Be subject, therefore, to every human creature," Rhemish.]

translate for *sheol* the "grave," have their answers, sect. 32, and chap. vii., which is appointed for that question: "The covetous man a worshipper of images," sect. 5 of this chap. and chap. iii. numb. 12. The "laying on of hands of the eldership" is warranted by the signification of the Greek word πρεσβυτέριον, which signifieth a company of elders, as it is translated by your own vulgar Latin interpreter, Luke xxii. 66. *Seniores plebis:* "The elders of the people;" and Acts xxii. 5, he calleth πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον, *Omnes majores natu.* And for a consistory of elders is the word *presbyterium* used in Latin by Cyprian, Lib. III. Epist. 11, and Lib. II. Epist. 8, 10. Of "hail, freely beloved," we spake lately, sect. 43.; of the text Gen. iv. 7, "sin lieth at the door," &c. sect. 28, and chap. x. sect. 9; of Dan. iv., "break," for "redeem thy sins," sect. 41.

If Calvin, Tit. iii., did wrongly interpret that which is spoken of water, to be meant of the Holy Ghost, what is that to our translation? But certain it is, that Calvin never meant to take away the necessity of material water from the sacrament of baptism, although he taught that the want of the external sacrament, where it cannot be had, doth not deprive God's elect from eternal salvation: neither hath Beza any other meaning in his annotation.

Martin. I had meant to have but briefly skimmed over these things, but multitude of matter maketh me too long, as it chanceth to a man that wadeth through miry and foul places; and yet the greatest demonstration that they are wilful corrupters, is behind, which only I will add, and for the rest refer the reader to the whole book. MARTIN, 47.

Fulke. It is a small sign, that multitude of matter is cause of your length, when you repeat one matter in so many sections: your similitude of a man wading in foul and miry places doth well agree unto you; for you have been all this while wading in the puddle of your slanders, misprisions, and false accusations, in which you have so berayed yourself, as you shall not easily purge yourself from the mire of them. But because you say the greatest demonstration that we are wilful corrupters, is behind, though it be tedious for us to rake in such a gogmire[3] of your forgeries and false accusations, yet we will take courage, and FULKE, 47.

[3 Quagmire.]

consider what main demonstration you can make, to prove us in our English translations to be wilful corrupters.

MARTIN, 48.

Martin. Doubt you whether they translate of purpose and partiality, in favour of their opinions? you shall hear themselves say so, and protest it. If I dealt with Lutherans, this one testimony of Luther were sufficient, who, being asked why he added "only" into the text, Rom. iii., answered that he did it to explicate the apostle's sense more plainly, that is, to make the apostle say more plainly, that faith only justified. And his disciple Illyricus disputeth the matter, that the apostle saying, "by faith without works," saith in deed, "only faith." But because I deal rather with our English Calvinists, and Beza is their chief translator, and a captain among them, whom they profess to follow in the title of the New Testament, anno 1580, and by the very name of their Geneva bibles, let us see what he saith.

Tom. 2. fol. 405. edit. Witteb. anno 1551.

The express testimonies of Beza, (whom the English heretical translations follow herein,) that he doth wilfully and of purpose translate against such and such catholic assertions.

FULKE, 48.

Fulke. I think there is no man doubteth but they translated the scripture with purpose to maintain their opinions; but whether they have wittingly and wilfully translated falsely, to maintain any errors or heretical opinions, that is the matter in question, and which hath need of your greatest demonstration to make it apparent. That Luther might rightly interpret the place, Rom. iii., of only faith justifying, by the excluding of works, I have before acknowledged, and Illyricus doth rightly defend it. But that he did put in the word "only" in his translation, which is not in the original, I will not take upon me to excuse, seeing the truth of that doctrine is manifest without that addition; and Luther himself, in his later editions, hath reformed it. Again, what fault soever other men have committed in their translation, we are unjustly charged therewith, except we follow the same in ours. That we profess to follow Beza by the very name of our Geneva bibles, it is a very ridiculous argument: for our Bibles are so commonly called, because they were translated and first printed at Geneva, not by Beza, (who at that time had scarce finished his translation of the New Testament, and never dealt with translating of the old, so far as we know,) but by certain godly and learned Englishmen, which lived there in queen Mary's time, to enjoy the liberty of a good conscience, which they could not have in their own country.

MARTIN, 49.

Martin. First, concerning μετανοεῖτε, which the vulgar Latin and Erasmus translate, *Agite pœnitentiam*, or "Do penance." "This interpre-

tation," saith he, "I refuse for many causes, but for this especially, that many ignorant persons have taken hereby an occasion of the false opinions of satisfaction, wherewith the church is troubled at this day." Lo! of purpose against satisfaction he will not translate the Greek word as it ought to be, and as it is proved to signify, both in this book and in the annotations upon the New Testament. A little after speaking of the same word, he saith, "Why I have changed the name *pœnitentia*, I have told a little before;" protesting that he will never use those words, but *resipiscere*, and *resipiscentia*, that is, amendment of life; because of their heresy, that repentance is nothing else but a mere amendment of former life, without recompence or satisfaction or penance for the sins before committed. See chap. xiii.

Matt. iii. 8.

Loco supra citato.

Fulke. Of purpose against the heresy of satisfaction, Beza will not translate the Greek word, as the vulgar Latin translator doth, but yet as the Greek word ought to be translated. Erasmus, finding the vulgar Latin insufficient, hath added *vitæ prioris*, that is, "repent ye of your former life." Neither doth Beza find fault with the English word "repent," but with the Latin *agite pœnitentiam*, when you translate it, "do penance," meaning thereby pain or satisfaction for sins passed, to be a necessary part of true repentance, which is not contained in the Greek word μετανοεῖν[1], which signifieth changing of the mind; that is, not only a sorrow for the sin past, but also a purpose of amendment, which is best expressed by the Latin word *resipiscere*, which is always taken in the good part, as μετανοεῖν is in the scripture, whereas the Latin words *pœnitere* and *pœnitentia* are used in Latin of sorrow or repentance that is too late: as *pœnitere* and *pœnitentia* may be said of Judas' grief of mind, which caused him to hang himself, but not μετανοεῖν, or μετάνοια, or *resipiscere* and *resipiscentia:* and therefore the Holy Ghost, speaking of his sorrow, useth another word, μεταμέλειν, and μεταμέλεια. And this is the cause why Beza refused the word *pœnitentia*,

FULKE, 49.

[1 Ferte igitur fructum dignum resipiscentia. Matt. iii. 8., Bezæ Vers. 1556. Ceterum μετανοεῖν quum est verbum absolutum, proprie significat post factum sapere, et de errore admisso ita dolere ut corrigas: quod (ut opinor) Latinis proprie significat resipiscere. Bezæ, Annot. in v. 2.

Tertullian's definition of μετάνοια is this: Nam et in Græco sono pœnitentiæ nomen, non ex delicti confessione, sed ex animi demutatione compositum est. Adversus Marcionem, lib. ii. Opera, p. 472. Edit. Rigaltii, 1641.]

having a Latin word that more properly doth express the Greek word; as we might lawfully do in English, if we had another English word proper to that repentance which is always joined with faith and purpose of amendment, for want whereof we are constrained to use the words *repent* and *repentance*, which may be taken in good part, or in evil: for we say, repentance too late, and Judas repented too late; but there is no μετάνοια that can be called too late. But where you say, that *resipiscere* and *resipiscentia* is nothing but amendment of life, and that repentance, in our heresy, is nothing else but a mere amendment of former life, you speak untruly: for those words do signify not only amendment of life, but also sorrow for the sins past, although without recompense or satisfaction, which you call penance for the sins before committed; for we know no recompence or satisfaction made to God for our sins, but the death of Christ, who "is the propitiation for our sins." 1 John ii. Neither hath your blasphemous satisfaction any ground in the Greek word μετανοεῖν, but only a foolish colour by the Latin translation, *agite pœnitentiam*, which it is like your Latin interpreter did never dream of, and therefore he useth the word *resipiscere*, 2 Tim. ii. Of them to whom God should give μετάνοιαν, "repentance to the acknowledging of the truth," *et resipiscant*, and so they may repent, or, as you translate it, "recover themselves from the snare of the devil." Seeing, therefore, repentance is the gift of God, it is no recompence or satisfaction made by us to God, to answer his justice; but an earnest and true grief of mind for our transgression of God's law, and offending against his majesty, with a certain purpose and determination of amendment, so near as God shall give us grace. Hitherto therefore we have no demonstration of any wilful corruption, but a declaration of the cause that moved Beza to use a more exact translation, and such as cometh nearer to the original word, than that which the vulgar translation hath used, upon which occasion of a great blasphemy hath been taken, and is yet maintained.

MARTIN, 50. δικαιώματα. Luke i. 6.

Martin. Again, concerning the word "justifications," which in the scripture very often signify the commandments, he saith thus: "The Greek interpreters of the bible (meaning the Septuaginta) applieth this word to signify the whole law of God, and therefore commonly it is wont to be translated word for word, *justificationes*: which interpreta-

tion therefore only I rejected, that I might take away this occasion also of cavilling against justification by faith;" and so for "*justificationes*" he putteth "*constituta*," Tully's word, forsooth, as he saith. Can you have a more plain testimony of his heretical purpose?

Fulke. Concerning the Greek word δικαιώμασι, which Beza translateth *constitutionibus*, "constitutions;" and you confess that in scripture it doth very often signify the commandments; he saith first, that as the whole law of God is divided into three parts, moral, ceremonial, and judicial, so the Hebrews have three several words to express the several precepts of those laws. For the Hebrew word which signifieth the ceremonial precepts, the Greeks use to translate δικαιώματα. So the sense is, that Zachary and Elizabeth were just, walking in all the moral commandments, and observing the holy rites and ceremonies, as much as concerned them: but the third word, which signifieth "judgments," St Luke doth not add, because the exercise of judicial cases did not belong unto them, being private persons. After this he saith, that the Greek interpreters of the Bible transferred this word unto the whole law of God, and especially to the holy ceremonies: so, verily, exceedingly commending the law, that it is a certain rule of all justice; and therefore men are wont commonly, in respect of the word, to turn it "justifications." And this word in this place, Beza indeed confesseth that he refused to use, for avoiding of cavillations against justification by faith, seeing he hath none other word; neither would he for offence seek any new word to express justification by faith, whereas the word δικαιώματα, in this text, Luke i. 6., signifieth not that by which they were made just, but the commandments or precepts of God, by walking in which they were declared to be just. For "by the works of the law" (such as St Luke here speaketh of) "no flesh shall be justified" before God. Therefore δικαιώματα in this place must have another sense than justifications, namely, commandments, as you say it is often taken, or constitutions, as Beza calleth them, which before God and the world are not of such difference, that you should charge him with wilful corruption for translating that word constitutions, which you confess signifieth very often commandments. Wherefore here appeareth no heretical purpose, except you will say that justification by faith, which St Paul so often, so diligently, and so purposedly doth teach, is an heresy. FULKE, 50.

MARTIN, 51. *Martin.* Again, when he had rejected this translation, Act ii. 27, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno,* "thou shalt not leave my soul in hell," 'because,' as he saith, 'hereupon grew the errors of Christ's descending into hell, of limbus, and of purgatory; at length he concludeth thus: 'Whereas the doubtful interpretation of one or two words hath brought forth so many monsters, I chose rather simply* for 'soul' to say carcase; for 'hell,' grave; than to foster these foul errors.'

* Lo! how simply. Anima, *carcase.* Infernus, *grave.*

FULKE, 51. *Fulke.* Beza sheweth, that because the doubtful interpretation of the Hebrew word *sheol* into ᾅδης, which doth not properly signify "hell," but a dark place, such as the pit is wherein the dead are put, and of the poets is taken for hell, had bred such monsters as *limbus patrum,* purgatory, and Christ's descending into them; therefore he did plainly translate that verse as it is meant, of the raising up of Christ's body out of the grave; which, if he had translated out of Hebrew, as he did out of Greek, had not been offensive nor untrue, as I have shewed in answer to your preface, sect. 46, and of this chapter, sect. 32. But seeing Beza himself hath altered that translation, and it was never followed of our English translators, what demonstration is this, that we are wilful corrupters of the holy scriptures?

MARTIN, 52. *Martin.* Again, when he had translated for "Whom heaven must receive," thus, "who must be contained in heaven," he saith: 'Whereas we have used the passive kind of speech, rather than the active,' which is in the Greek, 'we did it to avoid all ambiguity. For it is very expedient that there should be in the church of God this perspicuous testimony against them, that for ascending by faith into heaven, so to be joined to our Head, obstinately maintain that Christ must be called again out of heaven unto us:' meaning his presence in the blessed sacrament, and inveighing no less against the Lutherans than the catholics, as the Lutherans do here against him for this wilful interpretation, and that by Calvin's own judgment, who thinketh it a forced translation.

ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέξασθαι. Acts iii. 21.

Flac. Illyr.

FULKE, 52. *Fulke.* True it is, that he meant concerning the manner of Christ's presence in the blessed sacrament, and that he so translated, to exclude the carnal manner of presence, which the papists have invented: but all this while the translation is true, and warranted by Gregory Nazianzen, as I have shewed before, sect. 36 of this chapter. For he that saith, 'heaven must receive Christ,' (as you do,) cannot deny, except he be mad, but that Christ must be received of heaven. So

that Beza doth none otherwise translate, than you do, *Qui dæmonia habebant;* which is actually thus to be translated, "those who had devils," and you say, 'which were possest of devils,' that is, were had of devils. That the Lutherans did find fault with Beza's translation, it proveth it not to be false: he hath justified it sufficiently in his answer to Selneccerus and the divines of Jena. Neither doth Calvin (as you say untruly) think it a forced translation; but not weighing the sentence sufficiently, supposeth that the words are placed ambiguously, for that it seemeth to be doubtful whether we should say, that heaven must receive Christ, or that Christ must receive heaven. But if it be once granted (as it is of you) that heaven must receive Christ, there is neither Calvin nor Illyricus, nor any man that beareth the face but of a young grammarian, yea, of a reasonable man, which can deny that conversion by the passive: Christ must be received of heaven. Therefore, if you had any respect of your credit with men of understanding, you would not for shame rehearse this quarrel so often; which hath not so much as any colour or shew of reason to maintain it, but that you abuse the names of Illyricus and Calvin, as misliking it, whose arguments by no means will serve your turn, because that which is denied by them, or doubtful to them, is plain and confessed by you.

Martin. But Beza goeth forward still in this kind. Rom. v. 18, whereas Erasmus had put *propagatum est,* indifferently, both of Adam's sin, which made us truly sinners, and of Christ's justice, which maketh us truly just; he rejecting it, among other causes why it displeased him, saith: "That old error of the sophists," meaning catholics, "which for imputative justice put an inherent quality in the place, is so great and so execrable to all good men, that I think nothing is so much to be avoided as it." MARTIN, 53.

Fulke. A manifest eclipsis, or want of words, being in that verse, for which Erasmus hath put *propagatum est,* which word is ambiguous, and may give occasion of error, for men to think that the righteousness of Christ cometh by propagation, as the guiltiness of Adam doth; Beza thought good to supply the lack, rather by such words as are warranted by the text, verses 12, 15, and 16, and can give no occasion of error. And therefore thus he rendereth that verse: *Nempe igitur, sicut per unam offensam reatus venit in omnes homi-* FULKE, 53.

nes ad condemnationem; ita per unam justificationem beneficium redundavit in omnes homines ad justificationem vitæ. "Now therefore, as by one offence guiltiness came upon all men unto condemnation; so by one justification the benefit abounded toward all men unto justification of life." In this verse these words, "guiltiness came," and "the benefit abounded," are added for explication sake, and are taken out of the verses going before, in which the apostle speaketh of the same matter. Therefore Beza, to avoid occasion of the heresy of the papists, of justice inherent, among other causes which he rehearseth, refuseth that word by which Erasmus supplied the text, and useth such words for that purpose, as the apostle himself in the verses precedent doth offer, for this necessary supply: which seeing it must be made, that there may be a sense and understanding, who can mislike that it should be made by the apostle's own words? or who can suppose that the apostle would leave any other words to be understood, than such as he himself had before expressed? And as for the heresy of inherent justice, [it] can have no hold in this verse, except some such word be added for supply, as the apostle never used in this case. That Christ's justice doth make us as truly just, as Adam's sin made us truly sinners, there is no question: but by what means we are made just, we say, as the scripture teacheth us to speak, that justice is imputed to us through faith, Rom. iv. The papists say it is a quality inherent within us; for which words and matter they have no warrant in the holy scripture.

MARTIN, 54.

Martin. These few examples prove unto us that the scriptures translated verbatim, exactly, and according to the proper use and signification of the words, do by the heretics' confession make for the catholics; and therefore Beza saith he altereth the words into other: and, I think, it may suffice any indifferent reader to judge of his purpose and meaning in other places of his translation, and consequently of theirs that either allow him, or follow him, which are our English Calvinists and Bezites. Many other ways there are to make most certain proof of their wilfulness, as when the translation is framed according to their false and heretical commentary; and when they will avouch their translations out of profane writers, Homer, Plutarch, Pliny, Tully, Virgil, and Terence, and reject the ecclesiastical use of words in the scriptures and fathers; which Beza doth for the most part always. But it were infinite to note all the marks, and by these the wise reader may conceive the rest.

Cal. Heb v. 7. and Titus iii. 6. Beza 2 Thess. ii. 15. and iii. 6.

Fulke. These examples prove nothing less. For to run over them all briefly, the first two we translate *verbatim*, "A man is justified by faith without the works of the law," and "repent" and "repentance" we say for μετανοεῖν and μετάνοια. What make these for popery? If Luke i. 6, we should call δικαιώματα, "justifications," what should popery gain but a vain cavil, when yourselves confess, that those justifications are often used for commandments? Acts ii. 27, all our English translations are as you would have them, "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy one to see corruption;" by which verse no descent into *limbus*, but the resurrection from death, can be proved. If we translate as you do Acts iii. 21, "whom heaven must receive," we will easily convince that Christ must be received of heaven. In the last example the question is not, how the word is to be translated, but by what word the want of the text is to be supplied; which we supply not with words of our own, but with the apostle's own words. FULKE, 54.

Have you not gained greatly by translating *verbatim*, exactly, and according to the proper use and signification of the words? I like well, that every indifferent reader may judge by these examples of Beza's purpose in other places of his translation. But you have two other ways to make certain proof of their wilfulness. The first is, when the translation is framed according to their heretical commentary. A reasonable man would think rather that the commentary were framed according to the text, than the text to the commentary. But to justify the truth of those translations, for the first text you quote, it is handled sect. 26 of this chapter, and so consequently cap. vii. The second is answered sect. 46; the other two concerning tradition sect. 23 of the preface, and in the chapter following. The second way of proof is, when they will avouch their translations out of profane writers. I think there is no better way to know the proper or diverse signification of words, than out of ancient writers, though they be never so profane, who used the words most indifferently in respect of our controversies, of which they were altogether ignorant. As for the ecclesiastical use of words in the scripture and the fathers, which Beza (you say) doth for the most part reject, it is untrue: except there be good and sufficient cause why he should so do, warranted

by the scripture itself, or necessary circumstances of the places which he doth translate. For if the scripture have used a word in one signification sometimes, it is not necessary that it should always use it in the same signification, when it is proved by ancient writers that the word hath other significations, more proper to the place, and agreeable to the rule of faith, which perhaps the usual signification is not. As for example, the scripture useth very often this word παῖς for a "boy," or "servant:" but when the same word is applied to our Saviour Christ in the prayer of the apostles, Acts iv. 27, who would not translate it "child," or "son," as the word doth sometime, but more seldom, signify? How the fathers of the church have used words, it is no rule for translators of the scripture to follow; who oftentimes used words as the people did then take them, and not as they signified in the apostles' time: as μετάνοια for a public testification of repentance, which we call "penance," χειροτονία for "imposition of hands," and such like; in which sense these words were never used before the apostles' times, and therefore it is not like that they would begin a new use of them, without some manifest explication of their meaning, without the which no man could have understood them; as they have done in the use of these words πίστις, βάπτισμα, ἐκκλησία, and such like. It is not a fault therefore prudently to seek even out of profane writers, what is the proper signification of words, and how many significations a word may have, and reverently to judge, which is most apt for the place to be translated, and most agreeable with the Holy Ghost's meaning in that text; and not always to be tied to the usual signification of words, as they are sometimes taken in scripture, and much less as they are used of the ancient fathers.

MARTIN, 55. Annot. Acts x. 46.

Martin. But would you think that these men could notwithstanding speak very gravely and honestly against voluntary and wilful translations of scripture, that so notoriously offend therein themselves? Hearken what Beza saith against Castalio and the like. "The matter," saith he, "is now come to this point, that the translators of scripture out of the Greek into Latin, or into any other tongue, think that they may lawfully do any thing in translating. Whom if a man reprehend, he shall be answered by and by, that they do the office of a translator, not that translateth word for word, but that expresseth the sense. So it cometh to pass, that whiles every man will rather freely follow his own judgment, than be a religious interpreter of the Holy Ghost, he

doth rather pervert many things than translate them." Is not this well said, if he had done accordingly? but doing the clean contrary, as hath been proved, he is a dissembling hypocrite in so saying, and a wilful heretic in so doing, and condemned by his own judgment.

Fulke. No wise man doubteth, but they could both speak very gravely and avoid most religiously all voluntary and wilful translations of scripture, that might tend to maintain any error. And the rather they will be persuaded, that Beza hath avoided that lewd kind of translation, for which he reproveth *Castalio*, when they shall see that you, so malicious an enemy unto him, having spent all your invention to seek holes in his translation, can find nothing but such childish cavils, as when they be discovered, men will marvel that you were not ashamed to move them. FULKE, 55.

Martin. But after this general view of their wilful purpose and heretical intention, let us examine their false translations more particularly, and argue the case with them more at large, and press them to answer, whether in their conscience it be so or no, as hitherto is said; and that by several chapters of such controversies as their corruptions concern; and first of all (without further curiosity whence to begin, in cases so indifferent) of traditions. MARTIN, 56.

Fulke. The more particularly you examine our translations, the freer, I hope, they shall be found from falsehood and wilful corruption. And the more at large you argue the case, and press us to answer, the more you shall make the case to appear worse on your side, and the truth clearer on our part. And as God is witness of our conscience and sincerity in setting forth his word, without adulteration or corruption; so I appeal to the consciences of all indifferent readers, whether hitherto you have gotten any advantage against us in this whole chapter, which yet you profess to be the abridgement and sum of your whole treatise. FULKE, 56.

CHAPTER II.

Heretical Translation of Holy Scripture against Apostolical Traditions.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* THIS is a matter of such importance, that if they should grant any traditions of the apostles, and not pretend the written word only, they know that by [a] such traditions, mentioned in all antiquity, their religion were wholly defaced and overthrown. For remedy whereof, and for the defacing of all such traditions, they bend their translations against them in this wonderful manner. Wheresoever the holy scripture speaketh against certain traditions of the Jews, partly frivolous, partly repugnant to the law of God, there all the English translations follow the Greek exactly, never omitting this word "tradition." Contrariwise, wheresoever the holy scripture speaketh in the commendation of traditions, to wit, such traditions as the apostles delivered to the church, there all their said translations agree, not to follow the Greek, which is still the selfsame word; but for "traditions," they translate "ordinances," or "instructions." Why so, and to what purpose? We appeal to the worm of their conscience, which continually accuseth them of an heretical meaning, whether by urging the word, "traditions," wheresoever they are discommended, and by suppressing the word wheresoever they are commended, their purpose and intent be not to signify to the reader that all traditions are naught, and none good; all reproveable, none allowable.

[a] See the annotations of the new testament, 2 Thess. ii. 15.

παράδοσις.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* Traditions indeed is a matter of such importance, as if you may be allowed whatsoever you will thrust upon us under the name of unwritten traditions, the written word of God shall serve to no purpose at all. For first, as you plainly profess, the holy scripture shall not be accounted sufficient to teach all truth necessary to salvation, that the man of God may be perfect, prepared to all good works. Secondly, with the Valentinian heretics, you accuse the scriptures of uncertain understanding without your traditions; under pretence of which you will bring in what you list, though it be never so contrary to the holy scripture's plain words, by colour of interpretation, as you do the worshipping of images, and many other like heresies. As for the mention that is made of apostolical traditions in divers of the ancient fathers, some of them are such as you yourselves observe not, and not for the tenth part of those that you observe can you bring any testimony out of the

ancient fathers; as is proved sufficiently by so many propositions as were set down by the bishop of Salisbury, M. Jewel, whereof you can bring no proof for any one to have been taught within 600 years after Christ. Now concerning the traditions of the apostles, what they were, who can be a better witness unto us than Ignatius, the disciple of the apostles, of whom Eusebius writeth, that when he was led towards Rome, where he suffered martyrdom, he earnestly exhorted the churches by which he passed, to continue in the faith, and against all heresies, which even then began to bud up, he charged them to retain fast the tradition of the apostles, which by that time he protested to be committed to writing; for by that time were all the books of the new testament written. The words of Eusebius concerning this matter are, Lib. III. cap. 35: *προὔτρεπέ τε ἀπρὶξ ἔχεσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως, ἣν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἐγγράφως ἤδη μαρτυρόμενος διατυποῦσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖτο.* "And he exhorted them straitly to keep the tradition of the apostles, which, testifying that it was now for assurance committed to writing, he thought necessary to be plainly taught." Against this tradition of the apostles, which for certainty and assurance is contained in their holy and undoubted writings, we say nothing, but strive altogether for it. But because the word "traditions" is by you papists taken to signify a doctrine secretly delivered by word of mouth, without authority of the holy scriptures, we do willingly avoid the word in our translations, where the simple might be deceived, to think that the Holy Ghost did ever commend any such to the church, which he would not have to be committed to writing in the holy scriptures; and instead of that word so commonly taken, although it doth not necessarily signify any such matters, we do use such words as do truly express the apostle's meaning, and the Greek word doth also signify. Therefore we use the words of "ordinances," or "instructions," or "institutions," or "the doctrine delivered," all which, being of one sense, the Greek word *παράδοσις* doth signify, and the same doth "tradition" signify, if it be rightly understood: but seeing it hath been commonly taken, and is urged of the papists to signify only a doctrine delivered beside the word of God written, in such places where the Holy Ghost useth the Greek word *παράδοσις* in that sense,

we translate by that word "tradition;" where he useth it for such doctrine as is grounded upon the holy scriptures, our translators have avoided it, not of any heretical meaning, that all παράδοσεις, "traditions," are naught, but that all such as have not the holy scripture to testify of them, and to warrant them, are evil, and to be avoided of all true Christians; which cannot without blasphemy acknowledge any imperfection in the holy scriptures of God, which are able to make a man wise unto salvation, if they should think any doctrine necessary to salvation not to be contained therein.

MARTIN, 2. παράδοσιν. *Martin.* For example, Matt. xv.[1], thus they translate, "Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?" And again, "Why do you also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?" And again, "Thus have you made the commandment of God of no effect by your tradition." Here, I warrant you, all the bells sound "tradition," and the word is never omitted; and it is very well and honestly translated, for so the Greek word doth properly signify. But now on the other side, concerning good traditions, let us see their dealing. The apostle by the selfsame words, both in Greek and Latin, saith thus: "Therefore, brethren, stand and hold fast the traditions which you have learned either by word, or by our epistle[2]." And again, "Withdraw yourselves from every brother walking inordinately, and not according to the tradition which they have received of us[3]." And again, according to the Greek which they profess to follow: "I praise you, brethren,

2 Thess. ii. 15. παράδόσεις, traditiones.

2 Thess. iii. 6.

1 Cor. xi. 2.

[1 Διατί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουσι τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; Matt. xv. 2.]

[2 Καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε. 2 Thess. ii. 15. "Tenete traditiones quas didicistis," Vulg. "Tenete traditam doctrinam, quam edocti estis," Beza.

"Hold ye the traditions that ye have learned," Wiclif. "Keep the ordinances which ye have learned," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Keep the instructions which ye have learned," Geneva. "Hold the traditions which you have learned," Rheims. "Hold the traditions which you have been taught," Authorised version.]

[3 Καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ἣν παρέλαβον παρ' ἡμῶν. 2 Thess. iii. 6. "Et non secundum traditionem quam acceperunt a nobis," Vulg. "Et non ex tradita doctrina quam accepit a nobis," Beza.

"And not after the teaching that they received of us," Wiclif. "And not after the institution which he received of us," Tyndale, Cranmer. "And not after the instruction which he received of us," Geneva. "Not according to the tradition which they have received of us," Rheims. "Not after the tradition which he received of us," Authorised version.]

that in all things you are mindful of me, and as I have delivered unto you, you keep my traditions[4]." καθὼς παρέδωκα, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε.

Fulke. No marvel, though you cannot avoid the bells sounding against man's traditions; which sound must needs pierce your conscience more than it offendeth your ears, seeing you know that many of those things which you defend under the name of traditions, against the holy scriptures, have not God for their author, which forbiddeth to be worshipped in such sort, but man, or rather Satan, which hath inspired such things unto men, thereby to dishonour God, and to discredit his holy and most certain written word. Yet you say it is well and honestly translated. God knoweth how fain you would there were no such text extant in the gospel against your superstition and will-worshipping. But now let us see our crafty dealing (as you count it) against good traditions. In the first text, 2 Thess. ii. 15, you may see your understanding of traditions quite overthrown. For the apostle speaketh of such traditions as were delivered to them partly by preaching, and partly by his epistle. Therefore tradition doth not signify a doctrine delivered by word of mouth only. But yet you will say it signifieth here a doctrine delivered by word of mouth also, which is not written. How prove you that? because all that the apostle preached was not contained in his epistles to the Thessalonians, therefore was it nowhere written in the scriptures? What the tradition was in the second text, 2 Thess. iii. 6, is expressed by and by after: "that he which will not labour must not eat." Was this doctrine never written before? when God commandeth every man to labour in his vocation. As for the third place, 1 Cor. xi. 2, your own vulgar Latin translator both teacheth us how to translate it, and also dischargeth our translation of heresy and corruption; for he calleth παράδοσεις in that place, "*præcepta*[5]," precepts, or instructions, or commandments, or ordinances: I see no great difference in these words. By which his translation he sheweth, that in the other places, 2 Thess. ii. and iii., he meaneth the same thing by *traditiones*, "traditions," that we FULKE, 2.

[4 Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε, καὶ καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε. 1 Cor. xi. 2.]

[5 "Et sicut tradidi vobis, præcepta mea tenete," Vulg.]

do by "ordinances" or "instructions", and might as well have used the word *præcepta* in those two places, as he did in this one, if it had pleased him.

MARTIN, 3. *Martin.* Here we see plain mention of St Paul's traditions, and consequently of apostolical traditions, yea, and traditions by word of mouth, delivered to the churches without writing or scripture. In all which places look, gentle reader, and seek all their English translations, and thou shalt not once find the word "tradition," but instead thereof, ordinances," "instructions," "preachings," "institutions," and any word else rather than "tradition." Insomuch that Beza, their master, translateth it "*traditam doctrinam,*" "the doctrine delivered," putting the singular number for the plural, and adding "doctrine" of his own: so framing the text of holy scripture according to his false commentary, or rather putting his commentary in the text, and making it the text of scripture. Who would think their malice and partiality against traditions were so great, that they should all agree with one consent so duly and exactly in these and these places to conceal the word, which in other places do so gladly use it, the Greek word being all one in all the said places?

Yet M. Fulke saith, it is found there, pag. 153. against D. Sander's Rocke. If he give not us an instance, let him give himself the lie

2 Thess. ii. and iii. παραδόσεις.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* There is no question but the apostles by word of mouth, that is, by preaching and teaching, delivered the doctrine of the gospel to the churches; but that they preached, taught, or delivered any doctrine as necessary to salvation, which they proved not out of the holy scriptures, and which is not contained in the new testament or the old, this is not yet proved, neither ever can it be proved. Such matters of ceremonies, order, and discipline, which are mutable, no man denies but they might and did deliver; but yet in them nothing but agreeable to the general rules set down in the scripture. But in all these places the word "tradition" cannot once be found. Yet M. Fulke saith it is found. Yea, doth? where saith he so? You answer, p. 153, against D. Saunders' Rocke. Therefore, if he give not an instance, let him give himself the lie. But he that chargeth Fulke to say it is found, lieth the more. For so he saith not: read the place who will. He speaketh against Saunders, who affirmed that the very name of "tradition" used in the better part, cannot be suffered to be in the English bible, as though there were some decree of the synod, or act of parliament against it; and saith, it may be and is suffered in that sense which the Holy Ghost useth it, but not to

bring prayer for the dead, or any thing contrary to the scripture under the name of traditions apostolic. By which words I mean, that there is no prohibition or edict to the contrary, but if any man will use the word tradition in translation of the Bible, he is permitted so to do: I do not affirm it is so found. But as if I should say, The papists in England are suffered to live as becometh good subjects, I affirm not that they are, or shall be found so to live. But to omit this foolish quarrel, Beza our master is said to have translated παράδοσεις, "the doctrine delivered," putting the singular number for the plural, and adding "doctrine" of his own. What an heinous matter here is! The word "doctrine" is a collective, comprehending many precepts or traditions; and in the next chapter the apostle useth the same word in the singular number. Again, the 1 Thess. iv. 2, he calleth the same παραγγελίας, "precepts" or "documents," which word signifieth the same that παραδόσεις: witness your vulgar Latin translator, which gives one word for both, *præcepta*, 1 Cor. xi. and 1 Thess. iv. And that the word doctrine is added to the text, it is a fond cavil: for the word doctrine is contained in παράδοσις, which signifieth a "delivery;" but whereof, if not of doctrine? Our Saviour Christ also, Matt. xv. 9, by the testimony of Esay reproveth the tradition of the Pharisees, "teaching the doctrines precepts of men;" which testimony of Esay could take no hold of them, if traditions were not doctrines and precepts. So that in this translation of Beza (cry out as loud as you can) there is neither fraud nor corruption, malice nor partiality; but a prudent declining of that term, which might give occasion of error, and the apostle's meaning truly and faithfully delivered. To shew that one word may be diversely translated, especially when it signifieth divers things, to wise men is needless. I have said before, you yourselves translate, (or else you should be taken for madmen,) the Latin word *tradere*, of which tradition is derived, sometimes "to deliver," sometimes "to betray," and yet the Greek and Latin word being all one in all the said places.

Martin. Yea, they do elsewhere so gladly use this word, "tradition," when it may tend to the discredit thereof, that they put the said word in all their English bibles, with the like full con- MARTIN, 4.

Col. ii. 10. τί δογματίζεσθε[1].

sent as before, when it is not in the Greek at all: as when they translate thus, "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, ARE YE LED WITH TRADITIONS?" and, as another English translation* of theirs readeth more heretically, "Why are ye burdened with traditions?" Tell us sincerely, you that profess to have skill in the Greek, and to translate according to the Greek; tell us, we beseech you, whether this Greek word δόγμα do signify "tradition," and δογματίζεσθαι "to be led or burdened with traditions." You cannot be ignorant that it doth not so signify; but as a little before in the same chapter, and in other places, yourselves translate δόγματα, "ordinances," "decrees," so τί δογματίζεσθε must be (as in the vulgar Latin it is) *quid decernitis?* Why do you "ordain," or "decree," or, "why are you led with decrees?"

* Of the year 1579.

Col. ii. 24. Eph. ii. 15. δόγμασιν. ἐν δόγμασιν.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* It grieveth you that tradition should be mentioned in the ill part as it is. And it seemeth you would defend the Colossians against St Paul, who reproveth them because they were led by ordinances according to the "precepts and doctrines of men." But you seem to make light of such traditions, and therefore you count that the more heretical translation, which saith, "why are you burdened with traditions?" Wherefore, I pray you, is that more heretical? Do you not think that such traditions as are the commandments and doctrines of men, are burdensome to men's consciences? But they that have skill in the Greek tongue must tell you sincerely, whether this word δόγμα doth signify "tradition," and δογματίζεσθαι "to be led or burdened with traditions." I answer you, if δόγματα, as you confess, signify "ordinances" and "decrees" or "doctrines," and the word tradition signifieth the same, why should not δογματίζεσθαι "to be led or burdened with traditions," as well as with ordinances, customs, or decrees? These words differ much in sound, but not greatly in signification. *Dogmata*

[1] In the original, τί ὡς ζῶντες ἐν κόσμῳ δογματίζεσθε; in Tyndale's version, 1534, "Why, as though ye yet lived in the world, are ye led with traditions of them that say—" Cranmer's version 1539, and the Bishops' bible, "Why, as though ye yet lived in the world, are ye led with traditions?" The Geneva version, 1557, "Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ and are free from the ordinances of the world, why, as though ye yet lived in the world, are ye burdened with traditions?" In the Authorised version, "Why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances?"]

Pythagorea, that might never be put in writing, what were they but the traditions of Pythagoras? Such were the philosophical decrees called δόγματα, whereof Tully speaketh in his book *De finibus*, which were *dictata*, taught by word of mouth, which to set forth among them was counted an heinous offence: might not those rightly be called traditions?

Martin. Justify your translation, if you can, either out of scriptures, fathers, or lexicon. And make us a good reason why you put the word "traditions" here, where it is not in the Greek; and would not put it in the places before, where you know it is most evidently in the Greek. Yea, you must tell us why you translate for tradition, "ordinance," and contrary for ordinance, "tradition;" so turning cat in pan (as they say) at your pleasure, and wresting both the one and the other to one end, that you may make the very name of traditions odious among the people, be they never so authentical, even from the apostles, which your conscience knoweth, and you shall answer for it at the dreadful day. MARTIN, 5. παράδοσις they translate, "ordinance:" and δόγμα, "tradition:" clean contrary.

Fulke. First, out of scripture I justify it thus: those *dogmata*, against which the apostle writeth, were according to the precepts and doctrines of men: but such the scripture calleth traditions, Matt. xv. Therefore these were traditions. Secondly, out of the fathers: Chrysostom[2] upon this place saith, *Traditiones Græcorum taxat*, he reproveth the traditions of the Greeks, saying, all is but a human doctrine. Secondly, St Ambrose[3] upon this text: "Love not the world," FULKE, 5.

[2 Πῶς δὲ οὐ κόσμου παρατηρήσεσι; καὶ ὅρα πῶς αὐτοὺς κωμωδεῖ, μὴ θίγῃς, μὴ ἅψῃ, μὴ γεύσῃ, ὡς μεγάλων τινων ἀπεχομένους· ἃ ἐστι πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει. καθεῖλε τῶν πολλῶν τὴν φυσίωσιν, καὶ ἐπήγαγε· κατὰ τὰ ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τί λέγεις; κἂν τὸν νόμον εἴπῃς, λοιπὸν διδασκαλία ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου μετὰ τὸν καιρόν. ἢ ὅτι παρεποίουν αὐτὸν, οὕτως εἶπεν, ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αἰνίττεται· ὅλον ἀνθρώπινον τὸ δόγμα ἐστί, φησίν. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. ii. Hom. VII. Opera, Vol. XI. p. 372. edit. Benedict.]

[3 *Nolite*, inquit, *diligere mundum, neque ea quæ in mundo sunt*; id est, neque elementa, quibus compactus est mundus, neque errores quos humana adinvenit traditio, deligamus; sed solum Christum qui mortuus est pro nobis. Ambros. Comment. in Epist. ad Coloss. ii. 2. Opera, Vol. II. p. 270. Sagina enim carnalis sensus traditio humana est...Hinc enim aggravati non poterant sursum jungi capiti suo. p. 271. (super v. 23.)]

saith he, "nor those errors *quos humana adinvenit traditio*, "which the tradition of men hath invented." And afterward, *Sagina enim carnalis sensus humana traditio est:* "For the tradition of man is the pampering of carnal sense; by which, he saith, men are so burdened, that they cannot be joined to the head which is above." Yet "burdening with traditions" is called of you the more heretical translation. Say as much to Ambrose, that he maketh an heretical commentary. The interpreter of Theodoret, printed at Collen, 1573, hath translated in the very text, for διδασκαλίας, "*traditiones hominum*," "traditions of men." You see now, this matter is not so void of testimony of the fathers, as you supposed. The reason you require us to make, is made often before. We thought it not meet to express the Greek word in both places by the same English word, because the English word, as it is used by you, is not so indifferent, to signify the doctrine of God delivered out of the scriptures, as to signify doctrines of men devised beside the scriptures. If we must answer why we call tradition "ordinance," and ordinance "tradition;" let your vulgar Latin interpreter answer us, or you for him, why he calleth tradition "precept," and usage or precept "tradition"? The one he doth 1 Cor. xi. 2, the other Acts vi. 14, where the Greek is ἔθη, signifying there "precepts," or "observations commanded," he translateth *traditiones*, as in the other place the Greek being παραδόσεις he translateth "*præcepta.*" If this be lawful for him, why should it be counted corruption or false translation in us? seeing we are moved with as good reason as can be yielded for him. As for authentical and apostolical traditions, that are grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles expressed in their writings, we shall be ready to receive them, whensoever they shall be brought forth. If they cannot be proved by the scriptures, which are "written that we might believe, and believing have eternal life," and "which are able to make us wise unto salvation," we have nothing to do with them: we may well spare them: nay, we dare not admit them, lest we should answer for blasphemy against the holy scriptures in that dreadful day, if by admitting of such traditions we should profess, that the doctrine contained in the holy scriptures is unperfect or insufficient to salvation.

Martin. Somewhat more excusable it is, but yet proceeding of the same heretical humour, and on your part (that should exactly follow the Greek) falsely translated, when you translate in St Peter's epistle thus: "You were not redeemed with corruptible things from your vain conversation received by the tradition of the fathers." Where the Greek is thus rather to be translated, "from your vain conversation delivered by the fathers." But your fingers itched to foist in the word "tradition," and for "delivered" to say "received," because it is the phrase of the catholic church, that it hath "received" many things "by tradition," which you would here controul by likeness of words in this false translation. MARTIN, 6.

1 Pet. i. 18. ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου.

Fulke. I marvel why you should count it an heretical humour, to use the word "traditions" in the evil part, which the Holy Ghost so useth, and your own vulgar translator also; but that you are more partial in allowing the traditions of men, than we in avoiding the term sometimes, only for doubt lest traditions of men should creep into the place of God's commandments. But how is it falsely translated on our part, that profess to follow the Greek, which is truly translated in your vulgar Latin text, which professeth to translate the Greek as well as we? Belike, because we say, "received by the tradition of the fathers," which according to the Greek should be, "delivered by the fathers," but that our fingers itched to foist in the word "tradition." What, I pray you, hath your vulgar translator foisted in that word? did his fingers itch against such catholic phrases, that he would controul them by a false translation? Do you not perceive that while you rail upon us, you revile your own vulgar Latin translation, which hath the same word "tradition," for which you storm against us? But for *delivered*, we have said, *received*. See whither frowardness driveth you: the apostle saith, "they were delivered from the vain conversation of their fathers' tradition." Do you then understand, that it was delivered by the fathers, but not received by their sons? Certainly they were delivered from that vain conversation which they had received. For receiving doth necessarily import delivering. And because you called for a lexicon in the next section before, Scapula will teach you, that πατροπαράδοτος doth signify as indifferently *a patre traditus* as *a patre acceptus*, "delivered by the father," and "received by the father." What wrangling then is this, about the moon-shine in the water, to cry FULKE, 6.

out "false translation," "foisting," "itching fingers," and I know not what?

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* But concerning the word "tradition," you will say perhaps the sense thereof is included in the Greek word, "delivered." We grant. But would you be content, if we should always expressly add, "tradition," where it is so included? Then should we say, 1 Cor. xi. 2, "I praise you that as I have delivered you (by tradition), you keep my precepts," or "traditions." And again, v. 23: "For I received of our Lord, which also I delivered unto you," (by tradition,) &c. And Luke i. 2: "As they (by tradition) delivered unto us, which from the beginning saw," &c., and such like, by your example, we should translate in this sort. But we use not this licentious manner in translating holy scriptures; neither is it a translator's part, but an interpreter's, and his that maketh a commentary; neither doth a good cause need other translation than the express text of the scripture giveth.

Tradidi παρέδωκα.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* We will say it is contained in the Greek word πατροπαράδοτον, which signifieth "received by tradition or delivery from the fathers," and not in the verb παραδίδωμι, which signifieth otherwise many times, than simply "to deliver;" and when it signifieth "to deliver," it doth not alway signify to deliver by word of mouth, without writing, as you understand tradition, but as well by writing, as by preaching. As when St Paul saith, "I received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you," speaking of the institution of the supper, he meaneth that which the evangelists had written, and he himself doth write. So 2 Thess. ii., when he willeth them to hold the traditions which they had learned of him, he speaketh not only of such as they learned by his preaching, but such also as they learned by his epistle. Wherefore if you should expressly add the word "tradition" in your partial signification, wheresoever you find the word delivered, you should not only translate ridiculously, but also heretically and falsely. Words in derivation and composition do not always signify according to their primitive.

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* And if you will yet say, that our vulgar Latin translation hath here the word, "tradition," we grant it hath so, and therefore we also translate accordingly. But you profess to translate the Greek, and not the vulgar Latin, which you in England condemn as papistical, and say it is the worst of all, though Beza, your master, pronounce it to be

the very best[1]; and will you, notwithstanding, follow the said vulgar Latin, rather than the Greek, to make traditions odious? Yea, such is your partiality one way, and inconstancy another way, that for your heretical purpose you are content to follow the old Latin translation, though it differ from the Greek; and again, another time you will not follow it, though it be all one with the Greek most exactly; as in the place before alleged, where the vulgar Latin translation hath nothing of traditions, but, "*Quid decernitis*," as it is in the Greek, you translate, "Why are ye burdened with traditions?" Discover of the Rocke, pag. 147. Præfat. in Novum Test. 1556. Col. ii. 20.

Fulke. You may be sure we will say that we know to be true, and sufficient to discharge our translation from your foolish and malicious quarrelling. But we profess (you say) to translate the Greek, and not the vulgar Latin. And, I pray you, what doth your vulgar Latin interpreter profess to translate, but the Greek? If he then, translating out of Greek, could find "tradition" in the Greek word, why should not we find the same, especially being admonished by him? who if he translated truly, why are we blamed for doing FULKE, 8.

[1 Beza's opinion was not quite what Martin has here represented it. In the preface alluded to, he says as follows: "Vulgatæ illius editionis, qua jampridem utimur, quis auctor fuerit, video inter doctos homines non constare. Hoc quidem constat, præterquam quod plurimis locis a librariis est depravata, sæpe illam a Græcis discedere, sæpe obscure multa interpretari, quædam prætermittere, quædam adjicere; ut minime mirum sit, eruditis hominibus nunquam satisfecisse, imperitis autem multis magnos errores objecisse. Eruditos voco, non eos duntaxat qui præcipuè hoc nomine digni sunt, quales sane perpauci semper extiterunt; sed eos quoque qui vel mediocrem utriusque linguæ peritiam ad pietatis cognitionem attulerunt. Ceteros autem, quod ad id attinet de quo agimus, nihil moror; quorum tamen duo genera esse video: unum eorum qui per imperitiam, quod pleraque errata non modo non intelligunt, sed ne suspicari quidem possunt, idcirco in recepta illa interpretatione acquiescunt; qui tamen proculdubio meliora amplecterentur, siquis illa commonstraret: alterum eorum qui, perverso quodam ingenio et ignobili natura præditi, ita in crassis illis et obscuris tenebris versantur, ut veritatis lucem sponte refugiant. Illi commiseratione sane aliqua digni sunt: isti vero plane indigni quorum corruptis et depravatis judiciis quisquam commoveatur; quinimo aperti sunt veritatis hostes; mirus enim est inter mendacium et ignorantiam, qua isti tantopere delectantur, consensus.....Quum igitur in illa Vulgata editione (quam tamen ego maxima ex parte amplector, et ceteris omnibus antepono) permulta requirantur, laudandus est profecto eorum labor qui illam emendare studuerunt. Præfatio in Nov. Test. edit. Bezæ, 1556.]

as he did? if his translation be false, why is it allowed as the only authentical text? We follow not, therefore, the Latin translation, but join with it wheresoever it followeth the Greek, as we do in ten thousand places more than this; and willingly depart not from it, but where it departeth from the Greek, or else useth such words as would be offensive, if they were translated into English, or occasion of error; as you do likewise, when you depart from the proper and usual signification of words, which your Latin translator useth: as when you call *fœnerator*, "a creditor," which signifieth an usurer, Luke vii.; *stabulum*, "an inn," and *stabularius*, "an host," Luke x.; *una sabbati*, "the first of the sabbath," John ii.; *ecclesia*, "the assembly," Acts vii.; *baptismata*, "washings," Mark vii., and such like.

But we in England (say you) condemn the Latin translation, as papistical. We accuse it as not true in many places, and we say it is the worst of all, though Beza, our master, pronounce it to be the very best. This toucheth me somewhat; for in the margin is noted "Discovery of the Rock, p. 147." where, indeed, speaking of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and the Greek of the New, the Greek translation of the Septuagint, and the common Latin translation, I say the Tridentine Council alloweth none for authentical, but the common Latin translation, that is the worst of all. Now what saith Beza contrary to this? Speaking of the divers Latin translations of the New Testament only, he saith of the vulgar Latin, that he followeth it for the most part, and preferreth it before all the rest: *maxima ex parte amplector, et ceteris omnibus antepono.* So that I speak of the whole Bible, Beza of the New Testament only: I speak of the vulgar Latin text, in comparison of the original Hebrew and Greek, and the Septuagint's translation; Beza, of the Latin translation of the New Testament, in comparison of all other Latin translations, that were before him, as Erasmus, Castalio, and such like. According to your old manner therefore, you rehearse out of my writings, either falsifying the words, or perverting the meaning. These things considered, you have no cause to accuse us of partiality and inconstancy, for following or leaving your Latin text, which we never did but upon good ground and reason sufficient.

Martin. So that a blind man may see you frame your translations to bolster your errors and heresies, without all respect of following sincerely either the Greek or the Latin. But for the Latin no marvel; the Greek at the least why do you not follow? Is it the Greek that induceth you to say ordinances for traditions, traditions for decrees, ordinances for justifications, elder for priest, grave for hell, image for idol? Tell us before God, and in your conscience, whether it be because you will exactly follow the Greek: nay, tell us truly, and shame the devil, whether the Greek words do not sound and signify most properly that which you of purpose will not translate, for disadvantaging your heresies? And first, let us see concerning the question of images. MARTIN, 9. παραδόσεις. δόγματα. δικαιώματα. πρεσβύτερος. εἴδωλον.

Fulke. A blind man may see, that you cavil and slander, quarrel and rail, without respect either of conscience towards God, or honesty toward the world: insomuch, that most commonly you forget the credit of your own vulgar Latin translation, so you may have a colour to find fault with ours. And yet again you ask, whether it be the Greek which induceth us to say, for *παραδόσεις ordinances*, and for *δόγματα traditions*, &c. I tell you, the Greek alloweth us so to say, which is sufficient, when other godly causes move us beside so to translate. Is it the Latin that induceth you to say, for 'an usurer,' 'a creditor;' for 'a stable,' 'an inn;' for 'what was done,' 'what was chanced[1];' for 'fastening to,' 'crucifying[2];' for 'be you saved,' 'save yourselves[3];' for 'creature,' 'creation;' for 'confessed,' 'promised[4];' for 'a boat,' 'a ship;' for 'a ship,' 'a boat;' for 'singing,' 'piping[5];' FULKE, 9. Fœnerator. Stabulum. Quod factum, Acts v. Affligentes, Acts ii. Salvamini, Acts ii. Confessus, Acts vii. Naviculas, Luke v.

[1 Acts v. 7. Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδυῖα τὸ γεγονὸς εἰσῆλθεν. "Et uxor ipsius, nesciens quod factum fuerat," Vulg. "And his wife not knowing what was chaunced," Rhemish version.]

[2 Acts ii. 23. διὰ χειρῶν ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλετε. "Per manus iniquorum affligentes interemistis," Vulg. "You by the hands of wicked men have crucified and slain," Rhemish version. "Have crucified and slain," Versions 1534, 1539, 1557, 1611.]

[3 Acts ii. 40. Σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης. "Salvamini a generatione ista prava," Vulg. "Save yourselves from this perverse generation," Rhemish version.]

[4 Acts vii. 17. Καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἧς ὤμοσεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ. "Cum autem appropinquaret tempus promissionis, quam confessus erat Deus Abrahæ," Vulg. "And when the time drew near of the promise which God had promised to Abraham, &c." Rhemish translation.]

[5 Matt. xi. 17. Ηὐλήσαμεν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε. "Cecinimus vobis, et non saltastis," Vulg. "We have piped to you, and you have not danced," Rhemish version.]

Navis, Mark iv. Cecinimus, Matt. xi. Fœnum, Matt. xiv. Refectio, Mark xiv. Insipientia, Luke vi. Simulacrum.

for 'hay,' 'grass[1];' for 'refection,' 'refectory[2];' for 'foolishness,' 'madness[3];' for 'an image,' 'an idol,' &c.? I blame not all these as false translations; yet every man may see they are neither usual nor proper: yet as for some of these (though not for all) I know you may give good reason, so may we, for any shew of alteration or departing from the usual signification of the Greek word, that you are able to allege against us.

[1] Matt. xiv. 19. Ἀνακλιθῆναι ἐπὶ τοὺς χόρτους. "Discumbere super fœnum," Vulg. "To sit down upon the grass," Rhemish version.]

[2] Mark xiv. 14. Ποῦ ἐστι τὸ κατάλυμα; "Ubi est refectio mea?" Vulg. "Where is my refectory?" Rhemish version.]

[3] Luke vi. 11. Ἐπλήσθησαν ἀνοίας. "Repleti sunt insipientia," Vulg. "And they were replenished with madness," Rhemish version.]

CHAPTER III.

Heretical Translation against Sacred Images.

Martin. I beseech you, what is the next and readiest and most proper English of *idolum, idololatra, idololatria?* is it not, "idol, idolater, idolatry"? Are not these plain English words, and well known in our language? Why sought you further for other terms and words, if you had meant faithfully? What needed that circumstance of three words for one, "worshipper of images," and "worshipping of images[4]"? Whether, I pray you, is the more natural and convenient speech, either in our English tongue, or for the truth of the thing, to say, as the holy scripture doth, "covetousness is idolatry," and consequently, "the covetous man is an idolater;" or, as you translate, "covetousness is worshipping of images," and, "the covetous man is a worshipper of images"? MARTIN, 1. εἰδωλον. εἰδωλολάτρης. εἰδωλολατρεία. Bib. 1577. Eph. v. Col. iii.

Fulke. If you ask for the readiest and most proper English of these words, I must needs answer you, 'an image, a worshipper of images, and worshipping of images,' as we have sometimes translated. The other that you would have, 'idol, idolater, and idolatry,' be rather Greekish than English words; which though they be used of many Englishmen, yet are they not understood of all, as the other be. And therefore I say, the more natural and convenient speech for our English tongue, and as convenient for the truth of the thing, it is to say, 'covetousness is the worshipping of images, and the covetous man is a worshipper of images,' as to say, 'covetousness is idolatry, and the covetous man is an idolater,' as I have proved before; seeing *idolum* by your own interpreter is called *simulacrum,* and *simulacrum* signifieth as much as *imago,* an image, cap. i. numb. 5. FULKE, 1.

Martin. We say commonly in English, Such a rich man maketh his money his god; and the apostle saith in like manner of some, "whose belly is their god," Phil. iii.; and generally every creature is our idol, when we esteem it so exceedingly that we make it our god. But who ever heard in English, that our money, or belly, were our MARTIN, 2. The absurdity of this translation. A covetous man is a worshipper of images.

[4 The versions of 1534 and 1539 render ἥτις ἐστὶν εἰδωλολατρεία, Col. iii. 5, "Which is worshipping of images." The Geneva translation has, like the Authorised version of 1611, "Which is idolatry." The Vulgate has, "Quæ est simulacrorum servitus."]

images, and that by esteeming of them too much we become worshippers of images? Among yourselves are there not some even of your superintendents, of whom the apostle speaketh, that make an idol of their money and belly, by covetousness and belly cheer? Yet can we not call you therefore in any true sense, "worshippers of images," neither would you abide it. You see then, that there is a great difference betwixt idol and image, idolatry and worshipping of images; and even so great difference is there betwixt St Paul's words and your translation.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* Before you can shew that absurdity of this translation, 'a covetous man is a worshipper of images,' you must defend your own vulgar Latin translation, which calleth εἰδωλολατρεία *simulacrorum servitus*, which I have proved to signify the serving or worshipping of images, cap. i. numb. 5. Now to our English phrase, 'a rich man maketh his money his god, a glutton his belly,' and so of other creatures honoured above measure; I say, the worshipping of images may be after two sorts, either when they are worshipped as gods, (as among the grosser sort of the gentiles and papists,) and then it is against the first commandment, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me"; or else when men pretend to worship God by them, as the Israelites did in the calf, Exod. xxxii., and in Jeroboam's calves, and in the brasen serpent, and the wiser sort of the gentiles and papists pretend to do in worshipping their images; and then it is a sin against the second commandment, "Thou shalt make to thyself no graven images: thou shalt not fall down to them, nor worship them." By similitude therefore of them that trusted in images as their gods, and so honoured them which were not able to help them, the apostle calleth the covetous man a worshipper of images, and covetousness, worshipping of images; and not properly, but because their money is to them the same occasion of departing from God, that the images was to the worshipper of them. So if we will speak unproperly, as the apostle saith, "their belly is their God," we may say it is their idol, or their image, which they worship as God: not that the belly, or any such thing, is God, or an idol, or an image properly; but that it is so termed, for that to such vile creatures is given that divine honour which is due to God, but by worshippers of idols and images is given to idols or images. I confess the use of the English tongue, in these speeches, is rather to call them idols than images, and

to extend the name idol (which is always taken in the evil part) to that which the word image cannot so aptly signify: yet in truth of the thing there is no difference between idol and image, worshipping of idols, and worshipping of images, whether you speak of such as be idols and images, so properly called, or of such as be only by similitude figuratively so named. If any of our superintendents be such as you speak of, I wish them amended, or else removed. For my part, I know none to be such, although I wish to the best increase of God's grace, to despise the world, and to be more earnest in setting forth God's glory. As for the great difference you speak of betwixt St Paul's words and our translation, I see none as yet.

Martin. Will you see more yet to this purpose? In the English bible, printed the year 1562, you read thus: "How agreeth the temple of God with images[1]?" Can we be ignorant of Satan's cogitations herein, that it was translated of purpose to delude the simple people, and to make them believe that the apostle speaketh against sacred images in the churches, which were then in plucking down in England, when this your translation was first published in print? Whereas in very truth you know, that the apostle here partly interpreteth himself to speak of men as of God's temples wherein he dwelleth, partly alludeth to Salomon's temple, which did very well agree with images (for it had the cherubins, which were the representations of angels, and the figures of oxen to bear up the lavatory), but with idols it could not agree, and therefore the apostle's words are these, "How agreeth the temple of God with idols?" MARTIN, 3. 2 Cor. vi. Salomon's temple did well agree with images, but not with idols.

Fulke. We had need to see more, before we be convicted of corruption; for hitherto we have seen nothing but a foolish cavil, grounded upon the common use of the word "idol" in English, in which speech it is taken only for unlawful images, although in the Greek it signifieth as generally as *imago* in Latin, and by Tully himself is used for the same. But in the English bible, printed 1562, we read thus, 2 Cor. vi., "How agreeth the temple of God with images[2]?" Here you cannot be "ignorant of Satan's cogitations, that it FULKE, 3.

[1] Τίς δὲ συγκατάθεσις ναῷ Θεοῦ μετὰ εἰδώλων; 2 Cor. vi. 16. "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?" Rhemish, Authorised version.]

[2] It is "images" in the Bibles of 1534, 1539, 1557, but "idols" in the Authorised version, 1611.]

was translated of purpose to make the simple people believe; that the apostle speaketh against sacred images in churches, which were then in plucking down in England, when this translation was first published in print." You are so cunning in Satan's cogitations, that he hath inspired into you a manifest untruth; for this text was so translated and printed near thirty years before 1562, in king Henry the VIIIth's time, when images were not in plucking down. And when it was printed again, 1562, which was the fifth year of her majesty's reign (God be thanked!) there was no need to pluck down images out of churches, which were plucked down in the first and second years of her reign. Wherefore that purpose is vainly imagined of you: for the translator's purpose was the same that the apostle's, to shew that the religion of God hath nothing to do with images made by man's device to honour them as gods, or to honour God by them. And where you say that the apostle "alludeth to Salomon's temple, which did well agree with images, but not with idols;" I answer you, Salomon's temple did not agree with images made by the device of man, to honour God by them or in them. For the cherubins were not of man's device, but of God's commandment: the oxen to hold up the lavatory, the pomegranates, and other ornaments, were not for any use of religion to worship God in them or by them, but for use and garnishing of the house appointed by God in his law, and by direction of his Spirit in Salomon. For the commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself," is no restraint unto God, but unto men of their own brain or private intent to make images to serve in religion. Therefore the apostle, speaking of such images as were forbidden by God's law, is not otherwise to be understood; and no more is our translation.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* When Moses by God's appointment erected a brasen serpent, and commanded the people that were stung with serpents to behold it, and thereby they were healed; this was an image only, and as an image was it erected and kept and used by God's commandment. But when it grew to be an idol, saith St Augustine, that is, when the people began to adore it as God, then king Ezechias brake it in pieces, to the great commendation of his piety and godly zeal. So when the children of Israel, in the absence of Moses, made a calf, and said, "These are thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee out of Egypt," was it but an image which they made? was that so heinous a matter, that God would

μετὰ τῶν εἰδώλων. The brasen serpent, first an image, and lawful: afterward an idol, and unlawful. Numb. xxi. Lib. x. de Civit. c. 8. 2 Kings xviii. Exod. xxxii.

so have punished them as he did? No, they made it an idol also, saying, "These are thy gods, O Israel;" and therefore the apostle saith to the Corinthians, "Be not idolaters, as some of them;" which also you translate most falsely, "Be not worshippers of images, as some of them." The molten calf, an idol. 1 Cor. x. εἰδωλολάτραι.

Fulke. The brasen serpent first and last was an image, holy when it was commanded by God to be made as a sacrament of our redemption by Christ, lawful when it was reserved only for memory of that excellent miracle; unlawful, cursed, and abominable, when it was worshipped, and therefore justly broken in pieces by the godly king Ezechias. You cite Augustine as it pleaseth you, to follow your own context: *Quem sane serpentem, propter facti memoriam reservatum, cum postea populus errans tanquam idolum colere cœpisset, Ezechias,* &c. "Which serpent truly, being reserved for the memory of the fact, when afterward the people going astray began to worship as an idol, Ezechias the king, serving God with religious power, with great praise of his piety brake in pieces." Here it is certain that Augustine, as most ecclesiastical writers, useth the word *idolum* for an image abused. But that the people began to adore it as God, he saith not; for they only worshipped God by it, falsely indeed and superstitiously, but yet not believing that image to be God himself, but a holy representation of his power, which was shewed by it in the days of Moses. That Ezechias, by religious or ecclesiastical power and authority, did put down idolatry, you pass it by, as though you saw it not in St Augustine. But you bring another example to prove that images, except they be worshipped as gods, be no idols. In truth, seeing all religious worship is due only to God, although the idolaters intend not to worship their images as gods, yet by worshipping of them they make unto themselves gods of them, and so offend both against the first and second commandments. Yet how prove you that the Israelites made a god of their calf? Because they said, "These are thy gods, O Israel, that brought thee out of the land of Egypt." But even by that same speech it is manifest that they worshipped not the calf, as believing it to be God; but contrariwise protested thereby, that they meant not to change their God, but to worship the same God, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, by that image; which they could not be ignorant that it was made but yesterday of their ear-rings, and therefore FULKE, 4.

could not think it was the same God that brought them out of the land of Egypt, but that they would worship God by that visible shape, which they saw before them. And Aaron by his proclamation confirmeth the same: "To-morrow," saith he, "shall be holy day to Jehovah," that is, to the only true God, whom they dishonoured, pretending to worship him by that image: so heinous a thing it is to make images to represent God, and to worship them for his honour, although the worshipper do not believe them to be gods. Therefore where we have in some translations, 1 Cor. x., called those idolaters worshippers of images, we have not erred; for an image it was they worshipped, thinking to worship God thereby. But if either image or idol, worshippers of images or idolaters, would please you, we have both in our translations, the one expressing what we mean by the other; that these cavillations were needless, but that malice against the truth incenseth you to pick quarrels, and that translation which useth the terms of idols and idolaters, was then in printing at Geneva, when images were in pulling down in England, namely, the first and second years of the queen's reign, being finished the 10th of April, 1560; which notably confuteth the fond purpose, that you slander our translators to have had.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* We see then that the Jews had images without sin, but not idols. Again, for having idols they were accounted like unto the gentiles, as the Psalm saith: "They learned their works, and served their graven idols." But they were not accounted like unto the gentiles for having images, which they had in Salomon's temple, and in the brasen serpent. St Jerome writeth of the Ammonites and Moabites (who were gentiles and idolaters), that coming into the temple of Jerusalem, and seeing the angelical images of the cherubins covering the propitiatory, they said, "Lo, even as the gentiles, so Juda also hath idols of their religion." These men did put no difference between their own idols and the Jews' lawful images. And are not you ashamed to be like to these? They accused Salomon's temple of idols, because they saw there lawful images: you accuse the churches of God of idolatry, because you see there the sacred images of Christ and his saints.

Psal. cvi.

In cap. xxv. Ezech.

The protestants are like to the Ammonites and Moabites.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* We know that the Jews had images without sin, and so have we; but to have images in any use of religion without God's express commandment, neither is it lawful for them nor us, because we have a general commandment to the contrary. They were accounted like the gentiles therefore, for having images contrary to God's com-

mandment, of their own appointment, and worshipping them; not for having images appointed by God, which yet it was not lawful for them to worship. But the Protestants, you say, are like to the Ammonites and Moabites, of whom St Jerome writeth[1], that coming into the temple, and seeing the cherubins covering the propitiatory, they said, "Lo, even as the gentiles, so Juda also hath idols of their religion," as we accuse the church of God of idolatry, because we see there the sacred images of Christ and his saints. In Ezech. cap. xxv.

This that you say St Jerome writeth, he only reporteth it as a ridiculous fable of the Jews: *Ridiculam vero in hoc loco Hebræi narrant fabulam.* "The Hebrews in this place tell a ridiculous fable." But fables are good enough to bolster false accusations. Secondly, he reporteth them to say: *Sicut cunctæ gentes colunt simulacra, ita et Juda habet suæ religionis idola.* "As all nations worship images, so hath Juda also idols of their religion." By which words you see, that he calleth images and idols the same things. For *simulacrum* to be taken as largely as *imago*, I have proved before, insomuch that man is called *simulacrum Dei*, "the image," not the idol, "of God," as idol is taken in the evil part. But neither are you like to Juda, nor we to Ammon and Moab, in this case. For Juda had God's commandment to warrant their images; so have not you, but his commandment against your images. Again, Moab and Ammon (if the tale were true) had idolatrous images of their own; so have not we.

Martin. But tell us yet, I pray you, do the holy scriptures of either Testament speak of all manner of images, or rather of the idols of the gentiles? Your conscience knoweth that they speak directly against the idols and the idolatry that was among the pagans and infidels; from the which as the Jews in the Old Testament, so the first Christians in the New Testament, were to be prohibited. But will you have a demonstration that your own conscience condemneth you herein, and that you apply all translation to your heresy? What caused you, being otherwise MARTIN, 6. The holy scripture speaketh against the idols of the gentiles, not against all manner of images.

[1 Ridiculam vero in hoc loco Hebræi narrant fabulam. Postquam urbs aperta, templumque reseratum est, filiique Ammon et Moab et Seir ingressi sunt templum, viderintque Cherubim protegentia propitiatorium, dixerunt: Sicut cunctæ gentes colunt simulacra, ita et Juda habet suæ religionis idola. Comment. Hieronymi in Ezech. cap. xxv. v. 8. Opera, Vol. III. p. 870.]

in all places so ready to translate "images," yet Esai. xxxi. and Zachar. xiii. to translate "idols" in all your bibles with full consent? Why in these places specially and so advisedly? No doubt, because God saith there, speaking of this time of the New Testament, "In that day every man shall cast out his idols of silver and idols of gold:" and, "I will destroy the names of the idols out of the earth, so that they shall no more be had in remembrance." In which places if you had translated "images," you had made the prophecy false; because images have not been destroyed out of the world, but are and have been in christian countries with honour and reverence even since Christ's time. Marry, in the idols of the gentiles we see it verified, which are destroyed in all the world, so far as gentility is converted to Christ.

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* Verily the commandment of God, being a commandment of the first table, unto which whatsoever is said in the scriptures of images, or the worship of them forbidden, must be referred, speaketh generally of all manner of images made by the device of man for any use of religion, whether they be of Jews, pagans, or false Christians. But we are offered a demonstration, that our own conscience condemneth us herein, and that we apply all translations to our heresy. And that is this: in Esai. xxxi. and Zachar. xiii. with one consent all translate "idols," because God speaketh of the time of the New Testament, where if they had translated "images," they "had made the prophecy false, because images in christian countries are with honour, but idols of the gentiles are destroyed out of the world so far as gentility is converted to Christ." A goodly demonstration, I promise you! That the translators had no such respect, it is plain; for that they do not understand the xxxi. of Esaias of the time of Christ, but of the reformation made by Ezechias. But in Esai. xliv., which is a manifest prophecy of the church of Christ, they all use the word "image;" also Micheas the v. and in divers other places, where the destruction of idolatry is prophesied by the religion of Christ, which is verified only in true Christians; for otherwise both idolatry of pagans and of false Christians hath remained in many places, and yet remaineth to this day.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* And what were the pagan idols or their idolatry? St Paul telleth us, saying; "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds and beasts and creeping things, and they served (or worshipped) the creature more than the Creator." Doth he charge them for making the image of

Rom. i. What were the idols of the Pagans.

man or beast? Yourselves have hangings and cloths full of such paintings and embroiderings of imagery. Wherewith then are they charged? With giving the glory of God to such creatures, which was to make them idols, and themselves idolaters.

Fulke. That the pagans changed the glory of God into the similitude of the image of man, &c. it was the extremity of their madness; but that they made images of man or beast, if you will not confess that Jupiter, Mars, &c. were men, and Isis a cow or beast, yet remember that they made images of their emperors, and committed idolatry to them: otherwise, to make images out of religion was not the offence of idolatry in them nor us, that have them in hangings, and paintings, and other lawful images. FULKE, 7.

Martin. The case being thus, why do you make it two distinct things in St Paul, calling the pagans "idolaters," and the Christians doing the same "worshippers of images," and that in one sentence, whereas the apostle useth but one and the selfsame Greek word in speaking both of pagans and Christians? It is a marvellous and wilful corruption, and well to be marked; and therefore I will put down the whole sentence as in your English translation: "I wrote to you that you should not company with fornicators; and I meant not at all of the fornicators of this world, either of the covetous, or extortioners, either the idolaters, &c., but that ye company not together, if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or a worshipper of images, or an extortioner." In the first, speaking of pagans, your translator nameth "idolater" according to the text; but in the latter part, speaking of Christians, you translate the very selfsame Greek word "worshipper of images." Why so? Forsooth, to make the reader think that St Paul speaketh here not only of pagan idolaters, but also of catholic Christians that reverently kneel in prayer before the cross, the holy rood, the images of our Saviour Christ and his saints, as though the apostle had commanded such to be avoided. MARTIN, 8. 1 Cor. v. Bib. 1562. εἰδωλολάτρης. εἰδωλολάτρης.

Fulke. The reason is, because we count idolaters and worshippers of images to be all one. But "it is a marvellous wilful corruption," that in one sentence, 1 Cor. v., we call the pagans idolaters, and the Christians worshippers of images, and yet the same Greek word in both. If this were a fault, it were but of one translation of the three, for the Geneva Bible hath "idolater" in both, the other "worshipper of idols" in the latter place. And we think the latter to be understood of idolatrous papists, which worship idols made with hands of men, as crosses, roods, and other images, to FULKE, 8.

as great dishonour of God and danger of their souls as pagans did. So that if it had been "worshippers of images" in both, the translation had not been amiss.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* Where if you have yet the face to deny this your malicious and heretical intent, tell us why all these other words are translated and repeated alike in both places, "covetous," "fornicators," "extortioners," both pagans and Christians, and only this word "idolaters" not so, but pagans "idolaters," and Christians "worshippers of images." At the least you cannot deny but it was of purpose done to make both seem all one, yea, and to signify that the Christians doing the foresaid reverence before sacred images (which you call worshipping of images) are more to be avoided than the pagan idolaters: whereas the apostle, speaking of pagans and Christians that committed one and the selfsame heinous sin whatsoever, commandeth the Christian in that case to be avoided for his amendment, leaving the pagan to himself and to God, as having not to do to judge of him.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* I think the cause was, that Christians might understand who was an idolater, and what the word "idolater" signifieth, which was used in the former part of the sentence. And if the translator's purpose was by this explication to dissuade the readers from worshipping of popish images, I see not what cause he hath to be ashamed thereof, seeing the Greek word signifieth as much as he saith: not as though idols were proper only to the gentiles, and images to Christians; for in other places he useth the name of images, speaking both of the pagans and the Christians, 1 Cor. viii. Although for my part, I could wish he had used one word in both places, and either called them both idolaters or both worshippers of images.

MARTIN, 10. *Martin.* But to this the answer belike will be made, as one of them hath already answered in the like case, that in the English bible appointed to be read in their churches it is otherwise, and even as we would have it corrected; "and therefore," saith he, "it had been good before we entered into such heinous accusations, to have examined our grounds that they had been true." As though we accuse them not truly of false translation, unless it be false in that one bible which for the present is read in their churches; or as though it pertained not to them how their other English bibles be translated; or as though the people read not all indifferently without prohibition, and may be abused by every one of them; or as though the bible which now is read (as we think) in their churches, have not the like absurd translations, yea, more absurd, even in this matter of images, as is before declared; or as

W. Fulke, Confutat. of John Howlet, fol. 35.

Bib. 1577. Col. iii. 6.

though we must first learn what English translation is read in their church (which were hard to know, it changeth so oft), before we may be bold to accuse them of false translation; or as though it were not the same bible that was for many years read in their churches, and is yet in every man's hands, which hath this absurd translation whereof we have last spoken.

Fulke. Mine answer was framed to Howlet's reason, who would prove that our service was naught, because the scriptures were therein read in false and shameless translations, example of which he bringeth, 1 John v.: "Children, keep yourselves from images." To whom mine answer was apt, when I said, "In the Bible appointed to be read in the service it is otherwise," and as he himself saith it ought to be; which answer as though it were made to the general accusation of our translations, you with many supposings, as though this, as though that, would make it seem to be unsufficient; whereas, to Howlet's cavil, it was not only sufficient, but also proper. And therefore this is a vain supposal, "as though we accuse them not truly of false translation, unless it be false in that one bible which for the present is read in their church." For we grant you not the other to be false, because this is true, and so are all the rest. "As though it pertained not to them how their other English bibles be translated." It pertaineth so far that, if there were a fault in the former, we have amended it in the latter. But in that text, for which I answered, I acknowledge yet no fault, neither is that mine only answer; for I prove that "image" and "idol" with the apostle signifieth the same thing. "Or as though the people read not all without prohibition, and may be abused by every one of them." There is no such false translation in any of them, that the people can be abused thereby to run into heresy. Yet again: "Or as though the bible, which now is read (as we think), have not the like absurd translations, yea, more absurd, even in this matter of images, as is declared before." As though you have proved whatsoever you prate of. Once again: "Or as though we must first learn, what English translation is read in their church (which were hard to know, it changeth so often), before we may be bold to accuse them of false translation." If you will accuse that translation which is read in our church, as Howlet doth, reason would you should first learn FULKE, 10.

which it is; and that is no hard matter, seeing there was never more appointed than two, as oft as you say we change. "Or, (at last,) as though it were not the same bible, that was for many years read in their churches, and is yet in every man's hands, which hath this absurd translation, whereof we last spake." As though I could prophesy, when I answered Howlet for the bible appointed to be read in the church, in 1 John v., that you would find fault with another text in that translation, that sometime was read in the church, and yet is in many men's hands: which, although it be well altered in that point, which you quarrel at, in the two later translations, yet I see no absurdity in the first, which for one Greek word giveth two English words, both of one signification, yea, and the latter being plainer, explicating the former, which to English ears is more obscure and less understood.

MARTIN, II. *Martin.* Surely the bible that we most accuse, not only in this point, but for sundry other most gross faults and heretical translations, spoken
Bib. 1562. of in other places, is that bible which was authorised by Cranmer, their archbishop of Canterbury, and read all king Edward's time in their churches, and (as it seemeth by the late printing thereof again, anno 1562) a great part of this queen's reign. And certain it is, that it was so long read in all their churches with this venomous and corrupt translation of "images" always instead of "idols," that it made the deceived people of their sect to despise, contemn, and abandon the very sign and image of their salvation, the cross of Christ, the holy rood, or crucifix, representing the manner of his bitter passion and death, the sacred images of the blessed virgin Mary, the mother of God, and of St John
John xix. 26. Evangelist, representing their standing by the cross at the very time of his passion. Insomuch that now by experience we see the foul inconvenience thereof, to wit, that all other images and pictures of infamous harlots and heretics, of heathen tyrants and persecutors, are lawful in England at this day, and their houses, parlours, and chambers, are garnished with them; only sacred images, and representations of the holy mystery of our redemption, are esteemed idolatrous, and have been openly defaced in most spiteful manner, and burned, to the great dishonour of our Saviour Christ and his saints.

FULKE, II. *Fulke.* That bible perhaps you mislike more than the other translations, because archbishop Cranmer allowed it by his authority. But howsoever it be, (as I think there be more imperfections in it than in the other,) it is not your accusation, without due and substantial proof, that can make

it less esteemed with any indifferent or wise man. If it have caused the people to contemn and abandon all popish idols, there is cause that we should give God thanks for it. Albeit not the translation only, but preaching of the gospel, and Christ crucified especially, by which Christ hath been truly and lively painted forth unto them, and even crucified among them, hath made them contemn, yea, and abhor all carnal and human devices of the image of our salvation, or representation of his passion by vain and dead images, to be any helps of faith, religion, or the worship of God. Where you say it is "seen by experience, that all other images of infamous harlots and heretics, of heathen tyrants and persecutors, are lawful in England, to garnish houses, when sacred images are esteemed idolatrous, defaced, and burned," I know not well your meaning. For if you have any true images of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, or other holy persons, I think they be as lawful to garnish private houses as the other you speak of. Yea, the stories of the whole bible painted, both of the Old Testament and the New, are not forbidden, but in many places used: provided always, that in the places appointed for the public service of God such things are not lawful, for danger of idolatry, nor in private places to to be abused, as they are of papists; but rather, though they were as ancient and as goodly monuments as the brasen serpent was, which no images at this day can be, it is to the great honour of God that they should be despised, defaced, burned, and stamped to powder, as that was, which sometime was erected by the commandment of God, by which not only great miracles were wrought, but the wonderful mystery of our salvation through faith in Christ was prefigured.

Martin. And as concerning the bible that at this day is read in their churches, if it be that of the year 1577, it is worse sometime in this matter of images than the other. For where the other readeth "covetousness, which is worshipping of idols," there this latter (whereunto they appeal) readeth thus: "covetousness, which is worshipping of images." And Ephes. v. it readeth as absurdly as the other: "A covetous man, which is a worshipper of images[1]." Lo, this is the En- MARTIN, 12. Col. iii. 5. W. Fulke, Confut. fol. 35.

[1] "Covetousness, which is worshipping of images," edit. 1568, "Covetousness, which is idolatry," 1579. Col. iii. 5. "A covetous person, which is a worshipper of images," Ephes. v. 5. edit. 1568. "Nor covetous person, which is an idolater," edit. 1579.]

Fol. 36. Bib. 1579.

glish bible, which they refer us unto, as better translated and as correcting the fault of the former. But because it is evident by these places, that this also is partly worse and partly as ill as the other, therefore this great confuter of master John Howlet fleeth once more to the Geneva English bible, saying, "Thus we read," and, "so we translate;" to wit, "A covetous person, which is an idolater." Where shall we have these good fellows, and how shall we be sure that they will stand to any of their translations? From the first read in their churches they flee to that that is now read, and from this again to the later Geneva English bibles, neither read in their churches (as we suppose,) nor of greatest authority among them; and we doubt not but they will as fast flee from this to the former again, when this shall be proved in some places more false and absurd than the other.

FULKE, 12.

Fulke. It pleaseth you worse, perhaps, that less favoureth your pelting distinction of images and idols; but it is never the worse to be liked of them that be wise and learned, which know that εἰκὼν and εἴδωλον in Greek do signify the same thing, which you cannot deny. And where you say, in your scornful mood, "Lo, this is the bible, which they refer us unto, as better translated and as correcting the fault of the former," you follow your accustomed vein of lying. For I acknowledge no fault of the former in this point of images, but confute the frowardness of that foolish reason, which accuseth our service of reading the bible in shameless translations, in that text, 1 John v.; whereas in the bible appointed for the service it is not as he saith, but even as he would have us to say. I fly not therefore (as it pleaseth your wisdom to say) from that translation also to the Geneva bible, neither do I allege the Geneva translation for that cause you pretend, but to shew, that albeit we translate in such words as you cannot mislike, yet your venomous slandering pens and tongues can never give over your peevish quarrelling. In the place by you quoted, I defend both as true, and answerable to the Greek, and of one sense and meaning, where the sound of words only is diverse, the signification of matter one and the same. And yet you must have your foolish flourish in rope-ripe terms: "Where shall we have these good fellows," &c.? You shall have us, by the grace of God, ready to justify all our translation from shameless falsification and heretical corruptions, which is your impudent charge against us. And

if in matter of lesser moment you can descry the least error in any or in all of our translations, we shall be willing to confess the same, and ready to reform it. For truth is dearer to us than credit; although we think it better credit to reform a fault, than, being admonished, wilfully to continue it or defend it.

Martin. But what matter is it how they read in their churches, or how they correct their former translations by the later; when the old corruption remaineth still, being set of purpose in the top of every door within their churches, in these words: "Babes, keep yourselves from images[t]"? Why remaineth that written so often and so conspicuously in the walls of their churches, which in their bibles they correct as a fault? Their later bibles say, "Keep yourselves from idols:" their church walls say, "Keep yourselves from images." St John, speaking to the lately-converted gentiles, biddeth them beware of the idols from whence they were converted: they, speaking to the old-instructed Christians, bid them beware of the sacred image of Christ our Saviour, of the holy crucifix, of the cross, of every such representation and monument of Christ's passion and our redemption. And therefore in the very same place where these holy monuments were wont to stand in catholic times, to wit, in the rood-loft and partition of the church and chancel, there now stands these words as confronting and condemning the foresaid holy monuments: "Babes, keep yourselves from images." Which words whosoever esteemeth as the words of scripture, and the words of St John, spoken against Christ's image, is made a very babe indeed, and sottishly abused by their scribbled doors and false translations, to count that idolatry, which is indeed to no other purpose, than to the great honour of him whose image and picture it is. MARTIN, 13. 1 John v.

Fulke. Still you harp on the old untuneable string, that the former is a corruption, which saith, "Babes, keep yourselves from images;" which sentence sore grieveth you, to be written in the top of church doors, or in place where the rood-loft stood. And you ask why it remaineth on the walls, which we correct as a fault in the bibles? But who told you that they correct it as a fault in the bibles? Is every alteration with you a correction? The one explicateth the other, that idols of which St John speaketh be images abused in religion. Not that all images be idols, (as the word idol in the English speech is taken,) nor that all idols be images, but as images that are worshipped. But FULKE, 13.

[t Τεκνία, φυλάξατε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων. 1 John v. 21.]

St John (you say), speaking to the converted gentiles, biddeth them beware of the idols, from whence they were converted. That is true, but not only from them, but from all other idols. Except perhaps you think, that Christians by that text should not abhor the images of Simon Magus, and Selene, and the images of the Valentinians, and Gnosticks, and other hereticks, which worshipped the image of Christ and of St Paul, as Irenæus[1] and Epiphanius[2] do testify. And it seemeth, you so think in deed. For you say soon after, "Whosoever esteemeth those words as the words of scripture (if images be put for idols,) spoken against Christ's image, is made a very babe." Such babes were Irenæus and Epiphanius, that they condemned this worshipping of images for heresy. Such a babe was Epiphanius, that finding the image of Christ painted in vail hanging in a church at Anablatha, he judged it to be contrary to the scriptures, and rent it in pieces. Such a babe was Tertullian[3], that, speaking of that very text of St John, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols," he writeth: *Non jam ab idololatria quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, id est, ab ipsa effigie eorum. Indignum enim ut imago Dei vivi imago idoli et mortui fiat.* "He biddeth them take heed, not now from idolatry, as from the service, but from the idols themselves, that is to say, from the very images or shapes of them. For it is unworthy that the image of the living God should be made the image of an idol, and that being dead." Finally, such a babe was your vulgar translator, that he saith: *Filioli,*

Irenæus, lib. 1. cap. 20. 23, 24. Epiphanius, lib. 1. Tom. II. H. 27.

[1 Contemnere autem et idolothyta, et nihil arbitrari, sed sine aliqua trepidatione uti eis: habere autem et reliquarum operationum usum indifferentem, et universæ libidinis. Utuntur autem et hi magia, et imaginibus, et incantoribus, et invocationibus, et reliqua universa periergia: nomina quoque quædam affingentes quasi angelorum, annuntiant hos quidem esse in primo cœlo, hos autem in secundo; et deinceps nituntur CCCLXV. ementitorum cœlorum et nomina, et principia, et angelos, et virtutes exponere. Irenæi, Lib. I. cap. 23. Opera, p. 102. edit. Venet. 1734.]

[2 Τί δὲ ἄλλο ἢ πᾶσαν ἀῤῥητουργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀθέμιτον πρᾶξιν ἣν οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐπὶ στόματος φέρειν, οὗτοι πράττουσι; καὶ πᾶν εἶδος ἀνδροβασιῶν, καὶ λαγνιστέρων ὁμιλιῶν πρὸς γυναῖκας ἐν ἑκάστῳ μέρει σώματος, μαγείας τε καὶ φαρμακείας καὶ εἰδωλολατρείας ἐκτελοῦντες. Epiphan. adv. Hær. Lib. I. Tom. II. 27. Opera, p. 105. edit. Paris. 1622.]

[3 De Corona. edit. de la Cerda. p. 678.]

custodite vos a simulacris, which is all one, as if he should have said *ab imaginibus*, (as I have plentifully proved,) "Children, keep yourselves from images." As for the purpose you pretend to have in honouring Christ by images, contrary to his commandment, is indeed nothing but dishonouring of him and destruction of yourselves.

Martin. But the gay confuter with whom I began, saith for further answer, "Admit that in some of our translations it be, 'Children, keep yourselves from images,' (for so he would have said, if it were truly printed) what great crime of corruption is here committed?" And when it is said again, this is the crime and fault thereof, that they mean by so translating to make the simple believe that idols and images are all one, which is absurd; he replieth, "that it is no more absurdity, than instead of a Greek word to use a Latin of the same signification." And upon this position he granteth that, according to the property of the Greek word, a man may say, "God made man according to his idol," and that generally *idolum* may as truly be translated an "image," as *Tyrannus*, a "king," (which is very true, both being absurd;) and here he cited many authors and dictionaries idly, to prove that *idolum* may signify the same that *image*. MARTIN, 14. W. Fulke, fol. 35. Gen. i. κατὰ τὴν εἰκόνα. εἴδωλον. εἰκών.

Fulke. But this scornful replier, with whom I have to do, is so accustomed to false and unhonest dealing, that he can never report any thing that I have written truly, and as I have written, but with one forgery or another he will clean corrupt and pervert my saying. As here he shameth nothing to affirm, that I grant that, according to the property of the Greek word, a man may say, God made man according to his idol. I will report mine own words, by which every man may perceive how honestly he dealeth with me: FULKE, 14.

"But admit that in some translation it be as you say, 'Children, keep yourselves from images:' what great crime of corruption is here committed? You say, that it is to make simple men believe that idols and images are all one, which is absurd. This is no more absurdity, than instead of a Greek word to use a Latin of the same signification. But you reply, that then, where Moses saith that God made man according to his own image, we should consequently say, that God made man according to his idol. I answer, howsoever the name of idols in the English tongue, for the great dishonour that is done to God in worshipping of images,

is become so odious that no christian man would say, that God made man according to his idol, no more than a good subject would call his lawful prince 'a tyrant,' yet according to the Greek word, εἴδωλον may be as truly translated an image, as τύραννος a king."

Here, if I were disposed to give the rein to affection, as you do often, being unprovoked by me, were sufficient occasion offered to insult against your falsehood. But I will forbear, and in plain words tell you, that if you be so simple, that you cannot understand the difference of these two propositions, εἴδωλον, wheresoever it is read in Greek, may be truly translated "an image;" and this, wheresoever the word *image* is used in English, you may use the word *idol;* you are unmeet to read a divinity lecture in England, howsoever you be advanced in Rhemes. If not of ignorance, but of malice, you have perverted both my words and meaning, let God and all godly men be judge between you and me. My words are not obscure nor ambiguous, but that every child may understand my meaning to be no more but this, that this English word idol is by use restrained only to wicked images. The Greek word εἴδωλον signifieth generally all images, as τύραννος did all kings, until kings, that were so called, became hateful for cruelty, which caused even the name *tyrannus* to be odious.

MARTIN, 15. *Martin.* But I beseech you, Sir, if the dictionaries tell you that εἴδωλον may, by the original property of the word, signify "an image," (which no man denieth,) do they tell you also, that you may commonly and ordinarily translate it so, as the common usual signification thereof? or do they tell you that "image" and "idol" are so all one, that wheresoever you find this word "image," you may truly call it "idol"? For these are the points that you should defend in your answer. For an example, do they teach you to translate in these places thus? "God hath predestinated us to be made conformable to the idol of his Son." And again, "As we have borne the idol of the earthly (Adam,) so let us bear the idol of the heavenly" (Christ). And again, "We are transformed into the same idol, even as our Lord's spirit." And again, "The law having a shadow of the good things to come, not the very idol of the things." And again, "Christ who is the idol of the invisible God." Is this, I pray you, a true translation? Yea, say you, according to the property of the word: but "because the name of idols in the English tongue, for the great dishonour done to God in worshipping of images, is become odious, no christian man would say so."

Rom. viii. Imagini.
1 Cor. xv. Imaginem.
2 Cor. iii.
Heb. x.
Col. i.
2 Cor. iv.

Fulke. No man denieth (you say) that εἴδωλον may, by the original propriety of the word, signify an image. It is well, that being convicted by all dictionaries, old and new, you will at length yield to the truth. But you demand, whether the dictionaries do tell me that I may commonly and ordinarily translate it so, as the common usual signification thereof. Sir, I meddle only with the translations of the scripture; and the dictionaries tell me that so it usually signifieth, and therefore so I may translate in the scripture, or any other ancient Greek writer, that useth the word according to the original propriety thereof. Peradventure some later Greek writers, restraining it only to wicked images, may so use the term, as the general signification thereof will not agree to the meaning in some odd place or other. But that is no matter to plead against our translation of the scripture, when in that time it was written the word was indifferent, to signify any image. Further than this, you ask of me, if the dictionaries do tell me, that image and idol are all one, and wheresoever I find the word *imago*, I may truly call it idol? No, forsooth, Sir, they teach me no such thing: neither do I say that the word image and idol may be confounded; but the clean contrary, if your mastership had not mistaken me, because it was not your pleasure to take me either according to my words, or according to my meaning. Why, Sir, "these are the points you should defend in your answer: for an example, do they teach you to translate in these places thus, 'God hath predestinated us to be made conformable to the idol of his Son'? and again, 'We have borne the idol of the earthly,' &c." I pray you, Sir, pardon me to defend that I never said nor thought: you yourself confess in the end, that I say, that no christian man would say so: wherefore when you say that I affirm, this is a true translation according to the propriety of the word; can I say less? Then you lie like a popish hypocrite. FULKE, 15.

Martin. First, note how foolishly and unadvisedly he speaketh here, because he would confound images and idols, and make them falsely to signify one thing: when he saith the name of "idol" is become odious in the English tongue because of worshipping of images, he should have said, the dishonour done to God in worshipping idols made the MARTIN, 16.

name of idols odious. As in his own example of "tyrant" and "king," he meant to tell us that "tyrant" sometime was an usual name for every king; and because certain such tyrants abused their power, therefore the name of tyrant became odious. For he will not say, I trow, that for the fault of kings the name of tyrant became odious. Likewise the Romans took away the name of Manlius for the crime of one Manlius, not for the crime of John at Nokes, or of any other name. The name of Judas is so odious, that men now commonly are not so called. Why so? because he that betrayed Christ was called Judas; not because he was also Iscariot. The very name of "ministers" is odious and contemptible. Why? because ministers are so lewd, wicked, and unlearned; not because some priests be naught. Even so the name of "idol" grew to be odious, because of the idols of the Gentiles, not because of holy images. For if the reverence done by Christians to holy images were evil, (as it is not,) it should in this case have made the name of images odious, and not the name of idols. But, God be thanked! the name of images is no odious name among catholic Christians, but only among heretics and image-breakers, such as the second general council of Nice hath condemned therefore with the sentence of anathema: no more than the cross is odious, which to all good Christians is honourable, because our Saviour Christ died on a cross.

FULKE, 16. *Fulke.* Nay, first note how falsely, and then how foolishly, and yet how impudently, he continueth a slander against me of his own devising, that I would confound those English words, "images" and "idols." For first he will teach me to speak English, that where I said the name of idol is become odious in the English tongue, because of worshipping of images, I should have said, "the dishonour done to God in worshipping of idols made the name of idols odious." And what, I pray you, were those idols, the worshipping of which made the name odious, but images? May I not be so bold, under your correction, to use the general name images, which you say are not idols, until they be abused? When the image of Jupiter, king of Crete, was first made, and nothing else done unto it, would you call it an image, or an idol? Sure I am, you called the brasen serpent first an image, and then an idol. Even so I trust I may, without offence of Englishmen, say, that the abuse of images, called first without note of infamy εἴδωλα, "idols," made the name of idols to be odious, and therefore not applied, but to such abused images: and the example I brought of *tyrannus*, which first did signify a king, is very plain and like, but that you are disposed

to play the peevish quarreller. And trow you, I will not say, that for the fault of kings the name of tyrant became odious? Yes, verily, I will not spare to say, and so I said before, that for the fault of such cruel kings, as were called *tyranni*, though the name itself first signified not so, that name of tyrant became odious. As for your fomblitudes[1] of Manlius and Judas, two proper names, compared with image, and idol, king, and tyrant, which be common names, I will not vouchsafe to answer them. But the name of "ministers" (you say) is odious, for the faults of ministers, and not for the faults of priests. Popish priests are odious enough for their own faults; so that they need not be charged unjustly with the faults of our evil ministers: which I would wish were fewer than they be; but I trust there are not so many evil of them, as your popish priests have been, and are daily found to be. And whosoever of our ministers hath been found worst, I think there may be found, not a priest, but a pope, of your side as evil, or worse than he. But if reverence done by papists, (which you call Christians,) to images had been evil, (say you,) it should have made the name of images odious also. No, Sir, that followeth not, so long as that reverence was accounted good and lawful; and now that it is found to be abominable, the people having the other odious word of idols in use, need not abandon the name of images, except they had another to signify lawful and good images. The curse of the idolatrous Council of Nice the second, no christian man regardeth, which knoweth that by God's own mouth in the scriptures all makers and worshippers of idolatrous images are accursed.

Martin. But to omit this man's extraordinary and unadvised speeches, which be too many and too tedious, (as when he saith in the same sentence, "Howsoever the name 'idol' is grown odious in the English tongue," as though it were not also odious in the Latin and Greek tongues, but that in Latin and Greek a man might say according to his fond opinion, *fecit hominem ad idolum suum*, and so in the other places, where is *imago*,) to omit these rash assertions, I say, and to return to his other words, where he saith, that though the original property of the words hath MARTIN, 17.

[1 Danish, *famler*, to hesitate, stammer, falter: this word of Fulke's is deduced from *fumble*. Or is it a misprint for *similitudes*?]

that signification, yet "no christian man would say, that God made man according to his idol, no more than a good subject would call his lawful prince a tyrant:" doth he not here tell us that which we would have, to wit, that we may not speak or translate according to the original property of the word, but according to the common, usual, and accustomed signification thereof? As we may not translate Phalaris *tyrannus*, "Phalaris the king," as sometime *tyrannus* did signify, and in ancient authors doth signify; but "Phalaris the tyrant," as now this word *tyrannus* is commonly taken and understood: even so we may not now translate, "My children, keep yourselves from images," as the word may, and doth sometime signify, according to the original property thereof; but we must translate, "Keep yourselves from idols," according to the common use and signification of the word in vulgar speech, and in the holy scriptures. Where the Greek word is so notoriously and usually peculiar to idols, and not unto images, that the holy fathers of the second Nicene council (which knew right well the signification of the Greek word, themselves being Grecians) do pronounce *anathema* to all such as interpret those places of the holy scripture, that concern idols, of images, or against sacred images, as now these Calvinists do, not only in their commentaries upon the holy scriptures, but even in their translations of the text.

Ab idolis. ἀπὸ τῶν εἰδώλων. 1 Joh. v.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* We cannot yet be rid of this man's extraordinary and unadvised surmises, which are too many and tedious; as where I say the name idol is odious in the English tongue, he gathereth, that I mean it to be odious only in the English tongue, and not in the Latin and Greek. I have shewed before, that in Tully's time it was not odious in Latin; and it is not long since Master Martin confessed the Greek word, according to the original propriety, to signify as generally as εἰκών, "an image," which is not odious. Although in later times, among Christians, both of the Greek and the Latin church, the name of *idolum* became odious, as well as the word 'idol' in English. Therefore it is not my fond opinion, but M. Martin's foolish collection, that a man may say in Latin, *fecit hominem ad idolum suum:* and yet I am charged with rash assertions, when nothing is reproved that I affirm, but that which he himself doth imagine.

But now you will return to those words of mine, where I say, that though the original propriety of the words hath that signification, yet no christian man would say, that God made man according to his idol, no more than a good subject would call his lawful prince a tyrant. These words, you say, do tell us, that we may not speak or translate

according to the original propriety of the word, but according to the common, usual, and accustomed signification thereof. For speaking, I grant, as the words are used in our time: but for translating, I say you must regard how the words were used in time of the writer, whose works you translate. As if you would translate out of Euripides, τίς γῆς τυράννος, would you say, "Who is tyrant of this land"? or rather, "Who is king"? or in Aristophanes, Ζῆνα θεῶν τύραννον, would you translate, "Jupiter, tyrant of the gods," or "king of the gods"? I think, not. But in St John, seeing at that time that he wrote εἴδωλον signified an image generally, it may be translated an image generally; and seeing he speaketh of the unlawful use of images, it may also be translated an idol, as the word is now taken to signify. How the late petty prelates of the second Nicene Council were disposed to use the word, to colour their blasphemous idolatry, it is not material. The ancient dictionaries of Suidas, Phavorinus, Hesychius, with the examples of Homer, Plato, and other ancient Greek authors, are of more credit for the true and ancient signification of that word.

Martin. This then being so, that words must be translated as their common use and signification requireth, if you ask your old question, what great crime of corruption is committed in translating, "keep yourselves from images," the Greek being εἰδώλων, you have answered yourself, that in so translating, "idol" and "image" are made to signify one thing, which may not be done, no more than "tyrant" and "king" can be made to signify all one. And how can you say then, that "this is no more absurdity, than instead of a Greek word to use a Latin of the same signification"? Are you not here contrary to yourself? are "idol" and "image," "tyrant" and "king," of one signification? Said you not, that in the English tongue "idol" is grown to another signification than "image," as "tyrant" is grown to another signification than "king"? Your false translations, therefore, that in so many places make "idols" and "images" all one, not only forcing the word in the holy scriptures, but disgracing the sentence thereby, (as Ephes. v. and Col. iii.) are they not in your own judgment very corrupt; and, as your own consciences must confess, of a malicious intent corrupted, to disgrace thereby the church's holy images, by pretence of the holy scriptures that speak only of the pagans' idols? MARTIN, 18. Loco citato, fol. 35. Eph. v. A covetous man is a worshipper of images; and Col. iii. Covetousness is worshipping of images.

Fulke. Again I repeat, that words must, or may be translated according to that signification they had in time FULKE, 18.

of the writer whom you translate. And to my question, what absurdity is it in that text of St John, for εἴδωλον to translate "image"; you answer, by that means idol and image are made to signify one thing. But that is not so; for image signifieth more generally than idol in English, and "image" answereth properly to the Greek word εἴδωλον, "idol" to the meaning of St John, that is, of wicked images; so that the translation is good: even as τύραννος may be translated "a king," generally, according to the word; and if the author mean of a cruel king, it may be translated "a tyrant." For king is a general word, applied to good kings and to evil, as image is to lawful and unlawful images. Therefore our translations, that for εἴδωλον say an image, are not false, much less any malicious corruptions. And if the translators, in so doing, intended to disgrace popish images, I think they did well, and according to the meaning of the Holy Ghost; who, forbidding generally all images, that may be had in religious reverence, did not restrain the signification of the word εἴδωλον to the wicked idols of the gentiles, but left it at large, to comprehend all such images, and all kinds of worshipping them, as are contrary to the law and commandment of God.

MARTIN, 19. *Martin.* But of the usual and original signification of words (whereof you take occasion of manifold corruptions) we will speak more anon, if first we touch some other your falsifications against holy images; as, where you affectate to thrust the word "image" into the text, when there is no such thing in the Hebrew or Greek, as in that notorious example[1], 2 Par. xxxvi. (Bib. 1562.) "Carved images that were laid to his charge:" again, Rom. xi., "To the image of Baal[2];" and Acts xix.,

τῇ Βάαλ, subaud. στήλῃ. Num. xxii. τὸ διοπετές.

[1 Καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωακὶμ καὶ τὰ πάντα ἃ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα, &c. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8. "Reliqua autem verborum Joakim, et abominationum ejus, quas operatus est, et quæ inventa sunt in eo, continentur in libro Regum, &c." Vulg. "The rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and his abominations which he did, and carved images that were laid to his charge, behold, they are written, &c." Bible 1562. "And his abominations which he did, and that which was found upon (found in, Authorised version) him," Geneva Bible, 1560.]

[2 οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ. Rom. xi. 4. "Qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal," Vulg. "Which have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal," Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised. "Which

"The image that came down from Jupiter[3]." Where you are not content to understand "image" rather than "idol," but also to thrust it into the text, being not in the Greek, as you know very well.

Fulke. Three places you note, where the word image is thrust into the text, being neither in the Hebrew nor Greek. The first, 2 Par. xxxvi. bib. 1562, which I confess is a fault, but I marvel how it crept in. For Thomas Matthew's Bible, which was printed before it, hath not that word, "carved images." It is reformed also in both the translations that followed. FULKE, 19.

The second, Romans xi., is no corruption; for seeing you acknowledge that a substantive must be understood to bear up the feminine article; what reason is there, why we should not understand εἰκόνι, rather than στήλῃ, seeing it is certain Baal had an image that was worshipped in his temple? 2 Reg. x. The third place is Acts xix., where the word *image* is necessarily to be understood, "which fell down from Jupiter," as it was feigned. Hereunto Pliny beareth witness, Lib. XVI., cap. 40, and sheweth by whom it was made, and of what matter: of the like speaketh Herodianus. And the similitude of this image is yet to be seen in those ancient coins that yet remain, which were called ναοὶ, "temples[4]." Wherefore your vulgar translation, which turneth τοῦ διοπετοῦς *Jovis prolis*, is not right; and therefore is corrected by Isidorus Clarius, *a Jove delapsi simulacri*, with the consent of the deputies of the council of Trent.

have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal," Bishops' bible, 1584.]

[3 ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ Διοπετοῦς. Acts xix. 35. "Qui nesciat Ephesiorum civitatem cultricem esse magnæ Dianæ, Jovisque prolis?" Vulg. "And of the image which came down from heaven," Tyndale. "Of the image which came from heaven," Cranmer. "Of the image which came from Jupiter," Geneva. "And of the [image] which came down from Jupiter," Bishops' bible. "To be a worshipper of great Diana, and Jupiter's child," Rhemish. "And of the image which fell down from Jupiter," Authorised version.]

[4 The Scholiast upon the Rhetoric of Aristotle I. 16, says, that ναοὶ are εἰκονοστάσια, capellulæ cum imaginibus inclusis. Ammianus Marcellinus says, that Asclepias secum semper circumferret Deæ cœlestis argentum breve figmentum. Such was meant by τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ, Acts vii. 43. Beza calls those coins ναοὶ, which have the

MARTIN, 20.

Martin. Of this kind of falsification is that which is crept as a leprosy throughout all your bibles, translating *sculptile* and *conflatile*, "graven image," "molten image," namely in the first commandment, where you know in the Greek it is "idol," and in the Hebrew such a word as signifieth only "a graven thing," not including this word "image;" and you know that God commanded to make the images of cherubins, and of oxen in the temple, and of the brasen serpent in the desert; and therefore your wisdoms might have considered, that he forbade not all graven images, but such as the gentiles made and worshipped as gods: and, therefore, *non facies tibi sculptile*, concurreth with those words that go before, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." For so to have an image as to make it a God, is to make it more than an image; and therefore, when it is an idol, as were the idols of the gentiles, then it is forbid by this commandment. Otherwise, when the cross stood many years upon the table in the queen's chapel, was it against this commandment? or was it idolatry in the queen's majesty and her counsellors, that appointed it there, being the supreme head of your church? Or do the Lutherans, your pue-fellows, at this day commit idolatry against this commandment, that have in their churches the crucifix, and the holy images of the mother of God, and of St John the evangelist? Or if the whole story of the gospel concerning our Saviour Christ were drawn in pictures and images in your churches, as it is in many of ours, were it, trow you, against this commandment? Fie, for shame! that you should thus with intolerable impudence and deceit abuse and bewitch the ignorant people, against your own knowledge and conscience. For wot you not, that God many times expressly forbade the Jews both marriages and other conversation with the gentiles, lest they might fall to worship their idols, as Salomon did, and as the Psalm reporteth of them? This then is the meaning of the commandment, neither to make the idols of the gentiles, nor any other like unto them, and to that end, as did Jeroboam in Dan and Beth-el.

εἴδωλον.

פֶּסֶל

The meaning of the first commandment concerning false gods and graven idols.

The cross in the queen's chapel.

Images in the Lutheran churches.

1 Kings ii. Psal. cv. 35.

FULKE, 20.

Fulke. This is a sore complaint, that we have falsified the scripture, as it were with a leprosy, in translating *sculptile* and *conflatile*, "a graven" and "a molten image," and

representation of the temple of Diana upon them, in the same way as others are called boves, puellæ, pulli, testudines, from having those respective figures upon them. Casaubon, however, says, that though this is a probable conjecture, it is not satisfactory, since no one of the ancients mentions them by the name. A medal of this description, exhibiting an octostyle temple, with the image of Diana in the centre, may be seen in Calmet's Dictionary, p. 342. edit. Taylor, 1833. Chrysostom's opinion is, that ναοὶ were a sort of ambrey or ciborium. Ποιῶν, φησι, ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ πῶς ἔνι ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς γενέσθαι; ἴσως ὡς κιβώρια μικρά. Acts xix. 24. Hom. xlii. Edit. Savilii. IV. 845.]

namely in the first commandment, where there is no word of image or imagery; but indeed in the second commandment we translate the Hebrew word *pesel* "a graven image." פֶּסֶל You say it signifieth a graven thing, not including the word imago. I answer, you are not able to bring a place in the bible, where it signifieth any other graven thing, but only an image: and yet it is derived of a verb, that signifieth to *grave*, or *hew;* as the word *pisilim*, Jud. iii. taken for פְּסִילִים quarries of stone, doth declare. Beside this, the word next following, signifying a similitude or image, sufficiently sheweth that it is not taken generally for any graven work, but for such, wherein the likeness or similitude of God, or any creature, is meant to be resembled: and the same doth also the Greek word εἴδωλον testify. As for the cherubins, oxen, brasen serpent, or any thing which God commandeth, [it] is not forbidden by this precept; but that which man maketh of his own head, to honour as God, or to worship God by it. Wherefore, very absurdly, to cloke such abominable idolatry, you say that this commandment, *Non facies sculptile*, doth concur with those words, "Thou shalt have none other Gods but me." By which, not only two several commandments are confounded, but also a vain tautology committed: or else that added for interpretation, which is more obscure than the text interpreted. Touching the cross, that stood sometimes in the queen's chapel, whereof you speak your pleasure, as also of her majesty's counsellors, it is not by and by idolatry, whatsoever is against that commandment; neither is the having of any images in the church (which are had in no use of religion) contrary to this commandment. And although we will not accuse the Lutherans of idolatry, neither can we, because they worship no images; yet will we not excuse them for suffering of images to be in their churches, whereof may ensue danger of idolatry, but that in some part they go against this commandment, deceived in their judgment, and of us not to be defended in their error. After you have railed a fit, with 'fie for shame!' and such like rhetoric, you seem to make the prohibition of images none other, but such as the prohibition of marriage and other conversation with the gentiles, which was only for fear of idolatry. But when you can shew the like absolute commandment, to forbid marriage and conversation with the heathen, as this is for images

in religion and worshipping of them, we may have some regard of your similitude: otherwise the meaning of this commandment is generally to forbid all images of God, and of his creatures, to honour God by them; for to honour them as Gods is a breach of the first commandment, as properly as of the second.

MARTIN, 21.

Hebr. Teraphim. Matsebah. Temunah. Maschith. Pesel. Tselamim. Tabnith. Hamanim. Semel. Massecah. Nesachim. Gillulim. Miphletseth. Gr. εἴδωλα. ἀγάλματα. χειροποίητα. γλυπτά. μορφή. εἰκών. στῆλαι. στύλοι. χωνευτά. All *image* and *images*, in their translations.

Martin. This being a thing so plain as nothing more in all the holy scriptures, yet your itching humour of deceit and falsehood for the most part doth translate still "images," "images," when the Latin, and Greek, and Hebrew, have divers other words, and very seldom that which answereth to "image." For when it is "image" in the Latin, or Greek, or Hebrew texts, your translation is not reprehended; for we also translate sometimes "images," when the text of the holy scripture requireth it. And we are not ignorant that there were images which the pagans adored for their gods; and we know that some idols are images, but not all images idols. But when the holy scriptures call them by so many names, rather than images, because they were not only images, but made idols; why do your translations, like cuckoo birds, sound continually "images," "images," more than "idols," or other words equivalent to idols, which are there meant?

FULKE, 21.

Fulke. Indeed there is nothing more plain in all the holy scriptures, than that the worshipping of images of all sorts is forbidden; but that our "itching humour of deceit and falsehood," (as it pleaseth you to speak,) hath corrupted the text, to establish any false opinion of the use of images, it is not yet proved. But now you set upon us with thirteen Hebrew words, and nine Greek words at once, which we for the most part do translate still "images," "images:" and you say we "sound with cuckoo birds continually, 'images, images,' more than 'idols' or other words equivalent to idols." How many times the word image is sounded, I never had care to seek, and now I have no leisure to number; but I am sure idols and idolatry, in that translation in which least, are named above forty or fifty times. But to a conscience guilty of worshipping of images, contrary to the express commandment of God, the very name of images must needs sound unpleasantly. That we have no greater change of words to answer so many of the Hebrew tongue, it is of the riches of that tongue, and the poverty of our mother language, which hath but two words, image and idol, and them both borrowed of the Latin and Greek: as for other words equivalent, we

know not any, and we are loth to make any new words of that signification, except the multitude of Hebrew words of the same sense coming together do sometimes perhaps seem to require it. Therefore as the Greek hath fewer words to express this thing than the Hebrew, so hath the Latin fewer than the Greek, and the English fewest of all, as will appear if you would undertake to give us English words for the thirteen Hebrew words: except you would coin such ridiculous inkhorn terms, as you do in the New Testament, *azymes, prepuce, neophyte, sandale, parasceve,* and such like.

Martin. Two places only we will at this time ask you the reason of: first, why you translate the Hebrew and Greek that answereth to *statua,* "image," so often as you do? Whereas this word in the said tongues is taken also in the better part; as when Jacob set up a stone and erected it for a title, pouring oil upon it; and the prophet saith, "Our Lord's altar shall be in Egypt, and his title beside it." So that the word doth signify generally a sign erected of good or evil, and therefore might very well, if it pleased you, have some other English than "image." Unless you will say that Jacob also set up an image, and our Lord's image shall be in Egypt; which you will not say, though you might with more reason than in other places.

MARTIN, 22. Matsebah. στήλη. Gen. xxviii. 22. Isai. xix. 19.

Fulke. Seeing you ask, why we translate the Hebrew word *matsebah* so often an image; it had been reason you should have told us how often we do so, or at least noted some place, where it cannot signify an image. We know the word, being derived of the verb *jatsab* that signifieth to stand, may be taken for something erected, that is no image, but a pillar, or (as your Latin text calleth it) a title, in both the places by you noted, Gen. xxviii., Esai. xix. and elsewhere, Gen. xxv., 2 Sam. xviii. But whensoever we translate it an image, the circumstance of the place so requireth, as 2 Kings x. where it is said, that Baal's images were taken out of his temple, broken and burnt. For they were images of Baal, that were worshipped in his temple, and not titles or pillars. Likewise, 2 Kings xvii. where it is said, that "the Israelites made unto themselves *statuas,* images, and groves under every high hill and under every thick tree:" as appeareth by Ezechiel vi. where they be called *gillulim,* idols, which had the similitude of men, as Baalim and such other.

FULKE, 22.

MARTIN, 23. Of the year 1570. Pesilim. Massechoth. εἰδωλα.

Martin. Secondly, we demand why your very last English bible hath (Esai. xxx. 22) for two Hebrew words, which are in Latin *sculptilia* and *conflatilia*, twice, "images," "images;" neither word being Hebrew for an "image," no more than if a man would ask, what is Latin for an "image"? and you would tell him *sculptile;* whereupon he seeing a fair painted image in a table, might happily say, *Ecce egregium sculptile;* which every boy in the grammar school would laugh at. Which therefore we tell you, because we perceive your translations endeavour, and as it were affectate, to make *sculptile* and "image" all one; which is most evidently false, and to your great confusion appeareth Abac. ii. 18[1], where for these words, *Quid prodest sculptile, quia sculpsit illud fictor suus, conflatile et imaginem falsam?* which is according to the Hebrew and Greek, your later English translation hath, "What profiteth the image? for the maker thereof hath made it an image, and a teacher of lies."

פֶּסֶל כִּי פְסָלוֹ γλυπτὸν ὅτι ἔγλυψαν αὐτὸ χώνευμα. Of the year 1579.

FULKE, 23.

Fulke. If it had said, "the graven images of silver, and the molten or cast images of gold," I know not what advantage it had been to you, or loss to us. But neither word (you say) is Hebrew for an image. Alack! this is poor sophistry, when all the world of Hebricians know, they are Hebrew for nothing else, but for graven or cast images, and by the figure synecdoche are taken generally for images, of what making or matter soever they be. And the question is not, by what art images are made, but to what use and how they be used, that they may be condemned for unlawful. This I take to be the cause, why the interpreter neglected the difference of the Hebrew words, which sometimes is not observed, and in English unpossible always, and unprofitable to be kept. As for your own conceit, whereat you think boys might laugh, I leave it to yourself. For if we were asked, what is Latin for an image, we could answer somewhat else than *sculptile.* But if a boy should ask [what] *pesilim* or *massecath* in this place of Esay doth signify, we would not answer a graven thing, or a molten thing, lest he might shew us the mantel-tree of a chimney, and a brass pot hanging over the fire, and demand further whether Esay in this

[1 Τί ὠφελεῖ γλυπτὸν, ὅτι ἔγλυψαν αὐτό; ἔπλασεν αὐτὸ χώνευμα, φαντασίαν ψευδῆ, ὅτι πέποιθεν ὁ πλάσας ἐπὶ τὸ πλάσμα αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ποιῆσαι εἴδωλα κωφά. Habakkuk ii. 18. "Quid prodest sculptile, quia sculpsit illud fictor suus, conflatile, et imaginem falsam? quia speravit in figmento fictor ejus ut faceret simulacra muta," Vulg. The English version is given from the Bishops' bible in loco.]

text spake of them, and all such things as they are. But it is most evidently false (you say) that *sculptile* and image are all one, and this appeareth to our great confusion, Abacuc the second, &c. But I say, to your shame it will appear by this very text, that *pesel* and *massecah* signify one and the same thing, and that most evidently. For thus the text is: "What profiteth the image (*pesel*,) for his maker (*iotsero*) hath made it, or (as you will have it) hath graven it (*pesalo:*)" what followeth now, but *massecah*, an image? you had rather say *conflatile*, a molten image. But then you must remember, that the maker of it by graving made it a molten image; which is a strange piece of work, except you will say, that first he did cast it, and then he did grave it: but say which way you will, the same image is called *pesel* and *massecah*, without difference. The last words are *umoreh shaker*, "and a teacher of lies;" for which words your translation hath *imaginem falsam*, "a false image," whereas *moreh* never signifieth an image. But of that afterward.

Martin. I would every common reader were able to discern your falsehood in this place. First, you make *sculpere sculptile*, no more than "to make an image": which being absurd, you know, (because the painter or embroiderer making an image cannot be said *sculpere sculptile*) might teach you that the Hebrew hath in it no signification of image, no more than *sculpere* can signify "to make an image;" and therefore the Greek and the Latin precisely (for the most part) express neither more nor less than a thing graven; but yet mean always by these words "a graven idol," to which signification they are appropriated by use of holy scripture, as *simulacrum, idolum, conflatile,* and sometime *imago.* In which sense of signifying "idols," if you also did repeat "images" so often, although the translation were not precise, yet it were in some part tolerable, because the sense were so; but when you do it to bring all holy images into contempt, even the image of our Saviour Christ crucified, you may justly be controlled for false and heretical translators. MARTIN, 24. Sculptile. γλυπτόν.

Fulke. I would "every common reader were able to discern" your foolish malice in this place. For first, while you cavil at the etymology of the words, which the prophet regardeth not, you make him say, that the fashioner thereof hath graven a graven thing, a molten thing. Secondly, where you say, that the Hebrew word *pesel* hath no signification of an image in it, leaning to the bare derivation from FULKE, 24.

the verb *pasal*, you control the only use of it, which is to signify an image or idol, whether it be graven or molten, or by what workmanship soever it be made, which you confess to be the sense of it. But when we do it (you say) to bring all holy images into contempt, we may justly be controlled for false and heretical translators. First, we know no holy images, made with hands, at this time so accounted, but they are all profane and abominable idols. Secondly, if the translator's purpose were evil, yet so long as the words and sense of the original tongue will bear him, he cannot justly be called a false and heretical translator, albeit he have a false and heretical meaning; as you papists have in your late translation of the New Testament; yet where you translate, either according to the words, or according to the sense, no equity can condemn you for false translators.

MARTIN, 25. *Martin.* As in this very place (which is another falsehood like to the other) *conflatile* you translate "image", as you did *sculptile*, and so Hab. ii. here again in Abacuck (as before in Esay is noted) for two distinct words, each signifying another diverse thing from "image," you translate "images," "images." Thirdly, for *imaginem falsam*, "a false image," you translate another thing, without any necessary pretence either of Hebrew or Greek, avoiding here the name of "image," because this place telleth you that the holy scripture speaketh against φαντασίαν ψευδῆ. false images, or as the Greek hath, "false phantasies," or as you translate the Hebrew, "such images as teach lies," representing false gods 1 Cor. viii. Acts xix. which are not, as the apostle saith, *idolum nihil est;* and *non sunt Dii qui manibus fiunt.* Which distinction of false and true images you will not have, because you condemn all images, even holy and sacred also; and therefore you make the holy scriptures to speak herein accordingly to your own fancy.

FULKE, 25. *Fulke.* Seeing the prophet regardeth not the etymology of the words, but useth both for one and the same image, no, nor regardeth the matter whereof it is made, as appeareth in the next verse, where he calleth this idol wood and stone, which cannot be molten; every reasonable man may see, that the word *massecah* doth in this place signify generally an image, which is made to be a teacher of lies. And whereas you repeat, that the two words do "signify each another diverse thing from image," because the one signifieth a graven thing, the other a molten thing, you speak without

all shame and sense of honesty: for *pesel* signifieth not every graven, carved, or hewn thing, but only an image. For who would say, that a morter or a gutter of hewn stone were in Hebrew to be signified by the word *pesel*, or a pewter pot or a dish by the word *massecah?* Seeing the use of the Hebrew tongue therefore hath appropried these names only to images, it is great frowardness, and no learning, to quarrel about the etymology or derivation of them. As this name *building*, in English, is taken only for houses: as when we say, Here are goodly buildings; which if a man would extend according to the derivation, and shewing nothing else but walls of brick or other matter, praise them for goodly buildings, he should be thought to speak strangely in our tongue, and yet, according to the derivation, building may signify anything that is builded. But for *imaginem falsam*, a false image, you charge us to "translate another thing, without any necessary pretence, either of Hebrew or Greek." Such affirmations will make us think meanly of your knowledge in the Hebrew tongue. For what, I pray you, else can *moreh* מוֹרֶה in this place signify, but a teacher? or where is it ever taken for an image, as your Latin text hath, or a fantasy, as the Greek readeth? Turn over your dictionary and Hebrew concordance, and see if you can find it used for an image or an idol. At leastwise, give credit to Isidorus Clarius, who thus writeth in his notes upon the text: *Quod ait imaginem falsam, in Heb. est docens, vel annuncians mendacium.* "That he saith a false image, in the Hebrew it is teaching or shewing forth a lie." The distinction you make of true and false images, is vain for this purpose: for all images that are used in religion are false, and teachers of falsehood, which you with Grègory say are laymen's books; but what shall they teach, saith Abacuc and Jeremiah, but lies and vanity? Where note, that Jeremiah calleth the image *wood*, by synecdoche, signifying all images made with hands, of any matter. Again he saith, "Every artificer is confounded in his image, because it is false which he hath made, and there is no breath in it." In which verse it is to be observed, that he useth first the word *pesel*, saying *mippasel*, מִפָּסֶל and afterward *nisco*, for the same image made by the artificer, without distinction of graving or melting, at leastwise for the sense, though the words be diverse. Even so your נִסְכּוֹ

Hab. ii. Jer. x.

vulgar Latin translator useth *sculptile, conflatile, imaginem et simulacrum*, for one and the same thing. The scripture therefore telling us that all images are false, because they, being void of life, are set up to represent the living, it is not our fantasy, but the authority of God's word, that causeth us to reject your fantastical distinction of true and false images.

MARTIN, 26. Dan. xiv. 4. Bib. 1562. 1577.

Martin. Wherein you proceed so far, that when Daniel said to the king, "I worship not idols made with hands," (εἴδωλα χειροποίητα,) you make him say thus, "I worship not things that be made with hands[1]," leaving out the word "idols" altogether, as though he had said, "nothing made with hand were to be adored;" not the ark, the propitiatory, no, nor the holy cross itself, that our Saviour shed his blood upon. As before you added to the text, so here you diminish and take from it at your pleasure.

FULKE, 26.

Fulke. That "thing" is put for idol, I confess it to be a fault in some translations; but in the Geneva bible it is reformed. Contempt of the authority of that apocryphal chapter (as it seemed) did breed that negligence. Where you write, that he should by saying, "I worship not things made with hands," have denied the ark and the propitiatory to be worshipped, it is very true; for neither of both was to be worshipped, as they were made with hands; but God was to be worshipped where they were, and those things to be reverently esteemed, as the sacraments of God's presence. As for the cross whereon Christ died, I see no cause why it should be worshipped, if it were to be had; but rather, if it were to be worshipped, it should be served as the brasen serpent was. None of the apostles made any account of it: Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea, if there had been any matter of religion in it, might have preserved it, and not have suffered it to be buried in the earth with the two other crosses, as the story of the invention saith, if it be true. At the finding whereof, Helena, as St Ambrose writeth, *Regem adoravit, non lignum utique, quia hic gentilis est error et vanitas*

[1 The story of Bel and the Dragon. "Because I may not worship things that be made with hands," v. 4. edit. 1568. "Because I may not worship idols made with hand," v. 5. ed. 1579. "Because I may not worship things that be made with hands," 1562. (1584, Bishops' bible.)]

impiorum: "She worshipped the king, not the tree verily; for this is an heathenish error, and vanity of ungodly men." *De obit. Theodosii*[2].

Martin. But concerning the word "image," which you make to be the English of all the Latin, Hebrew, and Greek words, be they never so many and so distinct, I beseech you, what reason had you to translate γλυπτὰ "images"? Wisd. xv. 13. Doth the Greek word so signify? doth not the sentence following tell you that it should have been translated, "graven idols"? for thus it saith, "They judged all the idols of the nations to be gods[3]." Lo, your images! or rather, lo, the true names of the pagans' gods, which it pleaseth you to call "images", "images." MARTIN, 27.

Fulke. I think you are not able to prove that we make "image" the English to all the Hebrew words, though you boldly affirm it. But in the place by you mentioned, I suppose they translated the Greek word "graven or carved images," rather than idol, because the writer in that place, Wisd. xv. 13. speaketh of the first framing and fashioning of those images, which, though the purpose of the workman be never so wicked, yet cannot properly be called idols, before they be abused by them that worship them. FULKE, 27.

Martin. But, to conclude this point: you might, and it would have well becomed you, in translating or expounding the foresaid words, to have followed St Jerome, the great famous translator and interpreter of the holy scriptures, who telleth you two senses of the foresaid words; the one literal, of the idols of the gentiles; the other mystical, of heresies and errors. "*Sculptile,*" saith he, "and *conflatile,* I take to be perverse opinions, which are adored of the authors that made them. See Arius, that graved to himself this idol, that Christ was only a creature, and adored that which he had graven. Behold Eunomius, how he molted and cast a false image, and bowed to that which he had molten[4]." Suppose he had MARTIN, 28. Comment. in Hab. ii.

[2 Opera, Vol. II. p. 1211.]

[3 Οὗτος γὰρ παρὰ πάντας οἶδεν ὅτι ἁμαρτάνει, ὕλης γεώδους εὔθρυστα σκεύη καὶ γλυπτὰ δημιουργῶν. Sapient. Solomonis, xv. 13. "Now he that of earth maketh frail vessels and images, knoweth himself to offend above all other," Bishops' bible 1584, Cranmer 1562, Geneva 1560. Ὅτι πάντα τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐλογίσαντο θεούς. Ibid. xv. 15. "For they judge all the idols of the heathen to be gods," Bishops' bible.]

[4 "Sculptile" et "conflatile" reor dogmata esse perversa, quæ ab his a quibus facta sunt adorantur. Vide Arium sculpsisse sibi idolum

exemplified of the two condemned heretics, Jovinian and Vigilantius also; had he not touched your idols, that is, the old condemned heresies, which you at this day adore?

FULKE, 28. *Fulke.* It becometh us best in translation to follow the original text, and, as near as we can, the true meaning of the Holy Ghost. As for the two senses which Jerome telleth, [they] stand whole and untouched for our translation. There is a difference between a translation and a commentary. In commenting upon the text, they that see it convenient may apply the idols of the gentiles and the worship of them to the heresies of our times, of the papists, anabaptists, libertines, and such like, as the apostle doth by similitude to covetousness. As for old condemned heresies, which you charge us to worship as idols, you are able to prove none, whatsoever you babble of Vigilantius and Jovinian: neither of both do we follow in any error, much less in any heresy.

MARTIN, 29. *Martin.* These only (I mean heresies and heretics) are the idols and idolaters (by the ancient doctors' judgment) which have been among Christians since the idolatry of the gentiles ceased, according to the prophets. Therefore St Jerome saith again: "If thou see a man that will not yield to the truth, but when the falsehood of his opinions is once shewed, persevereth still in that he began; thou mayest aptly say, *sperat in figmento suo,* and he maketh dumb or deaf idols[2]." And again, "All heretics have their gods; and whatsoever they have forged, they adore the same, as *sculptile* and *conflatile;* that is, 'as a graven and molten idol[3].'" And again, "He saith well, I have found unto myself an idol; for all the forgeries of heretics are as the idols of the gentiles;

Zech. xiii. Loco citato[1].

Hos. xi.

Hos. xii.

creaturæ, et adorasse quod sculpsit. Cerne Eunomium conflasse imaginem falsam, et conflationi suæ curvare cervicem. Comment. Hieronymi in Abacuc. ii. 18. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1615.]

[1 Sive hæc idola, de quibus apostolus loquitur (1 Tim. iv. 1, 2.). Sicut enim idola fiunt manu artificis; ita hæreticorum perversa doctrina, quodcunque simulaverit, vertit in idolum; et facit Christo adorari antichristum. Comment. Hieronymi in Zachar. xiii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1787.]

[2 Si quando videris aliquem nolle credere veritati, et ostensa suorum dogmatum falsitate in cæpto studio perseverare, congrue poteris dicere, Sperat in figmento suo, et facit simulacra muta vel surda. Comment. Hieronymi in Abacuc. ii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1615.]

[3 Singuli enim hæreticorum habent deos suos: et quodcunque simulaverint, quasi sculptile colunt atque conflatile. Comment. Hieronymi in Osee. xi. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1311.]

neither do they much differ in impiety, though in name they seem to differ[4]." And again, "Whatsoever according to the letter is spoken against the idolatry of the Jews, do thou refer all this unto them, which under the name of Christ worship idols, and forging to themselves perverse opinions, carry the tabernacle of their king the devil, and the image of their idols. For they worship not an idol, but for variety of their doctrine they adore divers gods. And he put in very well, 'which you made to yourselves;' for they received them not of God, but forged them of their own mind[5]." And of the idol of Samaria he saith, "We always understand Samaria (and the idol of Samaria) in the person of heretics, the same prophet saying, 'Woe be to them that despise Sion, and trust in the mount of Samaria.' For heretics despise the church of God, and trust in the falsehood of their opinions, erecting themselves against the knowledge of God, and saying, when they have divided the people (by schism), 'We have no part in David, nor inheritance in the son of Jesse[6]'." In Amos. v. In Amos. viii. Chap. vi.

Fulke. Not these only, but the idols of the Simonists, Valentinians, Gnostici, Carpocratits, Collyridians, and such like, made with hands, of Christ, and his mother, of Paul, and Simon, and Selene, and Pythagoras, &c. and such other, were idols of false Christians, since the idolatry of the gentiles gave place, by the judgment of Irenæus, Epiphanius, and other ancient doctors. And whatsoever you cite or can cite out of St Jerome against the idols of heresies, agreeth most FULKE, 29.

[4 Et pulchre, Inveni, ait, idolum mihi: omnia enim hæreticorum figmenta idola sunt et simulacra gentilium: nec multum differunt in impietate, licet in nomine discrepare videantur. Comment. Hieronymi in Osee. xii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1321.]

[5 Quidquid autem juxta litteram dicitur contra populum Judæorum, hoc omne refer ad eos qui sub nomine Christi venerantur idola, et prava sibi dogmata confingentes portant tabernaculum regis sui diaboli, et imaginem statuarum et idolorum suorum. Non enim unum colunt idolum: sed pro varietate doctrinæ diversos adorant deos et sidus dei sui. Comment. Hieronymi in Amos. v. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1422.]

[6 Deficientibus autem virginibus, et adolescentes deficient, qui prius vicerant mundum: et idcirco deficient, quia jurant in idolo Samariæ, quam in hæreticorum persona semper accipimus, dicente hoc eodem propheta: *Væ qui despiciunt Sion, et confidunt in monte Samariæ.* Despiciunt enim hæretici ecclesiam Dei, et confidunt in falsitate dogmatum suorum, erigentes se contra scientiam Dei, et scisso populo ejus dicentes: *Non est pars nobis in David, neque hæreditas in filio Jesse.* Comment. Hieronymi in Amos. viii. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 1444, 1445.]

aptly to yourselves, the papists, who worship not only idols made with hands, but also the idols of your brains, which are abominable heresies.

MARTIN, 30. *Martin.* Thus the reader may see, that the holy scriptures which the adversaries falsely translate against the holy images of our Saviour Christ and his saints, to make us idolaters, do in deed concern their idols, and condemn them as idolaters; which forge new opinions to themselves, such as the ancient fathers knew not, and adore them, and their own sense and interpretation of scriptures, so far and so vehemently, that they prefer it before the approved judgment of all the general councils and holy doctors, and for maintenance of the same corrupt the holy scriptures at their pleasure, and make them speak according to their fancies, as we have partly shewed, and now are to declare further.

FULKE, 30. *Fulke.* Thus the reader may see, that when you have cavilled, quarrelled, falsified, and slandered, as much as you can, to charge us with false translation of the scripture concerning images, you can find nothing worth the noting: but if some small oversight, through negligence, or perhaps the printer's fault, hath escaped, you make a great matter of it, although it be corrected by ourselves in other translations; and when all other matter faileth, you return to your accustomed vein of railing and reviling, which in no wise man's judgment deserveth answer, because it is so general.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ecclesiastical use of Words turned into their Original and Profane signification.

Martin. We spake a little before of the double signification of words; the one according to the original property, the other according to the usual taking thereof in all vulgar speech and writing. These words (as by the way we shewed before, upon occasion of the adversaries' grant) are to be translated in their vulgar and usual signification, not as they signify by their original property. As for example: *major* in the original signification is "greater." But when we say, "the mayor of London," now it is taken and soundeth in every man's ear for such an officer; and no man will say, "the greater of London," according to the original property of it. Likewise *episcopus*, a Greek word, in the original sense is "every overseer," as Tully useth it, and other profane writers; but among Christians, in ecclesiastical speech, it is "a bishop;" and no man will say, "My lord overseer of London," for "my lord bishop." Likewise we say, "seven deacons, St Stephen a deacon:" no man will say, "seven ministers, St Stephen a minister;" although that be the original signification of the word "deacon." But by ecclesiastical use and appropriation being taken for a certain degree of the clergy, so it soundeth in every man's ear, and so it must be translated. As we say, "Nero made many martyrs;" not, "Nero made many witnesses:" and yet "martyr" by the first original property of the word is nothing else but a "witness." We say, "baptism is a sacrament;" not, "washing is a sacrament:" yet "baptism" and "washing," by the first original property of the word, is all one. MARTIN, 1. Chap. iii. num. 17, 18. See also M. Whitaker, p. 209; and the 6th chap. of this book, num. 6, 7, 8, 13, &c. much more of this matter.

Fulke. We have also answered before, that words must not be always translated according to their original and general signification, but according to such signification, as by use they are appropried to be taken. We agree also, that words taken by custom of speech into an ecclesiastical meaning are not to be altered into a strange or profane signification. For such vanities and novelties of words the apostle prohibiteth; whereof the popish translation of the New Testament is fraught full. Notwithstanding our meaning is not, that if any Greek terms, or words of any other language, have of long time been usurped in our English language, the true understanding of which is unknown at this day to the common people, but that the same terms FULKE, 1.

may be either in translation or exposition set out plainly, to inform the simplicity of the ignorant, by such words as of them are better understood. Also when those terms are abused by custom of speech, to signify some other thing than they were first appointed for, or else be taken ambiguously for divers things; we ought not to be superstitious in these cases, but, to avoid misunderstanding, we may use words according to their original signification, as they were taken in such time as they were written by the instruments of the Holy Ghost. As for example, if 'a bishop' be mistaken by the people, either for such an idol as the papists used to make of their St Nicolas' bishops, or else for a great lord only, that rideth about in a white rochet; they may be told, that the name of a bishop describeth his office, that is, to be an overseer of the flock of Christ committed to his charge. Likewise if the word 'deacon' be taken for such an one, as at a popish mass standeth in a disguised tunicle, holding a patten, or some other idolatrous bauble used of them; the people must be taught, that this name signifieth a minister, which was ordained not to serve the popish altar, but the poor men's tables, that is, to provide for the poor; and to see the church's alms bestowed upon them. Also if the name of 'martyrs' be not understood, but taken only for them that are tormented and rent in body, as the common speech is to say, of men and beasts, that they are martyred, when their bodies are wounded and mangled; here it is needful to shew, that the saints that suffered for Christ had their name of their witness or testimony, not of their pains and torments. The name of 'baptism' is so common to Christians, that it need not to be changed into washing: but yet it may and ought to be explicated unto the unlearned, what this word doth signify, which is no profane signification, but a true and general understanding of the word, which is used of the evangelist for other washings than the sacrament of baptism, and so you are enforced to translate it, Mark vii.

MARTIN, 2. *Martin.* Now then to come to our purpose, such are the absurd translations of the English bibles, and altogether like unto these: namely, when they translate "congregation" for "church," "elder" for "priest," "image" for "idol," "dissension" for "schism," "general" for "catholic," "secret" for "sacrament," "overseer" for "bishop," "messenger" for "angel*," "ambassador" for "apostle," "minister" for "deacon," and

*See chap. xv. num. 18, and 3, 4.; and

such like: to what other end be these deceitful translations, but to conceal and obscure the name of the church and dignities thereof, mentioned in the holy scriptures; to dissemble the word "schism" (as they do also "heresy" and "heretic*") for fear of disgracing their schisms and heresies; to say of "matrimony," neither "sacrament," which is the Latin, nor "mystery," which is the Greek, but to go as far as they can possibly from the common usual and ecclesiastical words, saying, "This is a great secret," in favour of their heresy, that matrimony is no sacrament[1]?

chap. xxi. num. [11.]

Gal. v. Tit. iii. 1 Cor. xi. Bib. 1562.

Eph. v. 32.

Fulke. Absurd translations of the English bibles, you say, are "congregation" for "church," "elder" for "priest," "image" for "idol," and such like. The word "church" being ambiguously taken of the people for the place of assembly, and the assembly itself, it was as lawful for us to call congregation, as for you to call it assembly. Acts vii. This word "priest" commonly taken for a sacrificer and the same that *sacerdos*, and so by you translated, there was good occasion to use the word elder, for which you use senior, or ancient, in your translation, which is a name of authority, as overseer is of diligence, minister of service, pastor of feeding; all which names set forth a true bishop, pastor, and elder, and if you will needs have it, of a true priest. Of "image" for idol is said enough in the next chapter before. "Schism" I know not how Englishmen should understand, except it were Englished by dissension, division, rending, or some such like. Of "general" for catholic, we shall speak anon. "Secret" for sacrament we use, because we would retain the ecclesiastical use of this word sacrament, which is to signify the seals of God's pro-

FULKE, 2.

[1] διχοστασίαι, αἱρέσεις. Gal. v. 20. "Dissensiones, sectæ," Vulg. "Dissensions, sects," Wiclif, Rhemish. "Sedition, sects," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Sedition, heresies," Geneva, Authorised.

Αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον. Tit. iii. 10. "Hæreticum hominem," Vulg. "A man heretic," Wiclif. "A man that is given to heresy," Tyndale. "A man that is an author of sects," Cranmer 1539, 1562. "Him that is an heretic," Geneva. "A man that is an heretic," Bishops' bible 1584, Rheims, Authorised.

δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι. 1 Cor. xi. 19. "Nam oportet et hæreses esse," Vulg. "For it behoveth heresies to be," Wiclif. "For there must be sects among you," Tyndale, Cranmer 1539, 1562. "For there must be even heresies among you," Geneva. "For there must be heresies also," Rheims. "For there must be also heresies," Bishops', Authorised.]

mises, and not confound it with every holy or unholy secret thing. The Greek word "mystery," which you would enjoin us to use, was in the time of the first translation more unknown, than that we could well have used it, except we would have followed your vein in vanity and novelty of terms, *prepuce*, *neophyte*, *gratis*, *depositum*, *&c.*, or else made general and common the proper use of this ecclesiastical term "sacrament" to every mystery, and called the sacrament of preaching, of publishing the gospel to the gentiles, of the seven stars, as you do, and yet in the sacrament of the whore of Babylon you leave it and call it mystery, Rev. xvii. 7, as you should be enforced to do, if you would translate the Old Testament out of Latin, Dan. ii., divers times, except you would call Nabuchadonozor's dream a sacrament, and Dan. iv., where the king saith, that to Daniel no secret is impossible, meaning unknown or not understood, you would say no sacrament, and Tob. xii., you would translate *sacramentum regis abscondere bonum est*, "It is a good thing to hide the king's sacrament," where you should say secret, and where the English phrase would hardly bear you to say the king's mystery. Of the other terms, in the places by you quoted it shall be sufficient to speak. But I have rendered reasonable causes of these terms hitherto, so that no man, but mad with malice, would think we conceal the name of church and dignities thereof in hatred of them, or do dissemble the names of schism and heresy in favour of those abominations, which are as well set forth to their detestation in the terms of dissension and sects. As for the name sacrament, we find [it] not in the Greek; but *mysterium* we translate "a secret" or "a mystery," as the word signifieth, which nothing favoureth the pretended sacrament of matrimony.

MARTIN, 3. 1 Cor. i. 10. *Martin.* St Paul saith as plain as he can speak[1], "I beseech you, brethren, that you all say one thing, and that there be no schisms among

[1] Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοὶ, διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες, καὶ μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν σχίσματα. 1 Cor. i. 10. "Obsecro autem vos, fratres, per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ut idipsum dicatis omnes, et non sint in vobis schismata." Vulg.

"I beseech you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak one thing, and that there be no dissension among

you." They translate for "schisms" "dissensions;" which may be in profane and worldly things, as well as in matters of religion. But schisms are those that divide the unity of the church, whereof they know themselves guilty. St Paul saith as plainly as is possible, "A man that is an heretic, avoid after the first and second admonition:" they translated in their bible of the year 1562, "A man that is an author of sects." And where the Greek is "heresy," reckoned among damnable sins, they say "sects;" favouring that name for their own sakes, and dissembling it, as though the holy scriptures spake not against "heresy" or "heretics," "schism" or "schismatics."

Tit. iii. αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον.

αἱρέσεις. Gal. v.

Fulke. St Paul indeed speaketh plainly in Greek; but if you speak English and say schisms, forty thousand of the people in England will swear they understand you not. But schisms (you say) are those "that divide the unity of the church: dissensions may be in profane and worldly things." Verily, all schisms divide not the church, for they were not all the church, of whom it is said in St John ix., "There was a schism among them:" for I think the best of the Pharisees were scarce good members of the church. Again, where St Paul doth say, "lest there should be a schism in the body," 1 Cor. xii., he speaketh of the natural body, whereunto he compareth the church. St Paul also saith, as plainly as he can speak in Greek, 1 Cor. xi. 18., "I hear that there be schisms among you:" yet your vulgar Latin translator is bold to say *scissuras*, cuttings or rendings, where you are bold to go from your Latin text and call them schisms. And for explicating the Greek name of heresy by sects, why should we be more blamed, than the vulgar Latin translator, who commonly translateth it *sectas*, and namely Gal. v., 2 Pet. ii., Acts xxiv. divers times, xxvi. and xxviii., in all which places you yourselves translate "sects"? Is it because he or you favour heresies and heretics? Will you never leave this foolish wrangling, which always turneth you to the greater discredit?

FULKE, 3.

Martin. As also they suppress the very name "catholic," when it is expressly in the Greek, for malice toward catholics and catholic religion, because they know, themselves never shall be called or known by that name. And therefore their two English bibles, accustomed to be read in their church, (therefore by like most authentic,) leave it clean

MARTIN, 4.

An. 1562. 1577.

you," Tyndale, Cranmer 1539, 1562, Geneva, Bishops' 1584. "And that there be no divisions among you," Authorised Version.]

Euseb. lib. II. Eccl. Hist. cap. 22. in fine. 1579.

out in the title of all those epistles, which have been known by the name of *Catholicæ Epistolæ* ever since the apostles' time: and their later English bible (dealing somewhat more honestly) hath turned the word "catholic" into "general," saying, "The General Epistle of James, of Peter," &c. As if a man should say in his creed, "I believe the general church," because he would not say, "the catholic church;" as the Lutheran catechisms say for that purpose, "I believe the christian church."

Lind. in Dubitant.

So that by this rule, when St Augustine telleth that the manner was in cities where there was liberty of religion, to ask, *Qua itur ad catholicam?* we must translate it, "Which is the way to the general?" And when St Jerome saith, "If we agree in faith with the bishop of Rome," *ergo catholici sumus;* we must translate it, "Then we are generals." Is not this good stuff? Are they not ashamed thus to invert and pervert all words against common sense, and use, and reason? Catholic and general or universal (we know) is by the original property of the word all one: but according to the use of both, as it is ridiculous to say, "A catholic council," for "A general council;" so is it ridiculous and impious to say "general" for "catholic," in derogation thereof, and for to hide it under a bushel.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* I do not know where the name of "catholic" is once expressed in the text of the bible, that it might be suppressed by us, which are not like to bear malice to the catholic church or religion, seeing we teach even our young children to believe "the holy catholic church." But not finding the word catholic in the text, you run to the title of the seven epistles, called as commonly canonical as catholic or general. But Eusebius belike testifieth that they have been so called ever since the apostles' time, lib. II. cap. 22.[1] I marvel you are not ashamed to avouch such an untruth. Eusebius, speaking of his own time, saith they are so called; but that they have been so called ever since the apostles' time, he saith not. And so far off he is from saying so, that he pronounceth the epistle of St James in the same place to be a bastard, and speaketh doubtfully of the epistle of St Jude[2]. But whereas in one translation we use the

[1 See the passage quoted before, p. 16.]

[2 Jacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Justus, ut nonnulli existimant, Josephi ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Mariæ sororis matris Domini, cujus Johannes in libro suo meminit, filius, post passionem Domini statim ab apostolis Jerosolymorum episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quæ de septem catholicis est; quæ et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine ejus edita asseritur. Hieronymi Catal. Scrip. Eccles. II. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 101.

word "general" for catholic, you make a great maygame of it, shewing your wit and your honesty both at once. For these five of James, two of Peter, one of Jude, and the first of John, which are properly and rightly so entitled, have that title, because they are not sent to any particular church or persons, but to all in general, as the Greek scholiast truly noteth. Œcumenius before the epistle of St James saith expressly, *Catholicæ, id est, universales dicuntur hæ, &c*[3]. "These epistles are called catholic, that is to say, universal or general, because not distinctly to one nation or city (as St Paul to the Romans, or Corinthians) this company of our Lord's disciples doth dedicate these epistles, but generally to the faithful, or to the Jews that were dispersed, as also Peter, or else to all Christians living under the same faith." For otherwise, if they should be called catholic in respect of the soundness of the doctrine contained in them, what reason were there more to call them so, than to call all the epistles of St Paul? Wherefore in this title, which yet is no part of the holy scripture, it is rightly translated "general." The other translators, seeing seven to be called general, where only five are so in deed, and seeing them also called canonical, which should seem to be a controlling of St Paul's epistles, left out that title altogether, as being no part of the text and word of God, but an addition of the stationers or writers.

Martin. Is it because they would follow the Greek, that they turn καθολικὴ "general"? Even as just as when they turn εἴδωλον "image," παράδοσιν "instruction," δικαίωμα "ordinance," σχίσμα "dissension," αἵρεσιν "sect," μυστήριον "secret," and such like; where they go as far from the Greek as they can, and will be glad to pretend for answer MARTIN, 5. Catholicæ.

Jacobus, Petrus, Johannes, Judas, Apostoli, septem epistolas ediderunt tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas: breves in verbis, longas in sententiis, ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione cæcutiat. Hieron. Epist. II. ad Paulinum. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 574. See answer to preface, p. 33.]

[[3] Καθολικαὶ λέγονται αὗται, οἱονεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. οὐ γὰρ ἀφωρισμένως ἔθνει ἑνὶ ἢ πόλει, (ὡς ὁ θεῖος Παῦλος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἢ Κορινθίοις) προσφωνεῖ ταύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῶν θίασος, ἀλλὰ καθόλου τοῖς πιστοῖς, ἤτοι Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πέτρος, ἢ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν Χριστιανοῖς τελοῦσιν. Œcumenii Argument. Cathol. Jacobi Epist. Opera, Vol. II. p. 439. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1631.]

of their word "sect," that they follow our Latin translation. Alas! poor shift for them that otherwise pretend nothing but the Greek, to be tried by that Latin which themselves condemn. But we honour the said text, and translate it "sects" also, as we there find it, and as we do in other places follow the Latin text; and take not our advantage of the Greek text, because we know the Latin translation is good also and sincere, and approved in the church by long antiquity, and it is in sense all one to us with the Greek: but not so to them, who in these days of controversy about the Greek and Latin text, by not following the Greek, which they profess sincerely to follow, bewray themselves that they do it for a malicious purpose.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* It is because we would have the Greek understood, as it is taken in those places, when we turn "catholic" general, *idolum*, image, *παράδοσιν*, instruction, *δικαίωμα*, ordinance, *σχίσμα*, dissension, *αἵρεσιν*, sect, *μυστήριον*, secret, and such like. And where you say, we would be glad for our word "sect" to pretend to follow your Latin translation, it is a fable. For in translating "sect," we follow the Greek as truly, as your Latin translation doth; which if it be true and sincere, as you confess, what devilish madness possesseth your malicious mind to burden us with such purposes, as no reasonable man would once imagine or think of, that we should use that term in favour of heresy and heretics, whom we think worthy to suffer death, if they will not repent, and cease to blaspheme or seduce the simple?

CHAPTER V.

Heretical Translation against the Church.

Martin. As they suppress the name "catholic," even so did they in their first English bible the name of "church" itself; because at their first revolt and apostasy from that that was universally known to be the only true catholic church, it was a great objection against their schismatical proceedings, and it stuck much in the people's consciences, that they forsook the church, and that the church condemned them. Whereupon very wilily they suppressed the name "church" in their English translation, so that in all that bible so long read in their congregations we cannot once find the name thereof. Judge by these places, which seem of most importance for the dignity, preeminence, and authority of the church. MARTIN, 1. Bib. 1562.

Fulke. How can we suppress the name "catholic," which the holy scripture never useth? As for the name of church, I have already shewed divers times, that for to avoid the ambiguous taking of that term, it was at the first less used, but never refused for doubt of any objection of the catholic church against us: the profession of which, being contained in our English creed, how could we relinquish, or not acknowledge to be contained in the scripture, in which we taught that all articles of faith necessary to salvation are comprehended? But we are content to be judged "by those places which seem of most importance for the dignity, preeminence, and authority of the church." FULKE, 1.

Martin. Our Saviour saith, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it[1]." They make him to say, "Upon this rock I will build my congregation." Again, "If he hear not them, tell the church; and if he hear not the church, let him be to thee as an heathen and as a publican;" they say, "congregation[2]." MARTIN, 2. Matt. xvi. Matt. xviii.

[1 οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Matt. xvi. 18. "I will build my congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops' bible. "I will build my church," Wiclif, Rhemish, Authorised.]

[2 εἰπὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Matt. xviii. 17. "Tell it unto the congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "Tell it to the church," Wiclif, Bishops' bible, Rhemish, Authorised version.]

Again, who would think they would have altered the word "church" in the Epistle to the Ephesians? Their English translation for many
Eph. v. years read thus: "Ye husbands, love your wives as Christ loved the congregation, and cleansed it to make it unto himself a glorious congre-
1 Tim. iii. gation without spot or wrinkle." And, "This is a great secret, but I speak of Christ and of the congregation." And to Timothy, "The house of God, which is the congregation of the living God, the pillar and ground of truth." Here is no word of "church," which in Latin and Greek is, *Ecclesia Dei vivi, columna et firmamentum veritatis.* Likewise to the
Eph. i. Ephesians again, "He hath made him head of the congregation, which
Heb. xii. 23. is his body." And to the Hebrews they are all bold to translate: "The congregation of the first-born," where the apostle nameth "heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God," &c.[1]

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* In the first English bible printed, where it was thus translated, Matt. xvi. "Upon this rock I will build my congregation[2]," the note in the margin is thus: "Upon this rock, that is, as saith St Augustine, upon the confession which thou hast made, knowledging me to be Christ, the Son of the living God, I will build my congregation or church[3]!" Was not this translator, think you, sore afraid of the name of "the church"? What other thing should he understand by the word "congregation" in all places by you noted, or in any like, but the church, as he doth here expound himself? And this translation, almost word for word, doth the bible you call 1562 follow.

[1 The versions of Tyndale and Cranmer render ἐκκλησία at Eph. v. 23, 24, 25, "congregation:" those of Wiclif, Geneva, Bishops' bible, and Authorised, render it "church." And also the same translation of ἐκκλησία is given by these several versions respectively at 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Tyndale and Cranmer also translate the word "congregation" at Ephes. i. 22.: all the other versions render it "church." At Hebrews xii. 23, Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, and the Bishops' bible, have it "congregation:" Wiclif, Rhemish, and Authorised version, "church."]

[2 *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam;* ut super hunc intelligeretur quem confessus est Petrus, dicens, *Tu es Christus filius Dei vivi;* ac sic Petrus ab hac petra appellatus personam ecclesiæ figuraret, quæ super hanc petram ædificatur, et accepit claves regni cœlorum. Non enim dictum est illi, Tu es petra, sed, *tu es Petrus.* Petra autem erat Christus; quem confessus Simon, sicut eum tota ecclesia confitetur, dictus est Petrus. Augustini Retractionum, Lib. I. c. 21. Opera, Vol. I. pp. 67, 68. edit. Bened. Paris. 1836.]

[3 Matthew's Bible 1537.]

Martin. So that, by this translation, there is no more church militant and triumphant, but congregation, and he is not head of the church, but of the congregation; and this congregation, at the time of the making of this translation, was in a few new brethren of England, for whose sake the name "church" was left out of the English bible, to commend the name of "congregation" above the name of "church." Whereas St Augustine telleth them, that the Jews' synagogue was a congregation, the church a convocation; and that a congregation is of beasts also; a convocation, of reasonable creatures only; and that the Jews' congregation is sometime called "the church," but the apostles never called the church "congregation." Do you see then what a goodly change they have made, for "church" to say "congregation," so making themselves a very synagogue, and that by the property of the Greek word; which yet (as St Augustine telleth them most truly) signifieth rather a "convocation"? MARTIN, 3. In Ps. lxxxi. in initio. συναγωγή. ἐκκλησία[4].

Fulke. A strange matter, that the church militant and triumphant should be excluded by using the word congregation, when by it nothing is signified but the congregation or church militant and triumphant; and that Christ should no more be head of the church when he is head of the congregation, where the difference is only in sound of words, not in sense or meaning. Your vain and ridiculous surmise, why the name of church should be left out of the bible, I have before confuted, shewing that in every bible it is either in the text, or in the notes. But St Augustine telleth us (say you) that the Jews' synagogue was a congregation, the church a convocation; and that a congregation is of beasts also, a convocation of reasonable creatures only. But St Luke in the person of St Stephen telleth us, (and Augustine telleth us as much,) that the synagogue of the Jews is called also *ecclesia*, which signifieth the church and congregation. FULKE, 3.

[4 The LXX. read in the first verse of the eighty-second Psalm, ὁ Θεὸς ἔστη ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν, which is translated by the Vulgate, "Deus stetit in *synagoga* deorum." Upon these words Augustine speaks as follows: "*In synagoga* populum Israel accipimus; quia et ipsorum proprie synagoga dici solet, quamvis et ecclesia dicta sit. Nostram vero apostoli nunquam synagogam dixerunt, sed semper ecclesiam; sive discernendi causa, sive quod inter congregationem unde synagoga, et convocationem unde ecclesia nomen accepit, distet aliquid; quod scilicet congregari et pecora solent, atque ipsa proprie, quorum et greges proprie dicimus; convocari autem magis est utentium ratione, sicut sunt homines. Augustini Enarratio in Psalmum lxxxi. 1.]

That *congregatio*, the Latin word, may be of beasts also, it skilleth not; for the church of Christ is called also a flock, and sheep of his pasture. But he that should say in English "a congregation of beasts," might be taken for as wise a man, as he that said "an audience of sheep." And whereas St Augustine telleth you, that the Jews' congregation is sometime called the church; what is the cause that you do translate it "the assembly," Acts vii., even as you do "the congregation of the idolatrous Ephesians," Acts xix.? But further (you say) Augustine telleth us, that the apostles never called the church "congregation." It is a world to see what foolish fetches you have to deceive the ignorant. Augustine sayeth, the apostles never called our assembly *synagoga*, but always *ecclesia:* and yet he is a little deceived; for St Paul calleth our gathering together unto Christ ἐπισυναγωγὴ, but *congregatio*, "a congregation," he saith not. And although he make a nice distinction between the words "congregation" and "convocation," yet all men which know the use of these words, will confess no necessity of a Jewish synagogue to be implied in the word "congregation" more than in the word ἐκκλησία, which of the Holy Ghost is used for an assembly or gathering together, either of Jews, Christians, or Gentiles. And therefore, it seemeth, the translator used the word "congregation," which is indifferent for all, even as the word *ecclesia* is used both in the Greek and vulgar Latin.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* If they appeal here to their later translations, we must obtain of them to condemn the former, and to confess this was a gross fault committed therein; and that the catholic church of our country did not ill to forbid and burn such books which were so translated by Tyndal and the like, as being not indeed God's book, word, or scripture, but the devil's word. Yea, they must confess that the leaving out of this word "church" altogether was of an heretical spirit against the catholic Roman church, because then they had no Calvinistical church in any like form of religion and government to theirs now. Neither will it serve them to say after their manner, "And if a man should translate *ecclesiam* 'congregation,' this is no more absurdity, than instead of a Greek word to use a Latin of the same signification." This, we trow, will not suffice them in the judgment of the simplest indifferent reader.

Confut. of M. Howlet, fol. 35.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* We need not to appeal to the later translations for any corruption or falsification of the former, no,

nor for any mistranslation. For seeing the Spirit of God (as I have said) useth the word *ecclesia* generally for a company of Christians, Jews, and Gentiles, the translator hath not gone from the truth and use of the scriptures, to use the word "congregation," which signifieth indifferently all three. Wherefore there needeth no condemnation, nor confession of any gross fault herein committed; except you will count it a gross fault in St Luke, to use the word ἐκκλησία without any scrupulosity for all three, as the translator doth the word "congregation," and you in two significations the word "assembly." Neither can your heathenish and barbarous burning of the holy scriptures so translated, nor your blasphemy in calling it the devil's word, be excused for any fault in translation which you have discovered as yet, or ever shall be able to descry. That stinking cavil of leaving out of the bible this word "church" altogether, being both foolish and false, I have answered more than once already. It is not left out altogether, that in contents of books and chapters, and in notes of explication of this word "congregation[1]," is set down. Neither could there be any purpose against the catholic church of Christ in them that translated and taught the creed in English, professing to believe "the holy catholic church." As for our hatred of the malignant antichristian church of Rome, we never dissembled the matter, so that we were afraid openly to profess it: what need had we then after such a fantastical manner (as is fondly imagined) to insinuate it?

Martin. But, my masters, if you would confess the former faults and corruptions never so plainly, is that enough to justify your corrupt dealing in the holy scriptures? Is it not an horrible fault so wilfully to falsify and corrupt the word of God, written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost? May you abuse the people for certain years with false translations, and afterward say, "Lo, we have amended it in our later translations"? Then might the heretic Beza be excused for translating instead of "Christ's soul in hell," his "carcase in the grave:" and because some friend told him of that corruption, and he corrected it in the later editions, he should nevertheless in your judgment be counted a right honest man. No, be ye sure, the discreet reader cannot be so abused; but he will easily see that there is a great difference in mending some oversights which may escape the best men, and in your gross false

MARTIN, 5.

See his New Test. in Latin of the year 1556, printed by Robert Steven, in fol. Acts ii. 27.

[1] *Congregation.* See No. 2.]

translations, who at the first falsify of a prepensed malice, and afterwards alter it for very shame. Howbeit, to say the truth, in the chiefest and principal place, that concerneth the church's perpetuity and stability, you have not yet altered the former translation, but it remaineth as before, and is at this day read in your churches thus, "Upon this rock I will build my congregation." Can it be without some heretical subtilty, that in this place specially, and (I think) only, you change not the word "congregation" into "church"? Give us a reason, and discharge your credit.

Matt. xvi. 18 Bib. 1577.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* You are very hardly, and in very deed maliciously, bent against us, that you will accept no confession of faults escaped, never so plainly made. As for corrupt dealing in the holy scriptures, and falsifying of the word of God, you are not able, no, not if you would burst yourself for malice, to convict us. And therefore look for no confession of any such wickedness, whereof our conscience is clear before God, and doth not accuse us. As for Beza's correction of his former translation, Acts ii. 27, if your dogged stomach will not accept, he shall notwithstanding with all godly learned men be accounted, as he deserveth, for one who hath more profited the church of God with his sincere translation and learned annotations, than all the popish seminaries and seminarists shall be able to hinder it, jangle of gross and false translations as long as you will. But "the chiefest and principal place, that concerneth the church's perpetuity," is not yet reformed to your mind. For in the bible 1577, we read still, Matt. xvi., "Upon this rock I will build my congregation." If Christ have a perpetual congregation, "builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, himself being the corner-stone," his church is in no danger ever to decay. Yet you ask, whether it can be without some heretical subtilty, that in this place specially, and (as you think) only, the word "congregation" is not changed into "church." It is an homely, but a true proverb: The good wife would never have sought her daughter in the oven, had she not been there first herself. You are so full of heretical subtilties and traitorous devices, that you dream of them in other men's doings, whatsoever cometh into your hands; yea, where you yourself can have no probable imagination what to suspect. And therefore we must give you a reason in discharge of our credit. For my part,

I know not with what special reason the translator was moved; but I can give you my probable conjecture, that he thought it all one, (as indeed it is,) to say "my congregation," or "my church." For what is Christ's congregation, but his church? or what is Christ's church, but his congregation? And yet, to put you out of all fear, the Geneva translation hath the word "church," that you make so great account of, as though it were not an indifferent word to the true church of true Christians and the false church of malignant heretics; being usurped first to signify the congregation of Christians, by a metonymy of the place containing for the people contained. For the etymology thereof is from the Greek word κυριακὴ, which was used of Christians for the place of their holy meetings, signifying "the Lord's house;" therefore in the northern, which is the more ancient English speech, is called by contraction *kyrke*, more near to the sound of the Greek word.

Martin. What shall I say of Beza, whom the English bibles also follow, translating actively that Greek word, (which in common use, and by St Chrysostom, and the Greek doctors' exposition, is a plain passive,) to signify, as in his annotations is clear, that Christ may be without his church, that is, a head without a body. The words be these in the heretical translation: "He gave him to be the head over all τοῦ πληρουμένου[1]. MARTIN, 6. Eph. i. 21. 23.

[1] The following extract from Beza's New Testament will serve to explain the matter in dispute in this and the two succeeding numbers: Ἥτις ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου. Ephes. i. 23. Rendered by Beza, "Quæ est corpus ipsius, et complementum ejus qui omnia implet in omnibus:" upon which he has this note:

Complementum, πλήρωμα, sive supplementum. Is enim est Christi in ecclesiam amor, ut quum omnia in omnibus ad plenum præstet, tamen sese veluti mancum et membris mutilum caput existimet, nisi ecclesiam habeat sibi instar corporis adjunctam. Hinc factum ut Christus interdum collective pro tota ecclesia capiti suo adjuncta accipiatur, ut 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, et Gal. iii. 16. Hinc etiam illud "in Christo," toties repetitum; quod multo expressius aliquid significat quam cum Christo, vel per Christum. Hinc factum ut diceret apostolus se in Christo, et Christum in se vivere, Gal. ii. 20. Hinc illa Christi vox, *Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris?* Quo etiam pertinet quod scriptum est, Col. i. 24. Hinc denique nostra spes omnis et consolatio proficiscitur. *Qui implet*, τοῦ πληρουμένου. Chrysostomus passive accipit, ut sit sensus, Christum prorsus impleri in omnibus,

things to the church, which (church) is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." "St Chrysostom," saith Beza, (he might have said, all the Greek and Latin ancient fathers,) "taketh it passively in this sense, that Christ is 'filled' all in all, because all faithful men as members, and the whole church as the body, concur to the fulness and accomplishment of Christ the head. But this," saith he, "seemeth unto me a forced interpretation." Why so, Beza?

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* That Beza translateth the participle, τοῦ πληρουμένου, actively, it is plain, both in the text of his translation, and in his annotations: but that he doth it to signify, that Christ may be without his church, that is, a head without a body, it is a shameless slander. His words, upon which you weave this cobweb, are these: *Omnino autem hoc addidit apostolus, ut sciamus Christum per se non indigere hoc supplemento, ut qui efficiat omnia in omnibus revera; nedum ut suppleatur a quoquam, nisi quatenus pro immensa sua bonitate ecclesiam dignatur sibi quasi corporis instar adjungere.* "This the apostle hath added altogether for this end, that we may know that Christ of himself hath no need of this supply, as he which worketh in truth 'all things in all;' so far it is, that he should be supplied by any body, but that of his infinite goodness he vouchsafeth to adjoin his church unto himself as his body." Who but the devil would find fault with this godly and catholic saying? wherein it is affirmed, that Christ, which according to the perfection of his divine nature needeth no supply, yet of his infinite mercy vouchsafeth to become head of his church, as of his body; so that he will not be counted perfect without it. Is this to say, Christ may be a head without a body? or is it for his benefit, or the benefit of his church, that he is the head thereof? But the more to lay open this malicious slander and impudent falsifying of Beza's words and meaning, I will set down his saying, going im-

id est, singulos fideles conferre ad Christi complementum, uti corpus ipsum ex singulis membris est compactum. Mihi videtur coacta ista interpretatio, [qui potius active istud accipio, edit. 1582, p. 231.] quum τὸ πληροῦσθαι pro πληροῦν Xenophon usurparit, Lib. VI. Hellen. et συμπληροῦσθαι pro συμπληροῦν Plato in Timæo. Omnino autem hoc addidit apostolus, ut sciamus Christum per se non indigere hoc supplemento, ut qui efficiat omnia in omnibus revera; nedum ut suppleatur a quoquam, nisi quatenus pro immensa sua bonitate ecclesiam dignatur sibi quasi corporis instar adjungere. Edit. 1556, p. 249.]

mediately before, upon the word πλήρωμα, which he calleth *complementum sive supplementum*, "a fulfilling or supplying:" *Is enim est Christi in ecclesiam amor*, &c. "For such is the love of Christ toward his church, that whereas he performeth all things to all men unto the full; yet he esteemeth himself as an unperfect head, and maimed of the members, unless he have his church adjoined to him, as his body. Hereof it cometh, that Christ is taken sometime collectively for the whole church, adjoined to her head, as 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13, and Gal. iii. 16. Hereof cometh also that phrase 'in Christ,' so often repeated, which signifieth something more expressly than with Christ, or by Christ. Hereof that voice of Christ, 'Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute me?' Whither also pertaineth that which is written, Col. i. 24. Finally, hereof proceedeth all our hope and consolation." How think you? is not this man willing to separate the church from Christ, the head from the body? O monstrous malices of godless papists! His exposition of the place being such, as you see, let us now examine what can be said against his translation: for a man must not translate falsely to make a true sense. It is alleged against him, that Chrysostom and all the Greek and Latin fathers take the participle passively. Beza confesseth it of Chrysostom, whom the later Greek writers commonly do follow. But the participle, being derived of the mean verb, may have either passive or active signification. But why doth Beza say, that the exposition of Chrysostom is "forced," which taketh it passively? He saith not in respect of Chrysostom's sense, which he himself followeth, and it is contained in the word πλήρωμα, but in respect of the grammar, that πάντα should be put absolutely without any word to govern it, seeing the participle of the mean verb may be taken actively, and govern πάντα, being the accusative case.

Martin. Mark his doctors whom he opposeth to the fathers, both Greek and Latin. "Because Xenophon" saith he, "in such a place, and Plato in such a place, use the said Greek word actively." I omit this miserable match, and unworthy names of Xenophon and Plato, in trial of St Paul's words, against all the glorious doctors; this is his common custom. I ask him rather of these his own doctors, how they use the Greek word in other places of their works? how use they it most commonly? yea, how do all other Greek writers, either profane or sacred, MARTIN, 7.

use it? What say the Greek readers of all universities? Surely, not only they, but their scholars for the most part, cannot be ignorant, that the use of this word and the like is passive, though sometime it may also signify actively: but that is so rare in comparison of the other, that no man lightly will use it; and I am well assured it would be counted a fault, and some lack of skill, if one now in his writings that would express this in Greek, "God filleth all things with his blessing," should say, πληροῦται πάντα: and, "The wine filleth the cup," ὁ οἶνος πληροῦται τὸ ποτήριον. Ask them that have skill, and control me. Contrariwise, if one would say passively, "All things are filled with God's blessing," "The cup is filled with wine," "Such a prophecy is fulfilled;" what mean Grecian would not say, as St Chrysostom here expoundeth this word, πληροῦται, using it passively?

πληροῦμαι.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* Mark how malice carrieth this man almost into madness. For who but a madman would think, that Beza opposeth profane writers to ecclesiastical doctors for understanding of the scripture? The mean verb πληροῦμαι, which the meanest grammarian in the world knoweth to be taken both actively and passively by the grammar rule *De verbo medio*, Beza proveth out of Xenophon and Plato that it is and may be used actively. Why not therefore in this place of St Paul, where both the sense requireth it, that one thing be not repeated twice without necessary cause, and the construction of the word πάντα calleth for it, which otherwise is left at random without any government? Seeing therefore we have the common rule of grammar, and the example of eloquent writers for use, I marvel what M. Martin meaneth to waste so many words about so clear a matter. No man that knoweth any thing doubteth, but that πληροῦμαι may be, and is often, taken passively: but seeing it is also found to be a verb mean, who need to be afraid to use it actively (having Xenophon and Plato for his warrant), yea, even in those examples you put, of God's blessing filling all things, or the wine filling the cup, if any man would speak so. But if, because the word is more usually taken passively, men would refrain so to speak; yet why should we think that St Paul did not use it actively? when the active signification is more agreeable, both with his words and with his meaning. But lest you should think Beza is alone, which taketh it actively, what say you to Philippus Montanus, one of your own profession? which in his animadversions upon Theophylact's translation, by him corrected, saith upon this place:

πληρουμένου· *qui adimplet, vel adimpletur, verbum enim est medium, passive autem videtur accipere Theophylactus:* "Which filleth, or which is filled; for it is a verb of indifferent signification, active or passive, but Theophylact seemeth to take it passively." What say you to Isidorus Clarius, who although in his text he readeth passively, yet in his note confesseth it may be taken either passively or actively? For this is his note: *Plenitudo ejus*] *per omnia enim membra adimpletur corpus Christi, quia omnia in omnibus implet, dum ipse agit in omnibus, vel per omnes homines hæc implet membra. Sive plenitudinem et complementum omne suum habet ipsa ecclesia ab illo, quia omnia in omnibus adimplet*[1]*:* "That is the fulness of him] for by all the members the body of Christ is filled, because he filleth all in all, while he worketh in all, or throughout all men filleth these members. Or else, the church herself hath all her fulness and accomplishment of him, which filleth all in all." These men, both papists, were as good Grecians (I warrant you) as M. Gregory Martin is, or ever will be; by whom if he will not be controlled, it were folly to press him with the judgment of our "Greek readers," which he requireth.

* *Martin.* "Yet," saith Beza, "this is a forced interpretation, because Xenophon forsooth and Plato," once perhaps in all their whole works, "use it otherwise." Oh, heretical blindness, or rather stubbornness, that calleth that forced, which is most common and usual; and seeth not that his own translation is forced, because it is against the common use of the word! But no marvel: for he that in other places thinketh it no forced interpretation to translate δέξασθαι "to be contained," which neither Xenophon nor Plato nor any Greek author will allow him to do, and ψυχὴν "carcase," and πρόγνωσιν "providence," and μετάνοιαν "them that amend their lives," may much more in this place dissemble his forced interpretation of πεπληρουμένου. But why he should call St Chrysostom's interpretation forced, which is the common and usual interpretation, that hath no more reason than if a very thief should say to an honest man, "Thou art a thief, and not I." MARTIN, 8. Receipere. Animam. Præscientiam. Pœnitentiam.

Fulke. I have shewed how it is enforced, because in taking the participle passively you must either be enforced to admit a plain solecism, where none needeth; or else you must hardly understand the preposition κατὰ to govern the accusative πάντα, as Montanus telleth you in Theophylact, FULKE, 8.

[1 Critici Sacri, Vol. VII. Pars II. p. 98.]

and as Œcumenius doth, and the sense will be no more than is contained in the word *complementum*: whereas by taking it actively, the wonderful goodness of Christ shineth toward his church; who although he needeth nothing to make him perfect, as Chrysostom saith, but supplieth "all things in all things," yet it is his gracious pleasure to account himself imperfect without his church, which he hath united to him as his body, in which he is not perfect without all his members.

As for your vain and tedious repetition, like the cuckoo's song, of Beza's misprisions, I will not stand so often to answer, as you are disposed to rehearse them: only I must admonish the reader of a piece of your cunning, that in repeating the participle you change the tense, and for πληρουμένου you say πεπληρουμένου, as though it were the preterperfect tense, which cannot be taken but only passively. I know the printer shall bear the blame of this oversight, but in the mean time it maketh a little shew to a young Grecian, that considereth it not.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* Is it forced, Beza, that Christ "is filled all in all" by the church? Doth not St Paul in the very next words before call the church
Eph. i. the fulness of Christ, saying, "Which is the fulness of him that is filled all in all"? If the church be the fulness of him, then is he filled or hath his fulness of the church, so that he is not a maimed head without a body. This would St Paul say, if you would give him leave; and this he doth say, whether you will or no. But what is the cause that they will not suffer the apostle to say so? "Because," saith Beza, "Christ needeth no such complement." And if he needeth it not, then may he be without a church, and consequently it is no absurdity, if the church hath been for many years not only invisible, but also not at all. Would a man easily at the first imagine or conceive, that there were such secret poison in their translation?

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* You should urge Beza with a Latin epistle, seeing you are so earnest in the matter. I have told you that the sense of Chrysostom is true, but not flowing easily from the words of St Paul. That Christ hath his fulness of the church, it is granted by Beza upon the word *plenitudo* or *complementum*, as you cannot be ignorant, if you have read Beza's annotations, as you pretend. But you charge Beza to say, that "Christ needeth no such complement." Beza's words are, as I have set them down before, *ut sciamus*

Christum per se non indigere hoc supplemento, "that we may know that Christ of himself needeth not this supply." Is this all one with that you report him to say? No, his saying was too long for your thievish bed, and therefore you cut off *per se,* "of himself," or "by himself." What say you? Dare you affirm that Christ of himself, in respect of his divine nature, hath need of any complement? That Christ hath had always a church since the beginning of the world, and shall have to the end, Beza doth plainly in an hundred places confess: neither can it be otherwise proved by this translation, nor yet by Beza's words "that Christ of himself is perfect and needeth no supply," but that it pleaseth him to become the head of the church, as of his body; which his divine and merciful pleasure seeing it is immutable, Christ cannot be without his church, nor the church without him. Yea, as Beza in plain words affirmeth, this is "our whole hope and consolation," that Christ esteemeth himself an unperfect head, and maimed of his members, except he have his church adjoined to him as his body.

Martin. Again, it cometh from the same puddle of Geneva, that in their bibles (so called) the English Bezites translate against the unity of the catholic church. For whereas themselves are full of sects and dissensions, and the true church is known by unity, and hath this mark given her by Christ himself, in whose person Salomon speaking saith, *Una est columba mea,* that is, "One is my dove," or, "My dove is one;" therefore instead hereof the foresaid bible saith, "My dove is alone;" neither Hebrew nor Greek word having that signification, but being as proper to signify *one,* as *unus* in Latin. MARTIN, 10. Bib. 1579. Cant. vi. 8. μία[1]. אַחַת

Fulke. He that hath any nose may smell that this censure cometh from the stinking puddle of popish malice. For he that saith "my dove is alone," Cant. vi. 8, doth a great deal more strongly avouch the unity of the church, than he that sayeth "my dove is one." For whereas Salomon sayeth in the verse going immediately before, "There are threescore queens, and fourscore concubines, and of the damsels without FULKE, 10.

[1 Μία ἐστὶ περιστερά μου. Canticles vi. 8. "Una est columba mea," Vulg. "One is my dove, one is my darling," Cranmer 1562, Bishops' bible. "My dove, my undefiled is but one; she is the only one of her mother, she is the choice one of her that bare her," Authorised version. "My dove is alone," Geneva, 1560.]

number;" if you add thereto "my dove is one," it may be thought she is one of those last mentioned. But if you say, as the Geneva bible doth, but "my dove is alone, and my undefiled is the only daughter of her mother;" now the church is excepted from all the rest of the queens, concubines, and damsels. And where you say, the Hebrew hath not that signification, I pray you go no further but even to the same verse, and tell me whether the sense be, that she is one of her mother's daughters, or the only daughter of her mother? Here therefore (as almost everywhere) you do nothing, but seek a knot in a rush.

MARTIN, 11. *Martin.* But we beseech every indifferent reader, even for his soul's health, to consider that one point specially before mentioned, of their abandoning the name of "church" for so many years out of their English bibles, thereby to defeat the strongest argument that might and may possibly be brought against them and all other heretics; to wit, the authority of the church, which is so many ways and so greatly recommended unto all Christians in holy scriptures. Consider, I pray you, what a malicious intention they had herein: first, that the name "church" should never sound in the common people's ears out of the scriptures; secondly, that as in other things, so in this also, it might seem to the ignorant a good argument against the authority of the church to say, "We find not this word 'church' in all the holy scriptures." For as in other articles they say so, because they find not the express word in the holy scripture; so did they well provide, that the word "church" in the holy scriptures should not stay or hinder their schismatical and heretical proceedings, as long as that was the only English translation that was read and liked among the people; that is, so long till they had by preaching taken away the catholic church's credit and authority altogether among the ignorant, by opposing the scriptures thereunto which themselves had thus falsely translated.

FULKE, 11. *Fulke.* We trust every indifferent reader will consider, that they which translated the Greek word *ecclesia,* "the congregation," and admonished in the notes that they did by that word mean "the church;" and they which in the creed might have translated *ecclesiam catholicam,* "the universal congregation," taught all children to say, "I believe the catholic church," could have no such devilish meaning as this malicious slanderer of his own head doth imagine. For who ever heard any man reason thus: This word "church" is not found in the scripture, therefore the church must be despised, &c.? Rather it is like (beside other reasons before alleged) that

those first translators, having in the Old Testament out of the Hebrew translated the words *cahal hadath*, and such other for "the congregation" (where the papists will not translate "the church," although their Latin text be *ecclesia*, as appeareth Acts vii., where they call it "assembly"), thought good to retain the word "congregation" throughout the New Testament also, lest it might be thought of the ignorant, that God had no church in the time of the Old Testament. Howsoever it was, they departed neither from the word nor meaning of the Holy Ghost, nor from the usage of that word *ecclesia*, which in the scripture signifieth as generally any assembly, as the word "congregation" doth in English.

CHAPTER VI.

Heretical Translation against Priest and Priesthood.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* But because it may be, they will stand here upon their later translations which have the name "church," (because by that time they saw the absurdity of changing the name, and now their number was increased, and themselves began to challenge to be the true church, though not the catholic; and for former times when they were not, they devised an invisible church;) if then they will stand upon their later translations, and refuse to justify the former; let us demand of them concerning all their English translations, why and to what end they suppress the name "priest," translating it "elder" in all places where the holy scripture would signify by *presbyter* and *presbyterium* the "priests" and "priesthood" of the New Testament?

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* If any error have escaped the former translations, that hath been reformed in the later, all reasonable men ought to be satisfied with our own corrections. But because we are not charged with oversights and small faults committed either of ignorance or of negligence, but with shameless translations, wilful and heretical corruptions, we may not acknowledge any such crimes whereof our conscience is clear. That we "devised an invisible church," because we were few in number, when our translations were first printed, it is a lewd slander. For being multiplied, as we are, (God be thanked!) we hold still that the catholic church, which is the mother of us all, is invisible, and that the church on earth may at some times be driven into such straits, as of the wicked it shall not be known. And this we held always, and not otherwise. Now touching the word *presbyter* and *presbyterium*, why we translate them not "priest and priesthood of the New Testament," we have given sufficient reason before: but because we are here urged afresh, we must answer as occasion shall be offered.

MARTIN, 2. *Martin.* Understand, gentle reader, their wily policy therein is this: to take away the holy sacrifice of the mass, they take away both altar and priest; because they know right well that these three, priest, sacrifice, and altar, are dependents and consequents one of another, so that they cannot be separated. If there be an external sacrifice, there must be an external priesthood to offer it, an altar to offer the same upon.

So had the Gentiles their sacrifices, priests, and altars; so had the Jews; so Christ himself, being a priest according to the order of Melchisedec, had a sacrifice, his body; and an altar, his cross, upon the which he offered it. And because he instituted this sacrifice to continue in his church for ever, in commemoration and representati of his death, therefore did he withal ordain his apostles priests at his last supper, there and then instituted the holy order of priesthood and priests (saying, *Hoc facite*, "Do this,") to offer the self-same sacrifice in a mystical and unbloody manner, until the world's end. Luke xxii. 19.

Fulke. In denying the blasphemous sacrifice of the popish mass, with the altar and priesthood that thereto belongeth, we use no wily policy, but with open mouth at all times, and in all places, we cry out upon it. The sacrifices, priests, and altars of the gentiles were abominable. The sacrifices of the Jews, their priests, and altars, are all accomplished and finished in the only sacrifice of Christ, our high priest, offered once for all upon the altar of the cross: which Christ our Saviour, seeing he is a priest according to the order of Melchisedec, hath an eternal priesthood, and such as passeth not by succession, Heb. vii. Therefore did not Christ at his last supper institute any external propitiatory sacrifice of his body and blood, but a sacrament, joined with the spiritual sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: which sacrament being administered by the ministers thereto appointed, the sacrifice is common to the whole church of the faithful, who are all spiritual priests, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, as much as the minister of the word and sacraments. FULKE, 2.

Martin. To defeat all this, and to take away all external priesthood and sacrifice, they by corrupt translation of the holy scriptures make them clean dumb, as though they had not a word of any such priests, or priesthood, as we speak of. Their bibles, we grant, have the name of priests very often, but that is when mention is made either of the priests of the Jews, or of the priests of the Gentiles (specially when they are reprehended and blamed in the holy scriptures); and in such places our adversaries have the name "priests" in their translations, to make the very name of "priest" odious among the common ignorant people. Again, they have also the name "priests," when they are taken for all manner of men, women, or children, that offer internal and spiritual sacrifices; whereby our adversaries would falsely signify that there are no other priests; as one of them late freshly avoucheth, directly against St Augustine, who in one brief sentence distinguisheth priests Whitaker's, p. 199. MARTIN, 2.

properly so called in the church, and priests as it is a common name to all Christians. Lib. xx. *de Civit. Dei*, cap. 10.[1] This name then of "priest" and "priesthood" properly so called, as St Augustine saith, which is an order distinct from the laity and vulgar people, ordained to offer Christ in an unbloody manner in sacrifice to his heavenly Father for us, to preach and minister the sacraments, and to be the pastors of the people, they wholly suppress in their translations; and in all places where the holy scripture calleth them *presbyteros*, there they never translate "priests," but "elders." And that they do observe so duly and so warily, and with so full and general consent in all their English bibles, as the puritans do plainly confess, and M. Whitgift denieth it not, that a man would wonder to see, how careful they are that the people may not once hear the name of any such "priest" in all the holy scriptures.

See the Puritans' Reply, p. 159, and Whitgift's Defence against the Puritans, p. 722.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Now you have gotten a fine net to dance naked in, that no ignorant blind buzzard can see you. The masks of your net be the ambiguous and abusive significations of this word "priest"; which indeed, according to the original derivation from *presbyter*, should signify nothing else but an "elder," as we translate it, that is, one appointed to govern the church of God according to his word, but not to offer sacrifice for the quick and the dead. But by usurpation it is commonly taken to signify a sacrificer, such as ἱερεὺς is in Greek, and *sacerdos* in Latin; by which names the ministers of the gospel are never called by the Holy Ghost. After this common acceptation and use of this word "priest," we call the sacrificers of the Old Testament, and of the gentiles also, because the scripture calleth them by one name, *cohanin*, or ἱερεῖς: but because the scripture calleth the ministers of the New Testament by divers other names, and never by the name of ἱερεῖς, we thought it necessary to observe that distinction which we see the Holy Ghost so precisely hath observed. Therefore, where the scripture calleth them πρεσβυτέρους, we call them, according to the etymology, "elders," and not priests: which word is taken up by common usurpation to signify sacrificers of Jews, gentiles, or papists,

[1 Quod autem cum dixisset, *In istis secunda mors non habet potestatem;* adjunxit atque ait, *Sed erunt sacerdotes Dei et Christi, et regnabunt cum eo mille annis:* non utique de solis episcopis et presbyteris dictum est, qui proprie jam vocantur in ecclesia sacerdotes; sed sicut omnes Christianos dicimus propter mysticum chrisma, sic omnes sacerdotes, quoniam membra sunt unius Sacerdotis. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei. Lib. xx. c. 10. Opera. Vol. VI. p. 944.]

or else all Christians in respect of spiritual sacrifices. And although Augustine, and other of the ancient fathers, call the ministers of the New Testament by the name of *sacerdotes*, and ἱερεῖς, which signify the ministers of the Old Testament; yet the authority of the Holy Ghost, making a perfect distinction between these two appellations and functions, ought to be of more estimation with us. The fathers were content to speak in Latin and Greek, as the terms were taken up by the common people newly converted from gentility; but yet they retained the difference of the sacrificing priesthood of the one, and the ministerial office of the other. This may suffice therefore to render a reason, why we use not the word "priest" for "ministers" of the New Testament: not that we refuse it in respect of the etymology, but in respect of the use and common signification thereof.

Martin. As for example in their translations, when there fell a question about circumcision, "They determined that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question." Acts xv[2]. And again, "They were received of the congrega-

MARTIN, 4. πρεσβυτέρους. Presbyteros.

[2] In Acts xv. 4, τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων is rendered, in the Vulgate, "ab apostolis et senioribus:" also, in verses 20, 22, 23. In verse 41, *seniorum* is used, though there is not any corresponding clause in the Greek. See also chap. xvi. 4.

πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, Acts xv. 2, is rendered thus in the different versions: "To the apostolis and preestis," Wiclif, 1380. "To the apostles and elders," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, and Authorised.

ἀπεδέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων. Acts xv. 4. "They werun resceyued of the chirche, and of the apostlis, and of the elder men," Wiclif. "They were received of the congregation, and of the apostles and elders," Tyndale, Cranmer. "They were received of the church, and of the apostles and elders," Geneva version, and Authorised.

Συνήχθησαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. Acts xv. 6. "And the apostlis and elder men camen 'togidre," Wiclif. "And the apostles and elders came together," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised. "And the apostles and ancients assembled," Rhemish version.

Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Acts xv. 22. "Thanne it plesid to the apostles and to the elder men with alle the chirche," Wiclif. "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole church," Geneva, Authorised version.

Οἱ

* The later bibles read "church."

tion,* and of the apostles and elders." Again, "The apostles and elders came together to reason of this matter." Again, "Then pleased it the apostles and elders with the whole congregation to send," &c. Again, "The apostles and elders send greeting," &c. Again, "They delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders." If in all these places they had translated "priests," as indeed they should have done according to the Greek word, it had then disadvantaged them this much, that men would have thought both the dignity of priests to be great, and also their authority in councils, as being here joined with the apostles, to be greatly reverenced and obeyed. To keep the people from all such holy and reverent cogitations of priests, they put "elders," a name wherewith our holy christian forefathers' ears were never acquainted in that sense.

Acts xvi.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* In all those places by you rehearsed, Acts xv. and xvi., your own vulgar Latin text hath *seniores*, which you had rather call "ancients" (as the French Protestants call the governors of their churches,) than "elders," as we do. That popish priests should have any dignity or authority in councils, we do flatly deny: but that the seniors, ancients, elders, or priests (if you will) of the New Testament, should have as much dignity and authority as God's word doth afford them, we desire with all our hearts. That "our christian forefathers' ears were not acquainted with the name of 'elders,'" it was because the name of priest in their time sounded according to the etymology, and not according to the corruption of the papists: otherwise I think their ears were as much acquainted with the name of "elders," which we use, as with the name of "ancients," and "seniors," that you have newly taken up, not for that they differ in signification from elders, but because you would differ from us.

Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν..... χαίρειν. Acts xv. 23. "Apostlis and elder britheren," Wiclif. "The apostles, elders and brethren, send greetings," Tyndale, Cranmer. "The apostles and the elders and the brethren send greetings," Geneva. "The apostles and elders and brethren," Authorised version.

παρεδίδουν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. Acts xvi. 4. "They delivered them the decrees for to keep ordained of the apostles and elders," Tyndale, Geneva. "They delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the apostles and elders," Cranmer, Authorised version.]

Martin. But let us go forward. We have heard often and of old time, of making of priests; and of late years also, of making ministers; but did ye ever hear in all England of making "elders"? Yet by these men's translations it hath been in England a phrase of scripture this thirty year; but it must needs be very strange, that this making of "elders" hath not all this while been practised and known, no, not among themselves in any of their churches within the realm of England. To Titus they make the apostle say thus: "For this cause left I thee in Creta, that thou shouldst ordain elders in every city," &c. Again, of Paul and Barnabas: "When they had ordained elders by election in every congregation." Acts xiv.[1] If they had said plainly, as it is in the Greek, and as our forefathers were wont to speak, and the truth is, "Titus was left in Creta to ordain priests in every city;" and, "Paul and Barnabas made priests in every church;" then the people would have understood them: they know such speeches of old, and it had been their joy and comfort to hear it specified in holy scriptures. Now they are told another thing, in such newness of speeches and words, of "elders" to be made in every city and congregation, and yet not one city nor congregation to have any elders in all England, that we know not what is profane novelty of words, which the apostle willeth to be avoided, if this be not an exceeding profane novelty. MARTIN, 5. Tit. i. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. Presbyteros. Bib. an. 1562. 1 Tim. vi.

Fulke. When you have gotten a bauble, you make more of it than of the Tower of London; for you have never done playing with it. It must needs be a clerkly argument that is drawn from the vulgar speeches of "making priests," and "making ministers." Those priests or ministers that are made among us, are the same "elders" that the scripture in Greek calleth πρεσβυτέρους, and the bishop's letters of orders, testifying of their ordination, call them by none other name, but by the name of *presbyteri*, which the scripture useth: which term though in English you sound it priests, elders, ancients, seniors, or ministers, which is the common people's word, FULKE, 5.

[1 καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. Titus i. 5. "And ordeyne preetis by citees," Wiclif. "And shouldest ordain elders in every city," Tyndale, Cranmer, 1539, 1562, Bishops' bible, 1514, Geneva; Authorised version.

Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiv. 23. "Et cum constituissent illis per singulas ecclesias presbyteros," Vulg. v. 22. "And whanne thei hadden ordeyned preestis to him bi alle citees," Wiclif. "And when they had ordained them elders by election in every congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer. "And when they had ordained them elders by election in every church," Geneva. "And when they had ordained them elders in every church," Authorised version.]

it is the same office which is described by the Holy Ghost, Tit. i., and in other places of scripture. As for the "profane novelty," wherewith this word "elder" is changed, we will consider of it in the next section.

MARTIN, 6. *Martin.* That it is novelty to all English christian ears, it is evident. And it is also profane, because they do so English the Greek word of *ordaining* (for of the word *presbyter* we will speak more anon), as if they should translate Demosthenes or the laws of Athens concerning their choosing of magistrates, which was by giving voices with lifting up their hands. So they do force this word here, to induce the people's election; and yet in their churches in England the people elect not ministers, but their bishop. Whereas the holy scripture saith, they ordained to the people; and whatsoever force the word hath, it is here spoken of the apostles, and pertaineth not to the people; and therefore in the place to Titus it is another word which cannot be forced further than to "ordain and appoint." And they might know, if malice and heresy would suffer them to see and confess it, that the holy scriptures, and fathers, and ecclesiastical custom, hath drawn this and the like words from their profane and common signification to a more peculiar and ecclesiastical speech: as *episcopus*, an "overseer" in Tully, is a "bishop" in the New Testament.

χειροτονεῖν. Acts xiv[1].

χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς

καταστῆσαι. Tit. i.

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* The name "elders," used in our translation, is neither more novel to English ears, nor more profane to godly ears, than the name "ancients," which your translation useth. And yet I think the apostle, 1 Tim. vi., spake not of novelty to English ears, but of that which was new to the ears of the church of God. But the word "elders" (I ween) must be profane, because we "English the Greek word of ordaining, as if we should translate Demosthenes or the laws of Athens concerning the choosing of magistrates." Doth not this cavil redound more against the Holy Ghost, to accuse his style of profaneness, which useth the same words for the ordering of priests, that Demosthenes or the laws of Athens

[1 Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν. Acts xiv. 23. "And when they had ordained them elders by election in every congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer. "In every church," Bishops' bible, Geneva, Authorised version. "Priests in every church," Rhemish version.

Καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. Titus i. 5. "Ordain elders," all the versions, except the Rhemish, which has, "Ordain priests."]

might use for choosing of their magistrates? But this word we "enforce (you say) to induce the people's election, and yet the bishop, not the people, elect our ministers." We mean not to enforce any other election than the word doth signify. Neither doth our bishops (if they do well) ordain any ministers or priests without the testimony of the people, or at leastwise, of such as be of most credit where they are known. Where you urge the pronoun αὐτοῖς, "to them," as though the people gave no consent nor testimony, it is more than ridiculous; and beside that, contrary to the practice of the primitive church for many hundred years after the apostles; as also that you would enforce upon the words καταστῆσαι, used by St Paul, Tit. i., as though that word of "constitution" did exclude election. That the word χειροτονία by the fathers of the church since the apostles hath been drawn to other signification than it had before, it is no reason to teach us how it was used by the apostles. Election is an indifferent thing: the election of bishops, elders, or priests, is an holy thing, the holiness whereof is not included in the word χειροτονεῖν, but in the holy institution of Christ, and authority by his appointment delivered by imposition of the hands of the eldership.

Martin. And concerning χειροτονία, which we now speak of, St. Jerome[2] telleth them in chap. lviii. Esai. that it signifieth *clericorum ordinationem*, that is, "giving of holy orders," which is done not only by prayer of the voice, but by imposition of the hand, according to St Paul unto Timothy, *manus cito nemini imposueris*, "Impose or put hands quickly on no man:" that is, be not hasty or easy to give holy orders. Where these great etymologists, that so strain the original nature of this word to profane stretching forth the hand in elections, may learn another ecclesiastical etymology thereof, as proper and as well deduced of the word as the other, to wit, putting forth the hand to give orders; and so they shall find it is all one with that which the apostle calleth "imposition of hands," 1 Tim. iv. 2 Tim. i.; and consequently, for

MARTIN, 7. Greg. Nazian. in titul. Ser. 1. 4, 5. [3] μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου χειροτονίαν, and ἐπίσκοπος ἐχειροτονήθη. Ignat. Ep. x. saith of bishops, βαπτίζουσι, ἱερουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθε-

[2] Plerique nostrorum χειροτονίαν, id est, *ordinationem clericorum*, quæ non solum ad imprecationem vocis, sed ad impositionem impletur manus; ne scilicet, ut in quibusdam risimus, vocis imprecatio clandestina clericos ordinet nescientes. Comment. Hieronymi in Isaiæ c. lviii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 432.]

[3] Gregor. Nazian. Edit. Paris. Morell. 1630. 1. 6. 7. The titles quoted are from 1 and 7.]

τοῦσι. χειροτονία. ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν.

"ordaining elders by election," they should have said, "ordaining or making priests by imposition of hands;" as elsewhere St Paul, 1 Tim. v. and the Acts of the Apostles, Acts vi. and xiii., do speak in the ordaining of the seven deacons, and of St Paul and Barnabas.

FULKE, 7. In Isai. lviii.

Fulke. The testimony of St Jerome, whom you cite, you understand not; for speaking there of the extension of the finger, which the Septuaginta translate χειροτονίαν, "and God requireth to be taken away," he saith: "Many of our interpreters do understand it of the ordination of clerks, which is performed not only at the imprecation of voice, but also at the imposition of hands, lest (as we have laughed at in some men) the secret imprecation of the voice should ordain clerks, being ignorant thereof." And so proceedeth to inveigh against the abuse of them that would ordain clerks of their basest officers and servitors, yea, at the request of foolish women. By which it is manifest, that his purpose is not to tell what χειροτονία properly doth signify, but that imposition of hands is required in lawful ordination, which many did understand by the word χειροτονία, although in that place it signified no such matter. And therefore you must seek further authority to prove your ecclesiastical etymology, that χειροτονία signifieth putting forth of the hands to give orders. The places you quote in the margin, out of the titles of Nazianzen's sermons, are to no purpose, although they were in the text of his homilies. For it appeareth not, although by synecdoche the whole order of making clerks were called χειροτονία, that election was excluded, where there was ordination by imposition of hands. As for that you cite out of Ignatius, [it] proveth against you, that χειροτονεῖν differeth from "imposition of hands;" because it is made a distinct office from χειροθετεῖν, that signifieth to "lay on hands": and so χειροτονία and ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν by your own author do differ.

MARTIN, 8. τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.

Martin. But they are so profane and secular, that they translate the Greek word πρεσβύτερος in all the New Testament, as if it had the old profane signification still, and were indifferent to signify the "ancients of the Jews," "the senators of Rome," "the elders of Lacedæmonia," and "the Christian clergy." Insomuch that they say, "Paul sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church," Acts xx.; and yet they were such as

had their flocks and cure of souls, as followeth in the same place. They make St Paul speak thus to Timothy: "Neglect not the gift," (so they had rather say than "grace," lest holy orders should be a sacrament,) "given thee with the laying on of the hands of the eldership," or, "by the authority of the eldership[1]," 1 Tim. iv. What is this company of "eldership"? Somewhat they would say like to the apostle's word; but they will not speak plainly, lest the world might hear out of the scriptures, that Timothy was made priest or bishop even as the use is in the catholic church at this day. Let the fourth council of Carthage speak for both parts indifferently, and tell us the apostle's meaning: "A priest when he taketh his orders, the bishop blessing him and holding his hand upon his head, let all the priests also that are present hold their hands by the bishop's hand upon his head." So do our priests at this day, when a bishop maketh priests; and this is the laying on of the hands of the company of priests, which St Paul speaketh of, and which they translate, "the company of the eldership." Only their former translation of 1562 in this place (by what chance or consideration we know not) let fall out of the pen, "by the authority of priesthood."

χάρισμα. Bib. 1579. 1577.

τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. Presbyterii.

Can. 3. in the year 436. Where S. Augustine was present and subscribed.

Fulke. We desire not to be more holy in the English terms, than the Holy Ghost was in the Greek terms: whom if it pleased to use such a word as is indifferent to signify the "ancients of the Jews," "the senators of Rome," "the elders of Lacedæmonia," and "the christian clergy," why should we not truly translate it into English?

FULKE, 8.

[1 Μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. 1 Tim. iv. 14. "Noli negligere gratiam, quæ in te est, quæ data est tibi per prophetiam," Vulg. "The grace which is in thee," Wiclif. "Despise not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee through prophecy, and with laying on of the hands of an elder," Tyndale, 1534. "Despise not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee through prophecy, with the laying on of hands by the authority of the priesthood," Cranmer, 1539, 1562. "Despise not that gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of hands by the eldership," Geneva Test. 1557. "Despise not the gift, &c. with the laying on of the hands of the company of the eldership," Geneva bible, 1560. "Despise not the gift, &c. with the laying on of hands by the authority of the eldership," Bishops' bible, 1584. "Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which is given thee by prophecy, with imposition of the hands of priesthood," Rheims. 1582. "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," Authorised version. "Despise not the gift," Edit. 1579, 1568.]

But I pray you in good sadness, are we so profane and secular, Acts xx., in calling those whom Saint Paul sent for out of Ephesus, "elders"? What shall we say then of the vulgar Latin text, which calleth them *majores natu*, as though they obtained that degree by years, rather than by anything else? And why do you so profanely and secularly call them the "ancients of the church"? Is there more profaneness and secularity in the English word "elders," than in the Latin word *majores natu*, or in your French-English term, "ancients"? Surely you do nothing but play with the noses of such as be ignorant in the tongues, and can perceive no similitude or difference of these words, but by the sound of their ears. But now for the word πρεσβυτέριον, used by St Paul, 1 Tim. iv., which we call the "eldership," or "the company of elders," I have shewed before, how it is used by St Luke in his gospel, chap. xxii., and Acts xxii. You say, we "will not speak plainly, lest the world should hear that Timothy was made priest or bishop even as the use is in the catholic church at this day." And then you tell us, out of the council of Carthage, 4 chap. that all the priests present should lay their hands on the head of him that is ordained, together with the bishop. We know it well, and it is used in the church of England at this day. Only the term of "eldership" displeaseth you, when we mean thereby the company of elders. But whereas the translators of the bible, 1562, called it "priesthood," either by priesthood they meant the same that we do by "eldership;" or if they meant by "priesthood" the office of priests, or elders, they were deceived. For πρεσβυτέριον signifieth "a company of elders," as it is twice used by St Luke, and oftentimes by the ancient writers of the church, both Greeks and Latins.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* Otherwise in all their English bibles all the bells ring one note[1], as, "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour."

[1] Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν. 1 Tim. v. 17. "Qui bene præsunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni habeantur," Vulg. "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, 1562; Bishops' bible, 1584, Geneva, 1560. "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour," Authorised version. "The priests that rule well, let them be esteemed worthy of double honour," Rheims.

And, "Against an elder receive no accusation, but under two or three witnesses," 1 Tim. v. And, "If any be diseased among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, and anoint him with oil," &c. Jacob. v. Whereas St Chrysostom out of this place proveth the high dignity of priests in remitting sins, in his book entitled, "Of Priesthood," unless they will translate that title also, "Of Eldership." Again, they make St Peter say thus: "The elders which are among you I exhort, which am also an elder, feed ye Christ's flock, as much as lieth in you," &c. 1 Pet. v.

τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Lib. iii. de Sacerdotio. περὶ ἱερωσύνης.

Fulke. In these three texts you triumph not a little, because your vulgar Latin text hath the Greek word *presbyter*. "The high dignity of priests, or elders, in remitting sins," we acknowledge with Chrysostom, in his book entitled "Of Priesthood:" which seeing it is περὶ ἱερωσύνης, we will never translate "eldership." But we may lawfully wish, that both Chrysostom and other ancient writers had kept that distinction of terms, which the apostles and evangelists did so precisely observe. In the last text, 1 Pet. v., your vulgar Latin saith, *seniores* and *consenior*, yourselves in English, "seniors," and "fellow senior." What trespass then have we committed, in saying "elders," and "fellow elder," or an elder also?

FULKE, 9.

Martin. Where if they will tell us, as also in certain other places, that our Latin translation hath *seniores*, and *majores natu:* we tell them, as heretofore we have told them, that this is nothing to them, who profess to translate the Greek. Again we say, that if they meant no worse than the old Latin translator did, they would be as indifferent as he to have said sometime "priests" and "priesthood," when he hath

MARTIN, 10.

S. Hierom readeth, Presbyteros ego compresbyter, Ep. 85. ad Evag. et in i. ad Gal. proving the

Κατὰ πρεσβυτέρου κατηγορίαν μὴ παραδέχου. 1 Tim. v. 19. "Adversus presbyterum accusationem noli recipere," Vulg. "Against an elder receive none accusation," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Geneva, Authorised version. "Against a priest receive not accusation," Wiclif, Rheims.

προσκαλεσάσθω τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. James v. 14. "Inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ," Vulg. "Let him call for the elders of the congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Let him call for the elders of the church," Geneva, Bishops' bible, 1584. Authorised version. "Let him bring in the priests of the church," Rheims. Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος. 1 Pet. v. 1. "Seniores ergo, qui in vobis sunt, obsecro, consenior," Vulg. "The elders which are among you, I exhort, which am also an elder," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Geneva, Authorised version. "The seniors therefore that are among you, I beseech, myself a fellow senior with them," Rheims, 1582.]

dignity of priests; and yet in Gal. iv. he readeth according to the vulgar Latin text, Seniores in vobis rogo consenior et ipse. Whereby it is evident, that senior here, and in the Acts, is a priest, and not contrary, presbyter, an elder.

the words *presbyteros* and *presbyterium*; as we are indifferent in our translation, saying "seniors" and "ancients," when we find it so in our Latin; being well assured that by sundry words he meant but one thing, as in Greek it is but one, and as both Erasmus and also Beza himself always translate it, keeping the name *presbyter* and *presbyteri*; of whom by reason they should have learned, rather than of our Latin translator, whom otherwise they condemn. And if they say they do follow them, and not him, because they translate not *senior* and *major natu*, but the word *presbyter*, or πρεσβύτερος, an "elder," in all places; we tell them, and herein we convent their conscience, that they do it to take away the external priesthood of the New Testament, and to suppress the name "priest," against the ecclesiastical, and (as now since Christ) very proper and usual signification thereof, in the New Testament, councils, and fathers, in all common writing and speaking; specially the Latin *presbyter*, which grew to this signification out of the Greek, in the foresaid places of holy scripture.

FULKE, 10.

Fulke. I have told you already, and you could not but know that it should be told you, that seeing we translate none otherwise than your vulgar Latin translator, we are no more to be blamed of falsehood, corruption, profaneness, novelty, than he is, who professed to translate the Greek as much as we do. But if we had meant no worse (say you) than he, we would have been as indifferent to have said sometimes "priest" and "priesthood," where he hath the word *presbyteros* and *presbyterium*. I answer, *presbyterium* he hath but once, and for that you have "priesthood" once, as you confessed before. And if the name "priest" were of the same understanding in common English that the word *presbyter* is, from whence it is derived, we would never have sought more words for it, than we do for the words "bishop," "deacon," and such like.

The words *presbyter* and *presbyterium* you confess that Beza doth always use: and so do we, when we write or speak Latin; but we cannot use them in English, except we should be as fond as you in your *gratis*, *depositum*, and such fantasies. And to tell you plainly, as our conscience beareth us witness, we will never dissemble, that we avoid that word "priest," as it is used to signify a sacrificer, because we would shew a perfect distinction between the priesthood of the law and the ministry of the gospel, between *sacerdos* and *presbyter*, a sacrificer and a governor of the church. And I appeal to your own conscience, whether, if the English

word "priest" were as indifferent as *presbyter*, and sounded no more towards a sacrifice than either *presbyter* or your own English words "ancient" and "senior," whether (I say) you would make so much ado about it, for to have it in all places of the New Testament, where πρεσβύτερος is in the Greek? But seeing your popish sacrificing power, and blasphemous sacrifice of your mass, hath no manner ground at all in the holy scriptures, either in the original Greek, or in your own Latin translation, you are driven to seek a silly shadow for it in the abusive acception and sounding of the English word "priest" and "priesthood." And therefore you do, in the second section of this chapter, in great earnest affirm, that "priest, sacrifice, and altar" are dependents, and consequents, one of another, so that they cannot be separated. If you should say in Latin *sacerdos*, *sacrificium*, *altare*, or in Greek ἱερεὺς, θυσία ἢ προσφορὰ, καὶ θυσιαστήριον be such consequents, we will also subscribe unto you: but if you will change the word, and say *presbyter*, *sacrificium*, *altare*, or πρεσβύτερος, θυσία, θυσιαστήριον, every learned man's ears will glow, to hear you say they are dependents and consequents inseparable. Therefore we must needs distinguish of the word "priest" in your corollary: for [if] you mean thereby *sacerdotem*, we grant the consequence of sacrifice and altar; but if you mean *presbyterium* [*presbyterum*], we deny that ever God joined those three in an unseparable band; or that *presbyter*, in that he is *presbyter*, hath any thing to do with sacrifice or altar, more than *senior*, or *major natu*, or ancient, or elder.

Martin. Insomuch that immediately in the first canons and councils of the apostles and their successors, nothing is more common than this distinction of ecclesiastical degrees and names, *si episcopus, vel presbyter, vel diaconus*[1], &c.: "If any bishop, or priest, or deacon" do this or that. Which if the protestants or Calvinists will translate after their manner thus, "If a bishop, or elder, or deacon," &c., they do against themselves, which make *presbyter* or "elder" a common name to all ecclesiastical persons, and not a peculiar degree next unto a bishop. So that either they must condemn all antiquity for placing *presbyter* in the second degree after a bishop; or they must translate it "priest," as we do; or they must make "elder" to be their second degree, and so put "minister" out of place. MARTIN, 11. See Can. Apost. Conc. i. Nic. Epist. Ignat. Conc. Carth. iv. Beza in 1 Pet. v.

[1 *Aut*, not *vel*, in Labbe, Vol. i. p. 52.]

FULKE, 11. *Fulke.* The distinction of *episcopus* and *presbyter* to signify several offices, we grant to be of great antiquity; albeit we may not admit the counterfeit canons of the apostles, nor the epistles of Ignatius, for such men's writings as they bear the name to be. We make *presbyter*, or "elder," a common name to all ecclesiastical persons, none otherwise than you do this word "priest:" for deacons with us are not called *presbyteri*, or "elders." As for the distinction of bishops' and elders' names, which the scripture taketh for the same, doth no more "condemn all antiquity" in us, than in you, who acknowledge that the scripture useth those names without distinction, in your note upon Acts xx. v. 28, where they are called "bishops," which before, v. 17, are called πρεσβύτεροι, which you translate "ancients," and expound "priests;" and thus you write: "Bishops or priests (for those names were sometimes used indifferently), governors of the church of God, and placed in that room and high function by the Holy Ghost." But it seemeth you have small regard to defend your own notes, so you might find occasion to quarrel at our words.

MARTIN, 12. *Martin.* And here we must ask them, how this name "minister" came to be a degree distinct from a deacon, whereas by their own rule of translation, "deacon" is nothing else but a "minister;" and why keep they the old and usual ecclesiastical name of "deacon" in translating *diaconus*, and not the name of "priest" in translating *presbyter*? Doth not "priest" come of *presbyter* as certainly and as agreeably as "deacon" of *diaconus*? Doth not also the French and Italian word for "priest" come directly from the same? Will you always follow fancy and not reason, do what you list, translate as you list, and not as the truth is, and that in the holy scriptures, which you boast and vaunt so much of? Because yourselves have them whom you call bishops, the name "bishops" is in your English bibles; which otherwise by your own rule of translation should be called an "overseer" or "superintendent:" likewise "deacon" you are content to use as an ecclesiastical word so used in antiquity, because you also have those whom you call "deacons." Only "priests" must be turned contemptuously out of the text of the holy scriptures, and "elders" put in their place, because you have no priests, nor will none of them, and because that is in controversy between us. And as for elders, you have none permitted in England, for fear of overthrowing your bishops' office and the Queen's supreme government in all spiritual things and causes. Is not this to follow the humour of your heresy, by Machiavel's politic rules, without any fear of God?

διάκονος. Diaconus.

S. Tim. iii. Bib. 1577. 1579.

Prebstre. Prete.

Fulke. Here I must answer you, that we have no degree of ministers distinct from deacons, but by vulgar and popular use of speaking, which we are not curious to control. Otherwise, in truth, we account bishops, elders, and deacons, all ministers of the church. It is no more, therefore, but the common speech of men, which useth that word, which is common to all ecclesiastical persons, as peculiar to the elders, or priests. Why we keep the name of "deacons" in translating *diaconus*, rather than of "priests" in translating *presbyter*, I have told you often before. The name "priest" being by long abuse of speech applied to signify sacrificers of the Old Testament, called ἱερεῖς, we could not give the same name to the ministers of the New Testament, except we had some other name, whereby to call the ministers of the Old Testament: wherein we follow reason, and not fancy; for it is great reason we should retain that difference in names of the ministers of both the testaments, which the Holy Ghost doth always observe. But you follow fancy altogether, imagining that "priests" only are put out of the text, because we have no priests: whereas we have priests as well as we have bishops and deacons; and so they are called in our Book of Common Prayer indifferently "priests," or "ministers." And where you say, we "have no elders permitted in England," it is false; for those that are commonly called bishops, ministers, or priests among us, be such "elders" as the scripture commendeth unto us. And although we have not such a consistory of elders of government, as in the primitive church they had, and many churches at this day have; yet have we also elders of government to exercise discipline, as archbishops, and bishops, with their chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, officials; in whom if any defect be, we wish it may be reformed according to the word of God. FULKE, 12.

Martin. "Apostles" you say for the most part in your translations (not always), as we do, and "prophets," and "evangelists," and "angels," and such like; and wheresoever there is no matter of controversy between you and us, there you can plead very gravely for keeping the ancient ecclesiastical words; as your master Beza, for example, beside many other places where he bitterly rebuketh his fellow Castaleon's translation, in one place writeth thus: "I cannot in this place dissemble the boldness of certain men, which would God it rested within the compass of words only! These men therefore, concerning the word baptizing, though used of MARTIN, 13. Beza in cap. 5. Mat. num. 25, &c. x. num. 2. In 3. cap. Mat. num. 11. Baptizo.

sacred writers in the mystery or sacrament of the new testament, and for so many years after, by the secret consent of all churches, consecrated to this one sacrament, so that it is now grown into the vulgar speeches almost of all nations, yet they dare presume rashly to change it, and in place thereof to use the word "washing." Delicate men forsooth, which neither are moved with the perpetual authority of so many ages, nor by the daily custom of the vulgar speech can be brought to think that lawful for divines, which all men grant to other masters and professors of arts; that is, to retain and hold that as their own, which by long use and in good faith they have truly possessed. Neither may they pretend the authority of some ancient writers, as that Cyprian saith *tingentes* for *baptizantes*, and Tertullian in a certain place calleth *sequestrem* for *mediatorem*. For that which was to those ancients as it were new, to us is old: and even then, that the selfsame words which we now use were familiar to the church, it is evident, because it is very seldom that they speak otherwise. But these men by this novelty seek after vain glory," &c.

Baptism.

Baptizo. Mediator.

FULKE, 13. *Fulke.* If in any place we use not the name of the "apostles," "prophets," "evangelists," "angels," and such like, we are able to give as sufficient a reason why we translate those words according to their general signification, as you for translating sometime *baptismata*, "washings," and not baptisms; *ecclesia* "the assembly," and not the church, with such like. Therefore as Castaleo and such other heretics are justly reprehended by Beza for leaving (without cause) the usual ecclesiastical terms; so when good cause or necessity requireth not to use them, it were superstition, yea, and almost madness sometimes, in translating to use them; as to call the Pharisees' washings "baptisms," or the assembly of the Ephesian idolaters "the church;" yet both in Greek and Latin the words are *baptismata, ecclesia.*

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* He speaketh against Castaleon, who in his new Latin translation of the bible changed all ecclesiastical words into profane and heathenish; as *angelos* into *genios, prophetas* into *fatidicos, templum* into *fanum*, and so forth. But that which he did for foolish affectation of fineness and style, do not our English Calvinists the very same, when they list, for furthering their heresies? When the holy scripture saith "idols," according as Christians have always understood it, for false gods, they come and tell us out of Homer and the lexicons, that it may signify an image, and therefore so they translate it. Do they not the like in the Greek word that by ecclesiastical use signifieth "penance," and "doing penance," when they argue out of Plutarch, and by the profane sense thereof, that it is nothing else but changing of the mind or amendment

εἴδωλον. Confut. of the Reas. fol. 35. μετάνοια. μετανοεῖν.

of life? Whereas in the Greek church *pœnitentes*, that is, they that were in the course of penance, and excluded from the church, as catechumeni and energumeni, till they had accomplished their penance, the very same are called in the Greek οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες.[1]

Fulke. That Castaleo "did for foolish affectation of fineness," you slander us to do "for furthering of heresy." And here again with loathsomeness you repeat your rotten quarrel of idols translated "images," which was to discover your abominable idolatry, cloaked under a blind and false distinction of images and idols. The word μετάνοια we translate "repentance;" as you do sometimes, when you cannot for shame use your popish term "penance," by which you understand satisfaction for sin, which in divers places you are enforced to give over in the plain field, and to use the term "repentance;" as in the fifth of the Acts[2]: "This Prince and Saviour God hath exalted with his right hand to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins[3];" likewise Acts xi., where the scripture speaketh of God giving "repentance to the gentiles." And when you speak of Judas, you say also "repenting him[4]:" so that the repentance of Judas, and that which God gave to Israel and to the gentiles, is uttered in one term; whereas else you have almost everywhere "penance," and "doing of penance." Where you say we make repentance nothing but changing of the mind, or amendment of life, you speak untruly; for not every changing of the mind is godly repentance, neither is only amendment of life all repentance: but there must be contrition and sorrow for the life past. That in the Greek church they that were *catechumeni*, and *ener-* FULKE, 14. Dionys. Ec. Heer. cap. 3.

[1 Martin appears to have had the following passage of the 19th Canon of the Council of Laodicea in his mind, when he wrote this: "Μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι. Quibus (catechumenis) egressis, orent etiam hi qui in pœnitentia sunt constituti." Ed. 1559. p. 34.]

[2 δοῦναι μετάνοιαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, Acts v. 31. "To give repentance to Israel and remission of sins," Rhemish Version, 1582.]

[3 Ἄραγε καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν ἔδωκεν εἰς ζωήν, Acts xi. 18. "God then to the Gentiles also hath given repentance unto life," Rhemish version, 1582.]

[4 ὅτι κατεκρίθη, μεταμεληθείς, Matt. xxvii. "Seeing that he was condemned, repenting himself," Rhemish version.]

gumeni, were called ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες, "such as are in repentance," it maketh nothing against the true use of the Greek word, as it is used in the scriptures. We know the discipline of the church appointed an outward exercise of praying, fasting, and other humbling, for a trial and testimony of true and hearty repentance, which was sometimes called by the name of repentance by a *metonymia signi*; which he that will enforce by that name to be parts of true and inward repentance, is as wise as he that will contend the ivy-bush to be a part of wine, because some men, seeing it hang over the house, will say, Lo, here is wine.

MARTIN, 15.

Martin. They therefore leaving this ecclesiastical signification, and translating it according to Plutarch, do they not much like to Castaleo? Do they not the same against the famous and ancient distinction of *latria* and *dulia*, when they tell us out of Eustathius upon Homer, and Aristophanes the grammarian, that these two are all one? Whereas we prove out of St Augustine[1] in many places, the second council of Nice, Venerable Bede, and the long custom of the church, that according to the ecclesiastical sense and use deduced out of the scriptures they differ very much. Do they not the like in *mysterium* and *sacramentum*, which

Latria. Dulia. Beza in 4. Mat. num. 10. λατρεύω and λατρεία[2] in the scriptures, almost always used for the service and honour proper to God. August. de Civit. Dei. li. x. c. 1.

[1 Hic est enim divinitati vel, si expressius dicendum est, deitati debitus cultus, propter quem uno verbo significandum quoniam mihi satis idoneum non occurrit Latinum, Græco ubi necesse est insinuo quid velim dicere. Λατρείαν quippe nostri, ubicumque sanctarum scripturarum positum est, interpretati sunt servitutem. Sed ea servitus, quæ debetur hominibus, secundum quam præcepit apostolus servos dominis suis subditos esse debere, alio nomine Græce nuncupari solet: λατρεία vero, secundum consuetudinem qua locuti sunt qui nobis divina eloquia condiderunt, aut semper, aut tam frequenter ut pæne semper, ea dicitur servitus quæ pertinet ad colendum Deum. Augustini de Civitate Dei, Lib. x. c. i. Opera, Vol. VII. p. 381.]

[2 Upon the 33rd verse of the 23rd chapter of Exodus, Augustine thus speaks: Hic Græcus δουλεύσῃς habet, non λατρεύσῃς. Unde intelligitur, quia et δουλεία debetur Deo tanquam Domino, λατρεία vero nonnisi Deo tanquam Deo. Quæstiones in Exodum. xciv. Opera, Vol. III. p. 711.

This distinction between the two words is frequently alluded to by Augustine: for instance, in his treatise against the sermon of the Arians, he says, "Et tamen, si apertissime legerent in sanctis scripturis Salomonem regem lignis et lapidibus jussu Dei templum struxisse Spiritui Sancto, Deum esse Spiritum Sanctum dubitare non possent, cui tanta religionis servitus, quæ latria dicitur, legitime exhiberetur in

they translate *a secret* in the profane sense; whereas they know how these words are otherwise taken, both in Greek and Latin, in the church of God? Did they not the like in the word *ecclesia*, when they translated it nothing else but "congregation"? Do they not the like in χειροτονία, which they translate, *ordaining by election*, as it was in the profane court of Athens; whereas St Hierom telleth them, that ecclesiastical writers take it for giving holy orders by imposition of hands? Do they not the like in many other words, wheresoever it serveth their heretical purpose? And as for profane translation, is there any more profane than Beza himself, that so often in his annotations reprehendeth the old translation by the authority of Tully and Terence, Homer and Aristophanes, and the like profane authors? yea, so fondly and childishly, that for *olfactum*, which Erasmus useth, as Pliny's word, he will needs say *odoratum*, because it is Tully's word. Bib. ann. 1562.

Fulke. In translating the scripture, we use the word "repentance" in the same signification that the scripture useth μετάνοια. In other ecclesiastical writers, we can nevertheless understand it as they mean it. Concerning that unlearned distinction of *latria* and *dulia*, we do rightly to shew out of profane writers that it is vain, and that the terms signify all one; and you yourself confess in your marginal note, that sometimes in the scripture λατρέυω and λατρεία FULKE, 15.

populo Dei, ut illi etiam templum fabricaretur; cum Dominus dicat, *Dominum Deum tuum adorabis, et illi soli servies:* quod in Græco est, λατρεύσεις." Cap. xx. also cap. xxix. Opera, Vol. VIII. pp. 980 and 987.

Again, in his treatise on the Trinity, cap. xiii. he says, "Maxime vero illo loco satis claret, quod Spiritus Sanctus non sit creatura, ubi jubemur non servire creaturæ, sed creatori: non eo modo quo jubemur per caritatem servire invicem, quod est Græce δουλεύειν, sed eo modo quo tantum Deo servitur, quod est Græce λατρεύειν." (Opera, Vol. VIII. p. 1164.) Other passages of a similar kind may be quoted; but these are sufficient to shew the opinion of Augustine.

On the other hand may be produced the following passages of scripture, to shew that it is doubtful whether there exists this nice distinction betwixt the two words. See Matt. vi. 24. Luke xvi. 13. Romans vii. 25; xvi. 18. Col. iii. 24. Gal. iv. 8. 1 Thess. i. 9. in which places δουλεύω is used for serving God. The two words are frequently used promiscuously in scripture: λατρεύω is applied to the service of men, as well as God. Compare Deut. xxviii. 48. Lev. xxiii. 7, where λατρεύω is used in a servile sense. In the whole of the 4th chapter of Galatians δουλεύω is applied to the worship of God. Nonnus interprets λατρεία by δουλοσύνη and δοῦλος: for, says Casaubon, that unsound distinction which confines λατρεία to God, and δουλοσύνη to angels, had not arisen.

do not signify the service and honour that is proper to God: as for δουλεύω, [it] is in more than an hundred places used for the service and honour proper to God. St Augustine, you confess afterward, knew well but one tongue; and therefore he is no meet judge of distinction of Greek words. Bede followeth Augustine's error. The idolaters of the second Nicene council were glad of a cloak for the rain, contrary to the property of their tongue; as is proved by Eustathius, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Suidas, and by later writers, no protestants, Laurentius Valla, and Ludovicus Vives. *Mysterium* we translate a "secret," or a "mystery," indifferently; the word signifying no more an holy secret, than a profane and abominable secret, as the "mystery of iniquity," "the mystery of Babylon." For the words *ecclesia*, and χειροτονία, we have said sufficiently, and very lately. To use Tully's words, when they answer the Greek as properly as any barbarous words, or less commendable words, I know not why it should be counted blame-worthy in Beza, or in any man, except it be of such a sycophant as liketh nothing but that which savoureth of his own spittle.

MARTIN, 16. *Martin.* But to return to our English translators: do not they the like to profane Castaleo, and do they not the very same that Beza their master so largely reprehendeth, when they translate *presbyterum* "an elder?" Is it not all one fault to translate so, and to translate, as Castaleo doth, *baptismum washing?* Hath not *presbyter* been a peculiar and usual word for a priest, as long as *baptismus* for the sacrament of regeneration, which Castaleo altering into a common and profane word, is worthily reprehended? We will prove it hath, not for their sake, who know it well enough, but for the reader's sake, whom they abuse, as if they knew it not.

FULKE, 16. *Fulke.* If it be as great a fault in us to translate *presbyterum*, "an elder," as for Castaleo to translate *baptismum* "washing;" your vulgar translator must be in the same fault with us, which so often translateth *presbyteros, seniores*, or *majores natu*, which signify "elders," and not "priests:" it is a vain thing therefore that you promise to prove, that "*presbyter* hath been a peculiar and usual word for a 'priest,' as long as *baptismus* for the sacrament of regeneration." For peculiar you can never prove it, seeing it is used in the scripture so often for such elders and ancients as you your-

self would not call priests. So that, if you did translate the whole bible out of your own vulgar Latin, you must translate *presbyter* thrice an "elder" or "ancient," for once a "priest."

Martin. In the first and second canon of the apostles we read thus: *Episcopus a duobus aut tribus episcopis ordinetur. Presbyter ab uno episcopo ordinetur, et diaconus, et alii clerici*[1]: that is, "Let a bishop be consecrated or ordained by two or three bishops." "Let a priest be made by one bishop." See in the fourth council of Carthage the diverse manner of consecrating bishops, priests, deacons, &c. where St Augustine was present and subscribed. Again, *Si quis presbyter contemnens episcopum suum*, &c.: "If any priest contemning his bishop," make a several congregation, and erect another altar, that is, make a schism or heresy, let him be deposed. So did Arius, being a priest, against his bishop Alexander. Again, "priests and deacons, let them attempt to do nothing without the bishop." The first council of Nice saith: "The holy synod by all means forbiddeth, that neither bishop, nor priest, nor deacon, &c., have with them any foreign woman, but the mother, or sister, &c., in whom there is no suspicion." Again, "It is told the holy council, that in certain places and cities deacons give the sacraments to priests. This neither rule nor custom hath delivered, that they which have not authority to offer the sacrifice, should give to them that offer the body of Christ." The third council of Carthage, wherein St Augustine was, and to the which he subscribed, decreeth, "That in the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, there be no more offered than our Lord himself delivered, that is, bread and wine mingled with water." Which the sixth general council of Constantinople repeating and confirming, addeth: "If therefore any bishop or priest do not according to the order given by the apostles, mingling water with wine, but offer an unmingled sacrifice, let him be deposed," &c. But of these speeches all councils be full: where we would gladly know of these new translators, how *presbyter* must be translated, either an "elder," or a "priest."

MARTIN, 17.

That presbyter hath signified a priest from the apostles' time, not an elder. Can. 2, 3, 4.

Can. Apost. 32.

Can. 40.[2]

Can. 3.[3]

Can. 14.[4]

Can. 24[5].

εἴ τις οὖν ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος[6].

Fulke. I think you have clean forgotten your promise so lately made. That this word *presbyter* hath always been peculiar for a "priest," you bring many testimonies, some counterfeit, some authentical, in which the name of πρεσβύτερος and *presbyter* is found; but that in all them it is peculiar

FULKE, 17.

[1 *Vel* tribus Episcopis. Et *reliqui* cleri. Canon xxx. Concilia edit. Labbe, Vol. I. p. 26, not. xxxii.]

[2 Can. xxxviii. Edit. Labbe.]

[3 Can. iii. Vol. II. p. 28.]

[4 Can. xviii.]

[5 Vol. II. p. 1170.]

[6 Can. xxxii. Vol. VI. p. 1157.]

for a "priest," you shew not at all. Some colour it hath of that you say, in the 14th canon of the Nicene council, and Carth. iii. c. 24, repeated Const. vi., where mention is made of sacrifice and offering; for so they did improperly call the administration of the Lord's supper, in respect of the sacrifice of thanksgiving that was offered therein. After which phrase also, they called the ministers ἱερεῖς and *sacerdotes*, "sacrificers." So they called that which indeed was a table of wood, an altar, and the inferior ministers Levites; by which it appeareth they did rather allude to the names used in the Old Testament, than acknowledged a sacrificing priesthood, that might as properly be so called, as the priesthood after the order of Aaron was. Sometime they used the name of "sacrifice" and *sacerdos* generally, for religious service, and the minister of religion, as the gentiles did. And hereof it is, that we read often of the sacrifices of bread and wine; and in the canon of Carthage by you cited, *Nec amplius in sacrificiis offeratur quam de uvis et frumentis*[1]: "And let no more be offered in the sacrifices, than that which is made of grapes and corn." This was bread and wine, not the natural body and blood of Christ. Wherefore these improper speeches prove not a sacrificing priesthood, whereby the natural body and blood of Christ should be offered in the mass, which is the mark you shoot at.

MARTIN, 18.

Martin. Do not all the fathers speak after the same manner, making always this distinction of "bishop" and "priest," as of the first and second degree? St Ignatius, the apostle's scholar, doth he not place *presbyterium*, as he calleth it, and *presbyteros*, "priests," or the "college of priests," next after "bishops," and "deacons" in the third place, repeating it no less than thrice in one epistle, and commending the dignity of all three unto the people? Doth not St Jerome the very same, saying, "Let us honour a bishop, do reverence to a priest, rise up to a deacon[2]?" And when he saith, that as Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, so are bishops, priests, and deacons in the church, for place

Ep. 2. ad Trallianos. τὸ πρεσβυτέριον. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι.

Comment. in c. 7. Michea.

Ep. 85. ad Evangelum. Epitaph. Nepotiani, c. 9.

[1 Vol. II. 1170.]

[2 Nolite credere in ducibus, non in episcopo, non in presbytero, non in diacono, non in qualibet hominum dignitate. ••••• Honoremus episcopum, presbytero deferamus, assurgamus diacono; et tamen non sereenus in eis: quia hominis vana, et certa spes est in Domino. Comment. Hieronymi in Michææ, c. vii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1549.]

and degree[3]; and in another place, speaking of the outrages done by the Vandals and such like, "Bishops were taken, priests slain, and diverse of other ecclesiastical orders; churches overthrown, the altars of Christ made stables for horses, the relics of martyrs digged up," &c.[4] when he saith of Nepotian, *fit clericus, et per solitos gradus presbyter ordinatur;* "he becometh a man of the clergy, and by the accustomed degrees is made," what? a "priest," or an "elder"? when he saith, *Mihi antè presbyterum sedere non licet,* &c., doth he mean he could not sit above an elder, or above a priest, himself as then being not priest? When he and Vincentius, as St Epiphanius writeth, of reverence to the degree, were hardly induced to be made *presbyteri,* did they refuse the eldership? What was the matter, that John the bishop of Jerusalem seemed to be so much offended with Epiphanius and St Jerome? was it not because Epiphanius made Paulianus, St Jerome's brother, priest within the said John's diocese? Ep. 60. apud Hiero. c. 1. Ep. 1. ad Heliod.

Fulke. Before the blasphemous heresy of the popish sacrifice of the mass was established in the world, the fathers did with more liberty use the terms of "sacrifice" and "sacrificing priests;" which improper speeches, since they have given occasion in the time of ignorance to maintain that blasphemous heresy, there is good reason that we should beware how we use any such terms, especially in translation of the scriptures. All the rest of the authorities you cite in this section, and five hundred more such as they are, speak of *presbyter* or πρεσβύτερος, which words we embrace: but of the English word "priest," as it is commonly taken for a sacrificer, or against this word "elder," they speak nothing; for in all those places we may truly translate for *presbyter* an "elder." FULKE, 18.

Martin. When all antiquity saith, Hieronymus Presbyter, Cecilius Presbyter, Ruffinus Presbyter, Philippus, Juvencus, Hesychius, Beda, *presbyteri;* and when St Jerome so often in his *Catalogue* saith, such a man, *presbyter;* is it not for distinction of a certain order, to signify that they were priests, and not bishops? namely, when he saith of St Chry- MARTIN, 19.

[3 Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumtas de veteri testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vendicant in ecclesia. Hieronymi Epist. c. i. ad Evangelum. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 803.]

[4 Capti episcopi, interfecti presbyteri, et diversorum officia clericorum. Subversæ ecclesiæ, ad altaria Christi stabulati equi, martyrum effossæ reliquiæ. Hieronymi, Epitaph. Nepotiani. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 274.]

sostom, *Joannes presbyter Antiochenus*, doth he not mean he was as then but a priest of Antioch? Would he have said so, if he had written of him after he was bishop of Constantinople?

FULKE, 19. *Fulke.* All this while here is nothing for the English word "priest," in that respect we avoid it in translation; nor against the word "elder," which we use, by which we mean none other thing than the scripture doth give us to understand by the word πρεσβύτερος. As for the distinction of *episcopus* and *presbyter*, which came in afterward, you yourself confessed, as we heard of late, that it is not observed in the scriptures; but the same men are called *episcopi*, which before were called *presbyteri*. And according to that distinction, you can allow but one bishop of one city at once: yet the scripture in divers places speaketh of many bishops of one city, as Acts xx., the bishops of Ephesus, called before *presbyteri*, "elders;" also he saluteth the bishops and deacons of Philippi, Phil. i., where your note saith, that in the apostle's time there were not observed always distinct names of either function of bishop and priest. Would you have us to translate the scripture with distinction of names which the Holy Ghost maketh not, nor your vulgar Latin observeth, nor you yourself for shame can observe? And if we should have translated for "elders" "priests," that distinction taken up after the apostle's times, or the writing of the scripture, had been never the more confirmed.

MARTIN, 20. *Martin.* But of all other places, we would desire these gay translators to translate this one place of St Augustine, speaking of himself a bishop, and St Jerome a priest: *Quanquam enim secundum honorum vocabula, quæ jam ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, episcopatus presbyterio major sit; tamen in multis rebus Augustinus Hieronymo minor est.* Is not this the English thereof? "For although according to the titles or names of honour, which now by use of the church have prevailed, the degree of bishop be greater than priesthood, yet in many things Augustine is less than Jerome." Or doth it like them to translate it thus, "The degree of bishop is greater than eldership," &c.? Again, against Julian the heretic, when he hath brought many testimonies of the holy doctors, that were all bishops, as of St Cyprian, Ambrose, Basil, Nazianzene, Chrysostom; at length he cometh to St Jerome, who was no bishop, and saith, *Nec sanctum Hieronymum, quia presbyter fuit, contemnendum arbitreris;* that is, "Neither must thou think that St Jerome, because he was but a priest, therefore is to be contemned; whose divine eloquence hath shined to us from the east even to the west, like a lamp;" and so

Inter Epistolas Hiero. Ep. 97. in fine.

Lib. 1. c. 2. in fine.

forth to his great commendation. Here is a plain distinction of an inferior degree to a bishop, for the which the heretic Julian did easily contemn him. Is not St Cyprian full of the like places? Is not all antiquity so full, that whiles I prove this, methinketh I prove nothing else but that snow is white?

Fulke. Of all other importune and unreasonable judges you are one of the worst, that would enforce us to translate the scriptures, which you confess observeth not the distinction of bishops and priests, according to the fathers, which do almost always observe it. If we should translate those sentences of St Augustine, we might use the word "priest" for *presbyter*, and "priesthood" for *presbyterium;* and if we use the words "elders" and "eldership," what offence I pray you were it, when by these names we understand nothing, but the same function and minister which Augustine doth? That *episcopus*, a "bishop," was of very old time used to signify a degree ecclesiastical higher than *presbyter*, an "elder" or "priest," we did never deny; we know it right well. We know what St Jerome writeth upon the epistle to Titus, chap. i. *Idem est ergo presbyter, qui episcopus*[1]. "The same man is *presbyter*, or an 'elder,' or 'priest,' which is *episcopus*, a 'bishop.' And before that, by the instinct of the devil, factions were made in religion, and it was said among the people, 'I am of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas,' the churches were governed by common counsel *presbyterorum*, 'of the elders.' But afterward, when every one thought those whom he had baptized to be his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world, that one *de presbyteris*, 'of the elders,' being elected, should be set over the rest, to whom all the care of the church should pertain, and the seeds of schisms should be taken away." This, and much more to this effect, writeth St Hieronyme of this distinction, in that place, and in divers other places; which nothing proveth that we FULKE, 20.

[1 Idem est ergo presbyter qui episcopus: et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ, communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur. Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus superponeretur ceteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret, et schismatum semina tollerentur. Comment. Hieronymi in Titum, c. i. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 413.]

are bound to translate *presbyter* in the scripture a "priest," and least of all, that we are bound in terms to keep that distinction, which the scripture maketh not, and the papists themselves cannot observe in their most partial translation.

MARTIN, 21.

Annot. in 1 Pet. v.

Martin. In all which places if they will translate "elder," and yet make the same a common name to all ecclesiastical degrees, as Beza defineth it, let the indifferent reader consider the absurd confusion, or rather the impossibility thereof: if not, but they will grant in all these places it signifieth "priest," and so is meant; then we must beat them with Beza's rod of reprehension against Castaleon, that "we cannot dissemble the boldness of these men, which would God it rested within the custom of words only, and were not important matter concerning their heresy! These men therefore, touching the word 'priest,' though used of sacred writers in the mystery of the New Testament, and for so many years after, by the secret consent of all churches, consecrated to this one sacrament, so that it is now grown to be the proper vulgar speech almost of all nations; yet they dare presume rashly to change it, and in place thereof to use the word 'elder.' Delicate men, forsooth!" (yea, worse a great deal, because these do it for heresy, and not for delicacy,) "which neither are moved with the perpetual authority of so many ages, nor by the daily custom of the vulgar speech can be brought to think that lawful for divines, which all men grant to other masters and professors of arts; that is, to retain and hold that as their own, which by long use, and in good faith, they have truly possessed. Neither may they pretend the authority of any ancient writer," (as that the old Latin translator saith *senior* and *seniores;*) "for that which was to them as it were new, to us is old; and even then, that the selfsame words which we now use were more familiar to the church, it is evident, because it is very seldom that they speak otherwise."

Beza's words in the place above alleged.

Prete. Prebstre. Priest.

Presbyter, for a priest. Baptismus, for the sacrament of baptism.

FULKE, 21.

Fulke. I see no impossibility, but that in all places where we read *presbyter*, we may lawfully translate "elder," as well as "priest," and make it still, in scripture, a common name to all ecclesiastical degrees, (at least, to as many as the scripture maketh it common,) without any absurdity or confusion. And albeit in the fathers we should translate it "priest," because they understood by the name *presbyter* a distinct degree from *episcopus;* yet the saying of Beza against Castaleo could not by any wise man be applied to us. For Castaleo changed the name of the sacrament *baptismus*, by which both the scriptures and the fathers uniformly did use to signify one and the same sacrament: whereas the name of *presbyter* in the scripture signifieth one thing, and in the fathers another. For in the scripture

it is taken indifferently for *episcopus*, and *episcopus* for *presbyter*: but in the fathers these are two distinct degrees. Therefore he is worthy to be beaten in a grammar-school, that cannot see manifest difference between the use of the word *baptismus*, which, being spoken of the sacrament, in the scriptures and fathers is always one, and of *presbyter*, which in the scriptures is every ecclesiastical governor, in the fathers one degree only, that is subject to the bishop.

Martin. Thus we have repeated Beza's words again, only changing the word "baptism" into "priest," because the case is all one: and so unwittingly Beza, the successor of Calvin in Geneva, hath given plain sentence against our English translators in all such cases, as they go from the common received and usual sense to another profane sense, and out of use: as, namely, in this point of "priest" and "priesthood." Where we must needs add a word or two, though we be too long, because their folly and malice is too great herein. For whereas the very name "priest" never came into our English tongue, but of the Latin *presbyter*, (for thereupon *sacerdos* also was so called only by a consequence,) they translate *sacerdos* "priest," and *presbyter*, not priest, but "elder," as wisely and as reasonably, as if a man should translate *Prætor Londini*, "Mayor of London," and *Major Londini*, not "Mayor of London," but "Greater of London;" or *Academia Oxoniensis*, "the University of Oxford," and *Universitas Oxoniensis*, not "the University," but "the Generality of Oxford;" and such like. MARTIN, 22.

See M. Whitgift's defence against the Puritans' Reply, p. 721, where he affirmeth that this word *priest* cometh of the word *presbyter*, and not of the word *sacerdos*.

Fulke. Beza's words agree to us, as well as German's lips, that were nine mile asunder. For if this English word "priest," by custom of speech, did signify no more than the Greek word πρεσβύτερος, we would no less use it in our translations, than "bishops" and "deacons:" which offices though they be shamefully abused by the papists, yet the abuse of the words maketh no confusion between the ministers of the law and of the gospel, as this word "priest" doth, by which the Jewish sacrificers are rather understood, than preachers of the gospel and ministers of the sacraments. But whereas the etymology of this English word "priest" cometh from *presbyter*, you charge us with great folly and malice, that for *sacerdos* we translate "priest," and for *presbyter* "elder." To this I answer, We are not lords of the common speech of men; for if we were, we would teach them to use their terms more properly: but seeing we cannot change the use of speech, we follow Aristotle's counsel, which FULKE, 22.

is to speak and use words as the common people useth, but to understand and conceive of things according to the nature and true property of them. Although, for my part, I like well of the French translation, which for ἱερεῖς, or *sacerdotes*, always translateth *sacrificateurs*, "sacrificers;" and for *presbyteri*, where they signify the ministers of the word and sacraments, *prestres*, "priests." But this diversity being only of words, and not of matter or meaning, reasonable men will take an answer; fools and quarrellers will never acknowledge any satisfaction.

MARTIN, 23. *Martin.* Again, what exceeding folly is it, to think that by false and profane translation of *presbyter* into "elder," they might take away the external priesthood of the new testament, whereas their own word *sacerdos*, which they do and must needs translate "priest," is as common and as usual in all antiquity as *presbyter;* and so much the more, for that it is used indifferently to signify both bishops and priests, which *presbyter* lightly doth not but in the New Testament. As when Constantine the Great said to the bishops assembled in the council of Nice: *Deus vos constituit sacerdotes*, &c. "God hath ordained you priests, and hath given you power to judge of us also." And St Ambrose: "When didst thou ever hear, most clement prince, that laymen have judged bishops? Shall we bend by flattery so far, that forgetting the right of our priesthood, we should yield up to others that which God hath commended to us?" And therefore doth St Chrysostom entitle his six books, *De Sacerdotio*, Of Priesthood, concerning the dignity and calling not only of mere priests, but also of bishops: and St Gregory Nazianzene, handling the same argument, saith, "that they execute priesthood together with Christ." And St Ignatius saith: "Do nothing without the bishops; for they are priests, but thou the deacon of the priests." And in the Greek liturgies or masses, so often: ὁ ἱερεύς, "Then the priest saith this and that," signifying also the bishop when he saith mass; and *St Denys saith sometime, *Archisacerdotem cum sacerdotibus*, "The high priest or bishop with the priests;" whereof come the words ἱερατεύειν, ἱερουργεῖν, ἱεράτευμα, ἱερατεία, ἱερουργία, in the ancient Greek fathers, for the sacred function of priesthood, and executing of the same.

Ruffin. lib. 1. c. 2.

Epist. 32. ad Valentinianum Imp.

Juris sacerdotalis.

In Apolog. pro sua fug. orat. 1.

Χριστῷ συνιερεύειν, Epist. 1. ad Hieronem. Sacerdotes.

ἱερεύς.

διάκονος ἱερέων.

ἱεράρχην σὺν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

*Ec. Hiera. c. 3.

MARTIN, 24. *Martin.* If then the heretics could possibly have extinguished priesthood in the word *presbyter*, yet you see it would have remained still in the words *sacerdos* and *sacerdotium*, which themselves translate "priest" and "priesthood;" and therefore we must desire them to translate us a place or two after their own manner. First, St Augustine speaking thus: *Quis unquam audivit sacerdotem ad altare stantem etiam super reliquias martyrum dicere, Offero tibi, Petre, et Paule, vel Cypriane?*[1]

Lib. 8. c. 27. De Civ. Dei.

[1] The passage of Augustine here referred to is incorrectly quoted. In the Paris reprint of the Benedictine edition it stands thus: "Quis

"Who ever heard that a priest standing at the altar, even over the relics of the martyrs, said, I offer to thee, Peter, and Paul, or Cyprian"? So, we trow, they must translate it. Again, *Nos uni Deo et martyrum et nostro sacrificium immolamus, ad quod sacrificium sicut homines Dei suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum, quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum. Ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi*[1]. We think they will and must translate it thus: "We offer sacrifice to the only God both of martyrs and ours, at the which sacrifice, as men of God they (martyrs) are named in their place and order; yet are they not invocated of the priest that sacrificeth. For he sacrificeth to God, and not to them, though he sacrifice in the memory of them, because he is God's priest, and not theirs. And the sacrifice itself is the body of Christ."

Lib. 22. Civ. c. 10.

So as he said before, I offer to thee, Peter, &c.

Fulke. Nay, "what exceeding folly is it to think" that an external sacrificing office can be established in the New Testament (which never calleth the ministers thereof *sacerdotes*, or ἱερεῖς), because men of later time have improperly transferred those terms unto the "elders" or "priests" of the New Testament! Certainly among so many names as the scripture giveth them, if sacrificing for the quick and the dead had been the principal part of their function, as by you papists hath been accounted, is it credible, that the Holy Ghost would never have called them ἱερεῖς, as well, yea, and rather than the "sacrificers" of the old testament? Seeing therefore the Holy Ghost had made such a broad difference between their names and offices, those ancient fathers that confounded those names, which the Spirit of God would have to be distinct, cannot be excused; although they

FULKE, 23, 24.

autem audivit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare etiam super sanctum corpus martyris ad Dei honorem cultumque constructum, dicere in precibus, Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane? Augustini Opera, Vol. VII. p. 349. Edit. Paris. 1838.]

[[1] This quotation also, as here given, differs from the Benedictine edition, where it stands thus: "Sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro; ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur, non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum; quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum. Ipsum vero sacrificium corpus est Christi, quod non offertur ipsis, quia hoc sunt et ipsi." p. 1073. At 'nostro' there is a various reading with this remark: "Hic editi addunt, *sacrificium immolamus:* quod abest a manuscriptis." V. Lectiones Variantes, p. 1288, upon the passage.]

never dreamed of the mischief that followed, that the altar of the cross being overthrown, and the only and sufficient sacrifice, which Christ our "high sacrificer" offered once for all, being judged imperfect, a new "altar," a new "sacrifice," and a new "sacrificing priesthood" should be set up in the stead of it. Wherefore the improper speeches of the ancient writers are no warrant for us, either to translate the scripture according to their improper speaking, or to set up a new sacrifice and function of sacrificing contrary to their meaning. They named "sacrifice" and "offering," but they meant not propitiatory sacrifice, but only of prayers, or praises and giving of thanks. They named ἱερεῖς and *sacerdotes*, but they meant, according to the general etymology of those words, such as were occupied in distributing holy things; not such as should verily sacrifice the body of Christ again to his Father, but offer the sacrifice of thanksgiving in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which after a certain manner, as St Augustine saith, is called the body of Christ, when indeed it is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And it is called the "sacrificing" of the body of Christ, not in truth of the thing, but a signifying mystery, as Gracian citeth out of Jerome.

Epist. 23. Bonifac. De consecr. distinct. 2. cap. hoc est, et glossa ibidem cœlestis[1].

MARTIN, 25. *Martin.* Likewise when St Ambrose saith, "The consecration (of the body of Christ) with what words is it, and by whose speech? Of our Lord Jesus. For in the rest that is said, there is praise given to God, prayer made for the people, for kings, and others; but when it cometh that the venerable sacrament must be consecrated, now the priest useth not his own words, but he useth the words of Christ[2]." And St

Lib. de Sac. c. 4.

Sacerdos.

[1 Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Nihil est autem aliud credere, quam fidem habere. Augustini Epist. ad Bonifacium. Epist. XCVIII. c. ix. ordo novus. Opera, Vol. II. p. 400.]

[2 Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur in superioribus, a sacerdote dicuntur, laudes Deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ambrosii de Sacramentis, Lib. IV. c. iv. Opera, Vol. II. p. 368.]

Chrysostom in very many places saith: "The sacred oblation itself, whether Peter, or Paul, or any meaner priest whatsoever offer it, is the very same that Christ gave unto his disciples, and which now the priests do make or consecrate. Why so, I pray thee? because not men do sanctify this, but Christ himself, which before consecrated the same[3]." And again: "It is not man that maketh the body and blood of Christ, but he that was crucified for us, Christ; the words are uttered by the priest's mouth, and by God's power and grace are the things proposed consecrated. For this, saith he, 'is my body[4].' With this word are the things proposed consecrated." Hom. 2. in 2. Tim. Sacerdos. Sacerdote. Sacerdotis.

Fulke. These testimonies are heaped up without any need, for the improper usage of these words ἱερεὺς, or *sacerdos*, in the ancient writers we do acknowledge: but in the holy scripture you are not able to bring one place where *presbyteri* of the New Testament are called *sacerdotes*, or ἱερεῖς. Wherefore of the improper applying of these names to the ministers of the New Testament, can follow no consequence of external "sacrifice," or "altar," which you urge, except "sacrifice" and "altar" be likewise used improperly, as where the table is called "an altar," the bread and wine "a sacrifice," as in Irenæus[5], lib. IV. cap. XXXII. where also he saith, that the "sacrifices" do not sanctify the man, but the conscience of the man being pure sanctifieth the "sacrifice," and causeth God to accept it as of a friend, cap. XXXIV.: FULKE, 25.

[3 Ἡ προσφορὰ ἡ αὐτή ἐστι, κἂν ὁ τυχὼν προσενέγκῃ, κἂν Παῦλος, κἂν Πέτρος, ἡ αὐτή ἐστιν, ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ ἣν νῦν οἱ ἱερεῖς ποιοῦσιν· οὐδὲν αὕτη ἐλάττων ἐκείνης, ὅτι καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἁγιάζουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ ἐκείνην ἁγίασας. Chrysost. in 2 Epist. ad Timoth. c. i. Hom. ii. . Opera, Vol. XI. p. 671. Edit. Montfaucon, Par. 1734.]

[4 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός. σχῆμα πληρῶν ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι. τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά, φησι. Chrysost. de Proditione Judæ, Hom. I. Opera, Vol. II. p. 384.]

[5 Quoniam autem non indigens Deus servitute eorum, sed propter ipsos quasdam observantias in lege præceperit, plenissime prophetæ indicant. Et rursus quoniam non indiget Deus oblatione eorum, sed propter ipsum qui offerat hominem, manifeste Dominus docuit, quemadmodum ostendimus. Irenæi, Lib. IV. Contra Hæres. c. XVII. Opera, p. 247.

Igitur ecclesiæ oblatio, quam Dominus docuit offerri in universo mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est apud Deum, et acceptum est

which cannot in anywise be true of the natural body of Christ.

MARTIN, 26. Presbyteri.

Martin. And so by these places, where themselves translate *sacerdos* a "priest," they may learn also how to translate *presbyteros* in St Jerome, saying the very same thing, "that at their prayers the body and blood of our Lord is made;" and in another place, "that with their sacred mouth they make our Lord's body." Likewise when they read St Ambrose[1] against the Novatians, that God hath granted licence to his priests to release and forgive as well great sins as little, without exception; and in the Ecclesiastical History[2], how the Novatian heretics taught that such as were fallen into great sins, should not ask for remission of the priest, but of God only: they may learn how to translate *presbyteros* in St Jerome[3], and in the Ecclesiastical History, where the one saith thus: *Episcopus et presbyter, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus;* and the other speaketh, *de presbytero pœnitentiario*, of an extraordinary priest, that heard confessions and enjoined penance, who afterward was taken away, and the people went to divers ghostly fathers, as before. And especially St Chrysostom[4] will make them

Sacerdotibus.

Sacerdote.

Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16.

Socrat. lib. 5. c. 19.

ei: non quod indigeat a nobis sacrificium, sed quoniam is qui offert, glorificatur ipse in eo quod offert, si acceptetur munus ejus. Irenæi, Lib. IV. Contra Hæreses. c. xviii. p. 250. Edit. Paris, 1710.]

[1 Similiter impossibile videbatur per pœnitentiam peccata dimitti; concessit hoc Christus apostolis suis, quod ab apostolis ad sacerdotum officia transmissum est. Ambrosii de Pœnitent. Lib. II. c. ii. Opera, Vol. II. p. 419.]

[2 Sed aiunt se, exceptis gravioribus criminibus, relaxare veniam levioribus. Non hoc quidem auctor vestri erroris Novitianus, qui nemini pœnitentiam dandam putavit; ea scilicet contemplatione, ut quod ipse non posset solvere, non ligaret, ne ligando sperari a se faceret solutionem. In eo igitur patrem vestrum propria damnatis sententia, qui distinctionem peccatorum facitis, quæ solvenda a vobis putetis, et quæ sine remedio esse arbitremini: sed Deus distinctionem non facit, qui misericordiam suam promisit omnibus, et relaxandi licentiam sacerdotibus suis sine ulla exceptione concessit. Ambrosii de Pœnitent. Lib. I. c. iii. Opera, Vol. II. p. 393.]

[3 Dupliciter vero sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur: vel spiritualis illa atque divina, de qua ipse dixit, *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere potus; et, Nisi manducaveritis carnem meum, et sanguinem meum biberitis, non habebitis vitam æternam:* vel caro et sanguis, quæ crucifixa est, et qui militis effusus est lancea. Comment. Hieronymi in Epist. ad Ephes. c. i. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 328.]

[4 Εἶχον ἐξουσίαν οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς· καὶ οἶσθα πῶς περιμάχητον ἦν τὸ τῶν ἱερέων τότε; οὗτοι δὲ οὐ λέπραν σώματος, ἀλλ' ἀκαθαρσίαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν δοκιμάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάττειν παντελῶς ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν. ὥστε οἱ τούτων ὑπερορῶντες πολλῷ καὶ τῶν περὶ Δαθὰν εἶεν

understand what these *presbyteri* were, and how they are to be called in English, who telleth them in their own word, that *sacerdotes*, "the priests of the new law, have power, not only to know, but to purge the filth of the soul; therefore whosoever despiseth them, is more worthy to be punished than the rebel Dathan and his complices." Lib. 3. de Sacerd.

Fulke. Where St Jerome useth the word *presbyteri*, we will make no great curtesy to translate "priests;" knowing that when he saith, at their prayers "the body and blood of Christ is made," he meaneth the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, as he himself saith in another place: *Dupliciter sanguis Christi et caro intelligitur;* "The blood and flesh of Christ is understood two manner of ways," either that spiritual and divine, whereof he himself said, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed; and except ye shall eat my flesh and drink my blood, you shall not have eternal life;' or else the flesh and blood which was crucified, and which was shed by the spear of the soldier." This and such other places teach us to understand St Jerome, if he speak any where obscurely or improperly of the mystery of our Lord's supper. We grant with Ambrose, that God hath given authority to all the ministers of the word to remit all sins that be remissible. But this do not you grant; for you reserve some to the bishops, and some to the pope alone to remit: wherein you go clean against Ambrose, who favoureth you not so much by the term *sacerdos*, which you say he useth, as he condemneth your partial and popish reservation of cases, when he alloweth every priest to forgive as well great sins as little, without exception. St Jerome you cite at large, as it seemeth, to insinuate auricular confession: but the whole saying you liked not, because it sheweth how they forgive sins. It is written in Matt. Lib. III. cap. 16. upon those words spoken to Peter, "Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," &c. *Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes*[5], &c. "This place FULKE, 26.

ἐναγέστεροι, καὶ μείζονος ἄξιοι τιμωρίας. Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, Lib. III. Opera, Vol. I. p. 284.]

[5 Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio: ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur; quum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæratur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis, ubi jubentur, ut ostendant se sacerdotibus; et si lepram habuerint, tunc

bishops and priests not understanding, take upon them somewhat of the pride of the Pharisees: so that they think they may either condemn the innocents, or loose the guilty persons: whereas with God, not the sentence of the priests, but the life of the persons accused is inquired of. We read in Leviticus of the lepers, where they are commanded to shew themselves to the priests; and if they have the leprosy, then by the priest they are made unclean: not that priests make lepers and unclean persons, but that they may have knowledge of him that is a leper, and him that is no leper; and may discern who is clean or who is unclean. Therefore even as the priest doth there make the leper clean or unclean; so here also the bishop and priest doth bind or loose, not them that be innocent or guilty, but according to his office, when he shall hear the variety of sinners, he knoweth who is to be bound, and who is to be loosed." But where you say, the people went to diverse ghostly fathers, as before, when that extraordinary penitentiary priest was taken away for the adultery of a deacon at Constantinople[1]; you speak beside the book, to make the ignorant believe that the people went to auricular shrift. For in Constantinople, where this privy confession was taken away, the people were left to their own consciences. At Rome, the same time, great offenders did open penance, neither were there any such diverse ghostly fathers, as you speak of. That Chrysostom saith, Lib. III. *de sacerdotio*, we receive it, being so understood, as it be not contrary to that I cited even now out of Jerome. But what maketh all this against translating *presbyter* "an elder"?

MARTIN, 27. Heb. xii.

Martin. Now then, to conclude this point, seeing we have such a cloud of witnesses, as the apostle speaketh, even from Christ's time, that testify not only for the name, but for the very principal functions

a sacerdote immundi fiant: non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos; sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus, quive immundus sit. Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit; sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii; sed pro officio suo, quum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus. Comment. Hieronymi in Matth. c. xvi. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 75.]

[1] See Socrates, Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. xix. Sozomen. VII. xvi.]

of external priesthood, in offering the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, in remitting sins, and so forth; what a peevish, malicious, and impudent corruption is this, for the defacing of the testimonies of the holy scriptures tending thereunto, to seek to scratch advantage of the word *presbyter*, and to make it signify an "elder," not a "priest;" *presbyterium*, "eldership," rather than "priesthood:" as if other new-fangled companions, that would forge an heresy that there were no apostles, should for that purpose translate it always "legates;" or that there were no angels, and should translate it always "messengers;" and that baptism were but a Judaical ceremony, and should translate it "washing;" which Castaleo did much more tolerably in his translation than any of these should, if he did it only of curiosity and folly. And if to take away all distinction of "clergy" and "laity," the protestants should always translate *clerum* "lot" or "lottery," as they do translate it for the same purpose "parish" and "heritage;" might not Beza himself control them, saying, "that the ancient fathers transferred the name *clerus* to the college of ecclesiastical ministers"? Clerus. • In 1 Pet. v. See S. Hier. ad Nepot. de vit. Clericorum, Ep. 2. c. 5.

Fulke. A cloud of testimonies indeed you have heaped together, not, as the apostle did, to uphold the certainty of faith, but to obscure the light of truth. For our translation of πρεσβύτερος "an elder" is true, clear and plain, without ambiguity: insomuch as the vulgar Latin interpreter, who (as it seemeth) was a Grecian, and therefore useth gladly many Greek terms, doth yet translate this word almost twice as often *senior*, or *major natu*, as he doth *presbyter*, when he speaketh of the ministers of the gospel. How the ancient writers applied unto them improperly the name of "sacrificer," as unto the sacrament the name of "oblation" or "sacrifice," I have spoken already sufficiently. Our translation therefore is nothing like your vain supposal of new-fangled companions, which to deny "apostles," "angels," and "baptism," would turn the words into "legates," "messengers," and "washing." Whereas we have no purpose to deny any office or function of the church appointed by Christ, but to distinguish in name, as his Spirit in the scriptures doth always, the sacrificers of the Old Testament from the ministers of the New Testament. The word *clerus*, 1 Pet. v. which we translate "parish" or "heritage," yourselves in your notes of that place confess to comprehend in signification "all Christians," which you are not able to prove, that in St Peter's time it was transferred unto the "college of ecclesiastical ministers," as Beza saith it was afterward: wherefore it is one of your accustomed slanders, to say we translate it so of purpose to take away FULKE, 27.

all distinction of clergy and laity; when all men know, that wheresoever our churches are established, we retain the distinction, and so think it necessary always.

MARTIN, 28. *Martin.* But, alas! the effect of this corruption and heresy concerning priests, hath it not wrought within these few years such contempt of all priests, that nothing is more odious in our country than that name; which before was so honourable and venerable, and now is among all good men? If "ministry" or "eldership" were grown to estimation instead thereof, somewhat they had to say: but that is yet more contemptible, and especially "elders" and "eldership;" for the queen's majesty and her councillors will permit none in government of any church in England; and so they have brought all to nothing else but profane laity. And no marvel of these horrible inconveniences: for as the sacrifice and priesthood go together, and therefore were both honourable together; so when they had, according to Daniel's prophecy, abolished the daily sacrifice out of the church, what remained, but the contempt of priests and clergy, and their offices? so far forth, that for the holy sacrifice' sake priests are called in great despite "massing priests," of them that little consider, or less care, what notable holy learned fathers of all ages since Christ's time this their reproach toucheth and concerneth, as by the testimonies before alleged is manifest, and whereof the reader may see a peculiar chapter in the late Apology of the English Seminaries.

CHAP. VI.

FULKE, 28. *Fulke.* A marvellous corruption, for us to call them "elders," whom you in your translation call "ancients," and the vulgar Latin before us both called *seniores!* But what is come to pass, I pray you, by this wonderful corruption? The name of "popish priests" is so contemptible, that nothing is more odious in England. And good cause, why; both for their blasphemy against God, and traitorous practices against the honourable state of the realm, and our most gracious queen. But "elders" and "eldership" (you ween) is more contemptible, because "the queen's majesty and her councillors will permit none in government of any churches in England, and so they have brought all to nothing else, but 'profane laity.'" This traitorous slander of yours is as true as all the rest: for although the queen's majesty and the council do not permit such consistories of elders for only discipline and government, as be in some other churches; yet do they not only permit, but also maintain and reverence such elders, being signified by the Greek word πρεσβύτεροι, as are necessary for the government of the church in doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, to the salva-

tion of God's people. The daily sacrifice mentioned in Daniel was the morning and evening sacrifice of the old law, whereunto your blasphemous sacrifice of the mass hath no resemblance. You may not therefore look to recover the credit of massing priests by that sacrifice, which, being once instituted by God, was at length taken away by the only sacrifice of Christ's death; against which all the apologies in the world shall never be able to defend your massing priesthood. As for the chapter of Allen's Apology, whereunto you refer us, [it] containeth certain quotations, and a few sentences of the ancient writers, which have been answered an hundred times, to justify massing priests; but all in vain: for never shall he prove that any one, from the eldest which he named unto Beda, which is the youngest, was such a massing priest in all points, as those traitors are, which by the queen's laws and edict are proscribed and prohibited: I mean not, for their manners, but for their mass and all opinions incident thereunto.

CHAPTER VII.

Heretical Translation against Purgatory, *Limbus Patrum*, Christ's descending into Hell.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* HAVING now discovered their corrupt translations for defacing of the church's name, and abolishing of priest and priesthood; let us come to another point of very great importance also, and which, by the wonted consequence or sequel of error, includeth in it many erroneous branches. Their principal malice then being bent against purgatory, that is, against a place where christian souls be purged by suffering of temporal pains after this life, for surer maintenance of their erroneous denial hereof they take away and deny all third places, saying that there was never from the beginning of the world any other place for souls after this life, but only two; to wit, heaven for the blessed, and hell for the damned. And so it followeth by their heretical doctrine, that the patriarchs, prophets, and other good holy men of the Old Testament, went not after their deaths to the place called "Abraham's bosom," or *limbus patrum*, but immediately to heaven: and so again by their erroneous doctrine it followeth, that the fathers of the Old Testament were in heaven before our Saviour Christ had suffered death for their redemption; and also by their erroneous doctrine it followeth, that our Saviour Christ was not the first man that ascended and entered into heaven; and moreover by their heretical doctrine it followeth, that our Saviour Christ descended not into any such third place, to deliver the fathers of the Old Testament out of their prison, and to bring them triumphantly with him into heaven, because by their erroneous doctrine they were never there; and so that article of the apostles' creed concerning our saviour Christ's descending into hell, must either be put out by the Calvinists, as Beza did in his confession of his faith, printed anno 1564; or it hath some other meaning, to wit, either the lying of his body in the grave, or (as Calvin and the purer Calvinists, his scholars, will have it) the suffering of hell pains and distresses upon the cross. Lo the consequence and coherence of these errors and heresies!

Calvin's Institutio's, lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 10. and in his Catechism.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* We may be bold to say with St Augustine, We believe, according to the authority of God, that the kingdom of heaven is the first place appointed for God's elect, and that hell is the second place, where all the reprobate, and such as be not of the faith of Christ, shall suffer eternal punishment. *Tertium penitus ignoramus, imo nec esse in scripturis sanctis invenimus:* "The third

place we are utterly ignorant of, yea, and that it is not we find in the holy scriptures." But hereof it followeth say you, that the godly of the Old Testament went not after their deaths to Abraham's bosom, or *limbus patrum*, but immediately to heaven. Of *limbus patrum*, which is a border of the "pope's hell," I grant it followeth; but of Abraham's bosom it followeth none otherwise than if I should say, "Gregorie Martin went into Cheapside," *ergo*, "he went not to London." That the fathers of the Old Testament were in heaven before our Saviour Christ had suffered death for their redemption, it is no inconvenience; for his death was as effectual to redeem them that lived before he suffered actually, as them that live since; because in God's sight he is "the Lamb that was slain from the beginning of the world." And the fathers that were justified by faith in his blood, received the same crown and reward of righteousness that we do, being justified by the same means. And yet our Saviour Christ was the first man, that in his whole manhood ascended and entered into heaven, into the fulness and perfection of glory, which is prepared for all God's elect, to be enjoyed after the general resurrection. That our Saviour Christ descended into no prison after his death, we verily believe; and yet we do also constantly believe the article of our creed, that "he descended into hell," by suffering in soul the pains due to God's justice for the sins of all whom he redeemed, and by vanquishing the devil, and all the power of hell, in working the redemption of all the children of God. If Beza in his confession had clean left out that article, (which is untrue,) he had been no more to be blamed than the authors of the Nicene creed, and many other creeds, in which it is not expressed, because it is partly contained under the article of his sufferings, partly it is in part of the effect and virtue of his death and redemption.

Martin. These now being the heretical doctrines which they mean to avouch and defend, whatsoever come of it; first, they are at a point not to care a rush for all the ancient holy doctors, that write with full consent to the contrary, as themselves confess, calling it their common error; secondly, they translate the holy scriptures in favour thereof most corruptly and wilfully, as in Beza's false translation, who is Calvin's successor in Geneva, it is notorious; for he, in his New Testament of MARTIN, 2.

Beza in 1 Pet. iii. 19. Calvin's Institut. lib. 2. c. 16. sect. 9.

the year 1556, printed by Robertus Stephanus in folio, with annotations, maketh our Saviour Christ say thus to his Father, *Non derelinques cadaver meum in sepulchro;* "Thou shalt not leave my carcase in the grave," Acts ii. for that which the Hebrew, and the Greek, and the Latin, and St Jerome, according to the Hebrew, say, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno,* as plainly as we say in English, "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell." Thus the prophet David spake it in the Hebrew, Psal. xv.; thus the Septuagint uttered it in Greek; thus the apostle St Peter allegeth it; thus the holy evangelist St Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. ii., recordeth it; and for this, St Augustine calleth him an infidel that denieth it: yet all this would not suffice to make Beza translate it so, because of certain errors, (* as he heretically termeth them,) which he would full gladly avoid hereby, namely, the catholic true doctrine of *limbus patrum* and "purgatory." What need we say more? He translateth *animam,* "a carcase;" so calling our Saviour Christ's body, irreverently and wickedly, he translateth *infernum* "grave."

Hiero. in Ps. verso ex Hebræo.

נַפְשִׁי לִשְׁאוֹל

[Psal. xvi.]

ψυχήν εἰς ᾅδου.

* See his Annot. in 2. Act.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* That many of the christian fathers held this error, that the godly of the Old Testament were not in heaven before Christ's death, it is no cause why we should be afraid to confess the truth revealed to us out of the holy scriptures, to the glory of God. And if the wrong or ambiguous translation of one Hebrew word, *sheol,* deceived them that were for the most part ignorant of the Hebrew tongue; what reason were it that we should not in translation reform that error? But as for Beza's first translation of the Greek word ψυχὴ "dead body," and ᾅδης "grave," I have answered at large, cap. i. sect. 31.; where also it is shewed, how vainly you take hold of the English word "carcase," to charge Beza with unreverent calling of our Saviour Christ's body, when it was dead, because he calleth it in Latin *cadaver.*

שְׁאוֹל

MARTIN, 3. *Martin.* Need we take any great labour to prove this to be a foul corruption, or that it is done purposely, when he confesseth that he thus translateth, because else it would serve the papists? Which is as much to say, as, the word of God, if it be truly and sincerely translated, maketh indeed for them. For the first part, we will not stand upon it, partly because it is of itself most absurd, and they are ashamed of it; partly because it shall suffice to confute Beza, that two other as famous heretics as he, Castaleo and Flaccus Illyricus, write against him in this point, and confute him; partly also, because we speak not here universally of all heretical translations, but of the English corruptions specially; and therefore we may only note here, how gladly they also would say

somewhat else for "soul," even in the text, if they durst for shame: for in the margin of that English translation they say, "or life," "or person;" hereby advertising the reader, that he may read thus if it please him, "Thou shalt not leave my life in the grave," or, "Thou shalt not leave my person." As though either man's soul or life were in the grave, or *anima* might be translated "person," which the self-same English bible doth not; no, not in those places where it is evident that it signifieth "the whole person." For though this word "soul," by a figure, is sometime taken for "the whole man," yet even there they do not, nor must not translate it otherwise than "soul;" because our tongue beareth that figure as well as Latin, Greek, or Hebrew; but here, where it cannot signify "the whole person," it is wicked to translate it so.

Bib. an. 1579.

Acts vii. 14.

Fulke. If you take more labour than you are well able to bear, yet shall you prove it no heretical corruption. As Castaleo and Illyricus, the one an heretic, the other a schismatic, have inveighed against Beza, so hath he sufficiently confuted them. But to our English translation, where in the margin they say "life," or "person," when in the text they say "soul;" what doth this offend you? They render the usual English word for the Greek word, but they admonish the reader that the word "soul" in this place signifieth not the soul separated from the body, but either "the life," or "the whole person;" because that, although the body only be laid in the grave, yet according to vulgar speech and sense the whole man is said to be buried, and his life seemeth to be inclosed in the grave, according to which popular and humane conceit the prophet in that psalm speaketh; as appeareth in the latter part of that verse, which is all one in sense with the former, "neither wilt thou give thy holy one to see corruption," where corruption, which is proper only to the body, is there spoken generally of the whole man. If this exposition please you not, yet you have no cause to find fault with the translation, which in that place is according to the common and ordinary signification of the Greek word ψυχὴ, "soul;" which, as it is sometime taken for the whole person, as you note, Act. vii. 14, so is it here, as the latter part of the verse doth most plainly declare[1].

FULKE, 3.

Acts ii.

[1 Ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδου, Acts ii. 27. "Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno," Vulg.].

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* But as for the word "grave," that they put boldly in the text, to signify that, howsoever you interpret "soul," or whatsoever you put for it, it is not meant according to St Augustine and the faith of the whole catholic church, that his soul descended into hell, whiles his body was in the grave; but that his soul also was in the grave, howsoever that is to be understood. So making it a certain and resolute conclusion, that the holy scripture in this place speaketh not of Christ's being in hell, but in the grave; and that according to his soul, or life, or person, or, as Beza will have it, "his carcase or body;" and so "his soul in hell," as the holy scripture speaketh, shall be "his body in the grave," as Beza plainly speaketh, and the Bezites covertly insinuate; and white shall be black, and chalk shall be cheese, and every thing shall be any thing that they will have it. And all this their evident false translation must be to our miserably deceived poor souls the holy scripture and God's word.

See Vigors' Sermons, pp. 110. 115. and deinceps.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* The Greek word ᾅδης well beareth to be translated in some places "a grave," and here the latter part of the verse speaketh of corruption, which cannot be understood to be but "in the grave;" and so doth St Peter understand it, saying, "that David the patriarch died, and was buried, and his sepulchre remaineth with us unto this day:" and St Paul upon the same verse of the psalm saith, "he saw corruption." Both the apostles therefore interpreting this verse of the resurrection of Christ, we think it indeed a "resolute conclusion," that the scripture in this place speaketh not of Christ's being in hell, which we acknowledge in the article of our creed, but of his burial and resurrection. Your trifling of "white and black," "chalk and cheese," may seem pleasant rhetoric to gross ears, whom you seek to fill with such vanities: but the wiser sort, that are acquainted with figurative speeches, will think it nothing strange, if words be not always taken in their usual and proper signification. That the Hebrew word *nephesh*, נֶפֶשׁ which the prophet in that verse of the psalm useth, is taken divers times in the scripture for "a dead body," I have before proved more plainly than ever you shall be able to deny: where you may, if you be disposed to sport yourself, use your figurative comparison of "white and black," "chalk and cheese;" but you shall sooner of white make black, of chalk cheese, than you can possibly avoid the clear light of those texts, which was seen even of your own vulgar Latin interpreters.

Martin. Where we cannot but marvel, why they are afraid to translate the words plainly in this place, "of his soul being in hell;" whereas in the creed they admit the words, and interpret them, that by suffering hell pains upon the cross, so "he descended into hell," and no otherwise. Why did they not here also keep the words for the credit of their translation; and afterward, if they would needs, give them that gloss for maintenance of their heresy? This mystery we know not, and would gladly learn it of the puritan Calvinists, whose English translation perhaps this is. For the grosser Calvinists, being not so pure and precise in following Calvin as the puritans be, that have well deserved that name above their fellows, they in their other English bibles have in this place discharged themselves of false translation, saying plainly, "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell[1]." But in what sense they say so, it is very hard to guess; and perhaps themselves cannot tell yet what to make of it, as appeareth by M. Whitaker's answer to F. Campion. And he is now called a bishop among them, and proceeded doctor in Oxford, that could not obtain his grace to proceed doctor in Cambridge, because he preached Christ's descending into hell; and the puritans in their second admonition to the parliament, p. 43, cry out against the politic Calvinists, for that in the creed of the apostles, (made in English metre, and sung openly in their churches, in these words[3], "His spirit did after this descend, into the lower parts, to them that long in darkness were, the true light of their hearts,") they favour his descending into hell very much, and so consequently may thereby build *limbus patrum* and "purgatory." And the puritans in their second reply against M. Whitgift's defence, p. 7, reprehend one of their chiefest Calvinistical martyrs for assuming, as they term it, a gross descending of our Saviour Christ into hell. Thus the puritans confess plainly their heretical doctrine, against Christ's descending into hell.

MARTIN, 5.

Bib. an. 1562. and 1577.

• See Lind. dubit. p. 19.

Whitaker, p. 165.

M. Hues?, bp. of St. Asaph in Wales.

[1 "Thou *wilt* not leave my soul in hell." Acts ii. 27. Edits. 1562, 1568. 1584. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in grave," 1560, 1579.]

[2 William Hughes received his first education in Oxford, but subsequently went to Christ College, Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts, and holy orders; and being soon after made chaplain to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, he attended him to Oxford in 1568, where he was incorporated bachelor of divinity, as he stood at Cambridge. The year after, says Wood, the said duke writing letters to Dr Laur. Humphrey in his behalf, he was, by his endeavours made to the Vice-Chancellor and convocation, permitted to proceed in his faculty. He was promoted to the episcopal see of St Asaph in 1573. Wood's Athenæ Vol. II. 844.]

[3 The lines in Sternhold and Hopkins, upon the twelve Articles of the Christian Faith, are these:

"His soul did after this descend
Into the lower parts,
A dread unto the wicked sprites,
But joy to faithful hearts."]

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* By confessing in our creed that Christ "descended into hell," you might know, (but that you had rather be ignorant, that you might marvel still,) that we purposed not in translating this place to deny that article, as you falsely slander us; but because this place might seem unto the ignorant to confirm the error of Christ's descending into *limbus patrum*, as it doth not, if it be rightly understood, it was thought good of some translators, that (seeing this verse must have the same sense in the Greek sermon of Peter, that it hath in the Hebrew psalm of David, and the Greek word ᾅδης, used by the evangelist instead of שְׁאוֹל the Hebrew word *sheol*, may bear to signify a "grave," as the Hebrew word doth most usually,) by translating it the "grave," to shew that this verse in Greek maketh no more for that error of descending into *limbus*, than the same doth in Hebrew. As for your distinction of gross Calvinists and puritans, it may be packed up among the rest of your quarrels and slanders. What Master Whitaker hath written in his answer to friar Campion, he is able to explain unto you himself, if you do not understand him. That the bishop of Saint Asaph did once favour your error in some part, and for that was misliked of the University of Cambridge, it is as true, as that afterward, reforming his judgment at Oxford, where he proceeded, he was also incorporated doctor at Cambridge. The English metre upon the creed, except it be drawn to an allegory, in my judgment cannot be defended; which judgment I declared openly at Paul's cross, fourteen or fifteen years ago. Master Latimer's error of Christ suffering torments in hell, after his death, is justly reprehended, by whomsoever it be.[1] By all which I know not what may be rightly gathered, but that we flatter not one another in errors; but

[1 In Latimer's sermon on the Passion of Christ, we find him thus speaking, and affixing a different sense to the words, "He descended into hell," from that which they have been generally considered to bear: "He descended into hell. I see no inconvenience to say, that Christ suffered in soul in hell. I singularly commend the exceeding great charity of Christ, who for our sakes would suffer in hell in his soul. It sets out the unspeakable hatred that God hath to sin. I perceive not that it derogates from the dignity of Christ's death; as in the garden when he suffered, it derogates nothing from that which he suffered on the cross."]

if any among us be deceived, of what account or credit soever he be, we spare not to reprove his error, preferring God's truth before all worldly and private respects of friendship, countenance, credit, and whatsoever.

Martin. The truth is, howsoever the politic Calvinists speak or write in this point, more plausibly and covertly to the people, and more agreeably to the article of our faith, than either Calvin, or their earnest brethren, the puritans, do, which write and speak as fantastically and madly as they think; yet neither do they believe this article of the apostles' creed, or interpret it as the catholic church and ancient holy fathers always have done, neither can it stand with their new profession so to do, or with their English translations in other places. It cannot stand with their profession; for then it would follow that the patriarchs, and other just men of the Old Testament, were in some third place of rest, called "Abraham's bosom," or *limbus patrum*, till our Saviour Christ descended thither, and delivered them from thence; which they deny in their doctrine, though they sing it in their metres. Neither can it stand with their English translations; because in other places, where the holy scriptures evidently speak of such a place, calling it "hell," (because that was a common name for every place and state of souls departed in the Old Testament, till our Saviour Christ, by his resurrection and ascension, had opened heaven,) there, for "hell," they translate "grave." MARTIN, 6.

Fulke. The truth is, howsoever you slander us with odious names of schism, and diverse interpretations, we all agree in the faith of that article, and in the true sense and meaning thereof. As also we consent against your errors of *limbus patrum*, or any descending of Christ into that fantastical place. As for "Abraham's bosom," we account it no place of descent, or going down, but of ascending; even the same that our Saviour Christ upon the cross called "paradise," Luke xxiii. saying to the penitent thief, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise;" which of St Paul is called "the third heaven," 2 Cor. xii., saying that he was "taken up into the third heaven, whether in the body, or out of the body, he knew not, but he was taken up into paradise, and there heard words that could not be uttered, which it is not lawful for a man to speak." And that "Abraham's bosom" is a place far distant from hell, that only text where it is named, Luke xvi., doth evidently declare. First, the angels carry the soul of Lazarus into Abraham's bosom: he might as well FULKE, 6.

have said hell, if he had meant hell. But angels use not to go down into hell. Secondly, it is a place of comfort; for Lazarus was there comforted. Thirdly, there is a great chaos, which signifieth an infinite distance, between Abraham and the rich glutton; which utterly overthroweth that dream of *limbus*, which, signifying a border or edge, supposeth that place to be hard adjoining to the place of torments. Last of all, if the article of our faith had been of *limbus patrum*, or of "Abraham's bosom," we should have been taught to say, he descended into *limbo patrum*, or he descended into Abraham's bosom, which all christian ears abhor to hear. The word שְׁאוֹל *sheol*, used in the Old Testament for a common receptacle of all the dead, signifieth properly a place to receive their bodies, and not their souls; and therefore most commonly in our translations is called "the grave."

MARTIN, 7. Gen. xxxvii.

Martin. As when Jacob saith, *Descendam ad filium meum lugens in infernum;* "I will go down to my son into hell, mourning:" they translate, "I will go down into the grave unto my son, mourning[2]:" as though Jacob thought that his son Joseph had been buried in a grave; whereas Jacob thought, and said immediately before, as appeareth in the holy scripture, that a wild beast had devoured him, and so could not be presumed to be in any grave: or as though, if Joseph had been in a grave, Jacob would have gone down to him into the same grave. For so the words must needs import, if they take "grave" properly; but if they take "grave" unproperly, for the state of dead men after this life, why do they call it "grave," and not "hell," as the word is in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin? No doubt they do it to make the ignorant reader believe, that the patriarch Jacob spake of his body only, to descend into the grave to Joseph's body; for as concerning Jacob's soul, that was, by their opinion, to ascend immediately after his death to heaven, and not to descend into the grave. But if Jacob were to ascend forthwith in soul, how could he say, as they translate, "I will go down into the grave unto my son"? As if according to their opinion he should say, "My son's body is devoured of a beast, and his soul is gone up into heaven; well, I will go down to him into the grave."

שְׁאוֹל ᾅδης. Infernus.

FULKE, 7.

Fulke. A proper quiddity you have found out of Jacob, supposing his son to be devoured of wild beasts: yet saith, "I will go down unto him mourning;" which you think cannot be

[2 "I will go down into the grave unto my son mourning," Cranmer's Bible, edition, 1562. Bishop's Bible, 1584. Geneva, 1560. Ὅτι καταβήσομαι πρὸς τὸν υἱόν μου πενθῶν εἰς ᾅδου. Gen. xxxvii. 36.]

into the grave, because he did not think he was buried. But you must remember, it is the common manner of speech, when men say in mourning, they will go to their friends departed, they mean they will die, although their friends perhaps were drowned in the sea, or their bodies burned, or perhaps lie in desolate places unburied. So Jacob's descending into the grave signifieth no more but death, by which he knew he should be joined to his son in soul, though he were not in body. The name of grave is used, because it is usual, that dead men are buried, though it be not universal. And that the grave is taken commonly for death, it appeareth by that phrase so often used in the scriptures, "he slept with his fathers, and was buried;" which being spoken indifferently of good men and evil, cannot be understood of one place of their souls, but of death, which is common to all, and is proper to the body, not unto the soul; for the souls of the departed sleep not. The like is to be said of the phrase used in Genesis of Ismael, as well as of the godly patriarchs, "he was laid up to his people." And lest you should please yourself too much in your childish conceit of Joseph's being devoured, (whereof yet his father was not certain,) you shall hear how Isidorus Clarius translateth the same place in his bible, censured by the deputies of Trent council, *Descendam ad filium meum lugens in sepulchrum:* "I will go down to my son, mourning into my grave." This is one of the places which he thought meet to be corrected, according to the Hebrew; and in other places, where he is content to use the old word, *infernus*, he signifieth in his notes, that he meaneth thereby *sepulcrum*, "the grave." And indeed this word *infernus* signifieth generally any place beneath; as the Greek word ᾅδης, which the Greek translators used for *sheol*, the Hebrew word, signifieth a place that is dark and obscure, where nothing can be seen, such as the grave or pit is, in which the dead are laid, which therefore of Job is called, "The land of darkness, and the shadow of death." Job x.

Martin. Gentle reader, that thou mayest the better conceive these absurdities, and the more detest their guileful corruptions, understand, as we began to tell thee before, that in the Old Testament, because there was yet no ascending into heaven, "the way of the holies" (as the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews speaketh) "being not yet made open," because our Saviour Christ was to dedicate and begin the entrance in MARTIN, 8 Heb. ix. 8. Heb. x. 20.

his own person, and by his passion to open heaven; therefore, we say, in the Old Testament the common phrase of the holy scripture is, even of the best men, as well as of others, "that dying they went down" *ad inferos*, or *ad infernum:* to signify, that such was the state of the Old Testament before our Saviour Christ's resurrection and ascension, that every man went down, and not up; descended, and not ascended: by descending, I mean not to the grave, which received their bodies only, but *ad inferos*, that is, "to hell," a common receptacle or place for their souls also departed, as well of those souls that were to be in rest, as those that were to be in pains and torments. All the souls both good and bad, that then died, went downward; and therefore the place of both sorts was called in all the tongues by a word answerable to this word "hell," to signify a lower place beneath, not only of torments, but also of rest.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* Where you reason that there was no ascending into heaven, "because the way of the holies was not yet made open, when the first tabernacle was standing," you abuse the reader and the scripture. For the apostle's meaning is, in that verse, to shew that to the great benefit of Christians that first tabernacle is fallen, because that now we have more
Heb. iv. 16. familiar access unto God by Jesus Christ. For whereas the high priest only but once in the year, and then not without blood, entered into the second most holy tabernacle, because the way of the holies, that is, unto the holiest, or *sancta sanctorum*, was not then opened; now our Saviour Christ having once entered into the holiest place by his own blood, and found eternal redemption, we have by him, without any ceremonies, sacrifices, or mediation of any mortal priest, free
Heb. x. 19. access unto the throne of grace, even into the holy place, by the new and living way, which he hath prepared for us. But all this is to be understood of the clear revelation of the mercy of God in Christ, which was obscurely set forth unto the fathers of the Old Testament; and not of the effect and fruit of his passion, which was the same for their salvation, that it is for ours. Neither have the souls of the faithful, since the coming of Christ, any other place of rest, than the
Heb. xi. 40. fathers had before his incarnation; God providing most wisely, that they without all the rest of their brethren, that shall be unto the world's end, shall not be made perfect. And whereas you say, that all the souls of good and bad then went downward, you are controlled by the wise man, Eccles. iii., where he speaketh in the person of the carnal man, doubting of

that which is not comprehended by reason, but believed by faith: "Who knoweth whether the spirit of man ascend upward?"—and more plainly in the last chapter of that book, where he exhorteth to repentance, shewing in the end, "that though dust return to the earth from whence it was, yet the spirit returneth to God that gave it." It returneth to God: therefore it goeth not down. For who would abide to hear this speech, The souls of the faithful went downward to God: yea, went into hell to God? nay, returned downward into hell to God that gave them? That common receptacle therefore of the dead was the receptacle of their bodies, which all, first or last, returned to the earth from whence they were taken. And where you say, that place was called in all tongues by such a word as signifieth a lower place beneath, it is true of the common receptacle of their bodies, but not of their souls. For the soul of Lazarus was not carried by the angels into hell, but into Abraham's bosom; which was not only a place of rest, but also of joy and comfort, contrary to torments; between which and hell was an infinite distance. Who would call that a common receptacle, when there was an infinite distance unpassable from one to the other?

Martin. So we say in our creed, that our Saviour Christ himself descended into "hell," according to his soul: so St Hierome, speaking of the state of the old testament, saith: *Si Abraham, Isaac, Jacob in inferno, quis in cælorum regno?* that is, "If Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were in hell, who was in the kingdom of heaven?" And again: *Ante Christum Abraham apud inferos: post Christum latro in Paradiso:* that is, "Before the coming of Christ, Abraham was in hell; after his coming, the thief was in paradise." And lest a man might object, that Lazarus, being in Abraham's bosom, saw the rich glutton afar off in hell, and therefore both Abraham and Lazarus seem to have been in heaven: the said holy doctor resolveth it, that Abraham and Lazarus

MARTIN, 9. Epitaph. Nepot. c. 3.

Luke xvi.

See S. August. in Psal. lxxxv. 13.[1]

[1] Aliam etiam opinionem dicam. Fortassis enim apud ipsos inferos est aliqua pars inferior, quo truduntur impii qui plurimum peccaverunt. Etenim apud inferos utrum in locis quibusdam non fuisset Abraham, non satis possumus definire. Nondum enim Dominus venerat ad infernum, ut erueret inde omnium sanctorum præcedentium animas; et tamen Abraham in requie ibi erat. Et quidem dives cum torqueretur apud inferos, cum videret Abraham, levavit oculos. Non eum posset levatis oculis videre, nisi ille esset superius, ille inferius. Et quid ei respondit Abraham, cum diceret, *Pater Abraham, mitte Lazarum, &c.*? (Luke xvi. 22—26.) Ergo inter ista duo fortasse inferna, quorum in

also were in hell, but in a place of great rest and refreshing, and therefore very far off from the miserable wretched glutton that lay in torments.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* We say in our creed, that Christ "descended into hell;" which being an article of our faith, must have relation to such benefit as we receive by his descending, namely, that thereby we are delivered from the pains of hell. But that he should descend into *limbus patrum,* to fetch out the fathers, (which before you said were in prison, now you say in rest,) we neither say it in our creed, neither doth it pertain unto us. But Jerome is cited as a favourer of your opinion, who, I confess, in some part held as you do, but not altogether. For thus he writeth in *Epitaph. Nepot*[1]. After he hath given thanks to Christ for our redemption by his death: *Quid autem miserius homine, qui æternæ mortis terrore prostratus vivendi sensum ad hoc tantum acceperat ut periret,* &c. "What was more miserable than man before, which being cast down with terror of eternal death, received sense of living for this end only, that he might perish. For 'death reigned from Adam unto Moses, yea, upon those which have not sinned after the similitude of the transgression of Adam.' If Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in hell, who in the kingdom of heaven? If thy friends were under the pun-

uno quieverunt animæ justorum, in altero torquentur animæ impiorum, attendens quidam orans hic, jam in corpore Christi positus, et orans in voce Christi, eruisse Deum animam suam ab inferno inferiore dixit, quia liberavit se a talibus peccatis per quæ posset deduci ad tormenta inferni inferioris. Augustin. Enarrat. in Psalmum lxxxv. c. 18. Opera, Vol. IV. pp. 1303, 1304.]

[1] Quis autem miserior homine; qui æternæ mortis terrore prostratus, vivendi sensum ad hoc tantum acceperat, ut periret? *Regnavit enim mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen, etiam super eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem prævaricationis Adæ.* Si Abraham, Isaac et Jacob in inferno, quis in cœlorum regno? Si amici tui sub pœna offendentis Adam, et qui non peccaverant, alienis peccatis tenebantur obnoxii; quid de his credendum est, qui dixerunt in cordibus suis, *non est Deus?* qui corrupti et abominabiles facti sunt in voluntatibus suis? qui declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum? Quod si Lazarus videtur in sinu Abrahæ, locoque refrigerii; quid simile infernus et regna cœlorum? Ante Christum Abraham apud inferos: post Christum latro in paradiso. Et idcirco in resurrectione ejus multa dormientium corpora surrexerunt, et visa sunt in cœlesti Jerusalem. Hieron. Epit. Nepot. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 267.]

ishment of Adam[2], and they which sinned not were held guilty by other men's sins; what is to be thought of them which said in their heart, 'there is no God,' &c.? And if Lazarus be seen in the bosom of Abraham and in a place of rest, what like hath hell and the kingdom of heaven? Before Christ, Abraham in hell; after Christ, the thief in paradise." In these words Jerome after his rhetorical manner, amplifying the benefit of our redemption by Christ, doth rather touch this error, than plainly express it. For first, he maketh all men miserable before Christ, and cast down with terror of eternal death; which is true, if ye consider them without Christ, in which state are all men since Christ: but of all men that lived before the time of Christ's death, and yet embraced their redemption by him, it is not true. As also, that there are some which have not sinned. But that all this is to be understood, specially of the death of their bodies, and allegorically of their souls, he addeth immediately, *Et idcirco in resurrectione ejus multa dormientium corpora*, &c. "And therefore at his resurrection many bodies of them that slept arose, and were seen in the heavenly Jerusalem." See you not, how he turneth all into an allegory, to set forth the virtue of Christ's redemption? who brought all his elect by his death from hell, and the power of darkness, into the kingdom of heaven. Furthermore, you bid us see Augustine in Ps. lxxxv. 13. Where in the beginning he professeth his ignorance in discussing the question of the nethermost hell. First, supposing this world in which we live to be *infernum superius*, and the place whither the dead go *infernum inferius*, from which God hath delivered us, sending thither his Son, who to this *infernum* or "lower" place came by his birth, to that by his death; he addeth another opinion, *Fortassis enim apud ipsos inferos est aliqua pars inferior*, &c. "Peradventure even in hell itself there is some part lower, in which the ungodly which have much sinned are delivered. For whether Abraham had been now in certain places in hell, we cannot sufficiently define." And afterward when he hath spoken of the diverse places of Lazarus and the rich glutton, he concludeth as uncertainly as he began: *Ergo inter ista fortasse duo infera, quorum in uno*, &c. "Therefore peradventure between these two hells, in one of which the souls of

Nascendo. Moriendo.

[2] Old edition, *under the punishment. If Adam and*—]

the righteous rested, [in the other] the souls of the wicked are tormented, one attending prayeth in the person of Christ," &c. Here you may see, what an article of belief this was with St Augustine, when he hath nothing to define, but only bringeth his conjectural opinions and peradventures: also how he taketh *infernum* for any lower place, insomuch that he calleth this world *infernum*. Wherefore much more may *infernum* signify the "grave," and be so sometimes translated.

MARTIN, 10.

Martin. His words be these in effect: "If a man will say unto me, that Lazarus was seen in Abraham's bosom, and a place of refreshing" even before Christ's coming; true it is, but what is that in comparison? *Quid simile infernus et regna cælorum?* "What hath hell and heaven like?" As if he should say, "Abraham indeed, and Lazarus, and consequently many other, were in place of rest, but yet in hell, till Christ came, and in such rest as hath no comparison with the joys of heaven." And St Augustine[1], disputing this matter sometime, and doubting whether Abraham's bosom be called "hell" in the scripture, and whether the name of hell be taken at any time in the good part, (for of Christ's descending into hell, and of a third place where the patriarchs remained until Christ's coming, not heaven, but called

Epist. 99. ad Exod. et de Gen. ad lit. lib. 12. c. 33.

[1 Quanquam et illud me nondum invenisse confiteor, inferos appellatos, ubi justorum animæ requiescunt. Et Christi quidem animam venisse usque ad ea loca in quibus peccatores cruciantur, ut eos solveret a tormentis, quos esse solvendos occulta nobis sua justitia judicabat, non immerito creditur. Quomodo enim aliter accipiendum sit quod dictum est, *Quem Deus suscitavit ex mortuis, solutis doloribus inferorum, quia non poterat teneri ab eis,* non video, nisi ut quorumdam dolores apud inferos eum solvisse accipiamus, ea potestate qua Dominus est, cui omne genu flectitur, cœlestium, terrestrium, et infernorum; per quam potestatem etiam illis doloribus, quos solvit, non potuit attineri. Neque enim Abraham, vel ille pauper in sinu ejus, hoc est in secreto quietis ejus, in doloribus erat, inter quorum requiem et illa inferni tormenta legimus magnum chaos firmatum; sed nec apud inferos esse dicti sunt. *Contigit* enim, inquit, *mori inopem illum, et auferri ab angelis in sinum Abrahæ: mortuus est autem et dives, et sepultus est; et cum apud inferos in tormentis esset,* et cetera. Videmus itaque inferorum mentionem non esse factam in requie pauperis, sed in suppliciis divitis. Proinde, ut dixi, nondum inveni, et adhuc quæro, nec mihi occurrit inferos alicubi in bono posuisse scripturam duntaxat canonicam: non autem in bono accipiendum sinum Abrahæ, et illam requiem quo ab angelis pius pauper ablatus est, nescio utrum quisquam possit audire; et ideo quomodo eam apud inferos credamus esse, non video. Augustini de Genesi ad litteram, Lib. XII. c. 63, 64. Opera, Vol. VIII. pp. 509, 510. Vol. III. p. 702. Edit. Froben. 1556.]

Abraham's bosom, he doubted not, but was most assured;) the same holy doctor in another place, as being better resolved, doubted not upon these words of the psalm, "Thou hast delivered my soul from the lower hell", to make this one good sense of this place, that the lower hell is it wherein the damned are tormented, the higher hell is that wherein the souls of the just rested; calling both places by the name of "hell[2]." In Ps. lxxxv. 13.

Fulke. I have set down his very words indeed, which being well weighed, make nothing so clearly for your fancied *limbus*, as you would have men ween. You say Augustine doubteth, whether Abraham's bosom in the scripture be called "hell," *Ep.* 99, *et de Gen. ad lit.* Lib. XII. cap. 33. But there he doth utterly deny it, and in Ps. LXXXV. as by his words cited before appeareth, he doubteth. So that where he flatly denieth, with you he doubteth; and where he doubteth, with you he is better resolved. Wherefore this matter, of Abraham and the faithful being in hell, is no article of faith[3]; except you will say that St Augustine was not resolved in the articles of our faith, who touching the third place, whatsoever at divers times he speaketh doubtingly in his *Hypognosticon*, he affirmeth resolutely, that he findeth in the scriptures, that there is none. FULKE, 10.

Martin. And surely, of his marvellous humility and wisdom, he would have been much more resolute herein, if he had heard the opinion of St Jerome, whom he often consulted in such questions, and of other fathers, who in this point speak most plainly, that Abraham's bosom, or the place where the patriarchs rested, was some part of hell. Tertullian, Lib. IV. *advers. Marcion.* saith, "I know that the bosom of Abraham was no heavenly place, but only the higher hell, or the higher part of hell." Of which speech of the fathers rose afterward that other name, *limbus patrum*, that is the very brim or uppermost and outmost part of hell, where the fathers of the old testament rested. Thus we see that the patriarchs themselves were as then in hell, though they were there in a place of rest; insomuch that St Jerome saith again[4], MARTIN, 11. Loco citato.

[2] Quid his ergo præstiterit qui dolores solvit inferni, in quibus illi non fuerunt, nondum intelligo; præsertim quia ne ipsos quidem inferos uspiam scripturarum in bono appellatos potui reperire. Quod si nusquam in divinis auctoritatibus legitur, non utique sinus ille Abrahæ, id est secretæ cujusdam quietis habitatio, aliqua pars inferorum esse credenda. Augustini Epistola clxiv. c. 7. Opera, Vol. II. p. 860.]

[3] This subject is fully discussed by Bishop Pearson on the 5th Article of the Apostles' Creed.]

[4] Adde quod ante resurrectionem Christi notus tantum in Judæa

Ante resurrectionem Christi notus in Judæa Deus, et ipsi qui noverant eum, tamen ad inferos trahebantur: that is, "Before the resurrection of Christ God was known in Jury, and they themselves that knew him, yet were drawn unto hell." St Chrysostom in that place of Esay, "I will break the brasen gates, and bruise the iron bars in pieces, and will open the treasures darkened, &c. "So he calleth hell," saith he; "for although it were hell, yet it held the holy souls, and precious vessels, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob[1]." Mark that he saith, "though it were hell," yet there were the just men at that time, till our Saviour Christ came to deliver them from thence.

Hom. quod Christus sit Deus, tom. 5.

ἅδης. Infernus.

FULKE, 11.

Fulke. As wise and humble as he was, he was not ready to yield to every opinion of Jerome, as his epistles written to Jerome do declare. Neither was Jerome so resolute in this matter, whereof he speaketh under a cloud and in an allegory; as it is plain, where he saith the bodies that were raised at the resurrection of Christ were seen in the heavenly Jerusalem, whereas it is certain they were seen only in the earthly Jerusalem actually. But he meaneth, the effect of Christ's redemption was acknowledged either in the catholic church, which is Jerusalem above in one sense; or else that they shall be seen in the new Jerusalem

erat Deus; in Israel magnum nomen ejus. Et ipsi qui noverant eum, tamen ad inferos trahebantur. Hieronymi Epitaphium Nepot. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 267.

Utrum autem sinus ille Abrahæ, ubi dives impius, cum in tormentis esset inferni, requiescentem pauperem vidit, vel paradisi censendus vocabulo, vel ad inferos pertinere existimandus sit, non facile dixerim. De illo quippe divite legimus dictum esse, *Mortuus est autem et dives, et sepultus est in inferno;* et, *cum apud inferos in tormentis esset.* In pauperis autem morte vel requie non sunt inferi nominati: sed, *Contigit,* inquit, *mori inopem illum, et auferri ab angelis in sinum Abrahæ.* Deinde ardenti diviti dicit Abraham, *Inter nos et vos chaos magnum firmatum est;* tanquam inter inferos sedesque beatorum. Non enim facile alicubi scripturarum inferorum nomen positum invenitur in bono. Augustini Epist. clxxxvii. c. 8. Opera, Vol. II. pp. 1019, 1020.]

[1 Νῦν δὲ ἑτέρως ὁ Ἡσαίας, πύλας χαλκᾶς συνθλάσω, καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συντρίψω, καὶ ἀνοίξω σοι θησαυροὺς σκοτεινοὺς, ἀποκρύφους, ἀοράτους ἀναδείξω σοι, τὸν ᾅδην οὕτω καλῶν· Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ᾅδης ἦν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐκράτει ἁγίας καὶ σκεύη τίμια, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ, τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, τὸν Ἰακώβ, διὸ καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐκάλεσε· σκοτεινοὺς δὲ, ἐπείπερ οὐδέπω ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἦν καταλάμψας αὐτόθι, οὐδὲ τους περὶ ἀναστάσεως κηρύξας λόγους. Chrysost. contra Judæos et Gentiles quod Christus sit Deus. Opera, Vol. I. p. 564; Vol. VI. p. 626, edit. Savill.]

and blessed felicity of the godly at the world's end; whereof a testimony was given in that sight of their appearing and particular resurrection known at Jerusalem on earth.

But you cite another place out of Tertullian, Lib. IV. *adversus Marcionem*, and in the margin you say, *loco citato;* but I wot not where. And these be Tertullian's words, if you be an honest man: "I know that the bosom of Abraham was no heavenly place, but only the higher hell, or the higher part of hell." I see you will be as bold with the ancient doctors' works, as you are with my poor writings, whom you make to say even what you list. In the last section before you said, St Augustine, *Epistol. 99, et de Gen. ad lit.* Lib. XII. cap. 33. doubted whether Abraham's bosom were called "hell." *Quod si nusquam*, &c. "If it be never read in the holy scriptures (*scilicet* that hell is taken in the good part) verily that bosom of Abraham, that is the habitation of a certain secret rest, is not to be believed to be any part of hell." And again, by reason of the infinite chaos, *Satis ut opinor appareat*, "It may appear, as I think, sufficiently, that the bosom of that so great felicity is not a certain part, and as it were a member of hell." In the other place he speaketh to the same effect, and upon the same ground, that he never findeth in the scriptures "hell" taken in good part; and cap. 34, where he proveth that paradise is heaven, he saith: *Quanto magis ergo*, "How much more then may that bosom of Abraham after this life be called paradise?" This saith Augustine, and much more to this purpose; wherein I thought to have forborne you, but that you come upon us still with new forgeries.

Tertullian in the book by you quoted, p. 274 of Frob. printed 1550, thus writeth: *Sed Marcion aliorsum cogit*, &c.[2] "But Marcion driveth it another way, so forsooth, that

[2] Sed Marcion aliorsum cogit: scilicet utramque mercedem Creatoris, sive tormenti sive refrigerii, apud inferos determinat eis positam qui legi et prophetis obedierint; Christi vero et Dei sui cœlestem definit sinum et portum. Respondebimus, et hac ipsa scriptura revincente oculos ejus, quæ ab inferis discernit Abrahæ sinum pauperis. Aliud enim inferi, ut puto, aliud quoque sinus. Nam et magnum ait intercedere regiones istas profundum, et transitum utrinque prohibere. Sed nec allevasset dives oculos, et quidem de longinquo, nisi in superiora, et de altitudinis longinquo, per immensam illam distantiam sublimitatis

he determineth both the rewards of the Creator, either of torment or of refreshing, to be laid up for them in hell, which have obeyed the law and the prophets. But of Christ, and his God, he defineth an heavenly bosom and heaven. We will answer, and even by this self-same scripture, convincing his blindness, which against hell discerneth this Abraham's bosom to the poor man. For one thing is hell, (as I think,) and Abraham's bosom another thing. For a great depth, he saith, is between those regions, and that doth let the passage to and fro. But neither should the rich man have lifted up his eyes, and that truly from afar off, but into higher places, and that of an exceeding height, by that infinite distance of height and depth. Whereof it appeareth to every wise man, that hath ever heard of the Elysian fields, that there is some local determination, which is called Abraham's bosom, to receive the souls of his sons, even of the gentiles; he being the father of many nations, to be accounted of Abraham's family, and of the same faith, by which Abraham believed God under no yoke of the law, nor in the sign of circumcision. That region therefore I call the bosom of Abraham, and if not heavenly, yet higher than hell, which shall give rest in the mean season to the souls of the just, until the consummation of things do finish the resurrection of all with the fulness of reward." This is as much as I can find in Tertullian touching Abraham's bosom, which is clean contrary to that you affirm him to speak. For by this saying it is manifest, that your opinion is Marcion's heresy. Secondly, that Abraham's bosom is not hell, but higher by an infinite distance, although not in full perfection of heavenly glory. Thirdly, that it is not *limbus patrum*, but the receptacle of all the just souls to the end of the world. Ter-

et profunditatis. Unde apparet sapienti cuique, qui aliquando elysios audierit, esse aliquam localem determinationem, quæ sinus dicta sit Abrahæ, ad recipiendas animas filiorum ejus, etiam ex nationibus; patris scilicet multarum nationum in Abrahæ censum deputandarum et ex eadem fide, qua et Abraham Deo credidit, nullo sub jugo legis, nec in signo circumcisionis. Eam itaque regionem, sinum dico Abrahæ, etsi non cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungat. Tertull. Adv. Marcion, Lib. IV. Edit. Rigult. p. 559.]

tullian's authority therefore doth you small pleasure, and less honesty, unless you did cite him more truly. But I am unwise to look for plain dealing and sincerity at your hands.

Well, your *limbus patrum*, the very brim, or uppermost, or outmost part of hell, wherein all the patriarchs should rest, we have now found from whence it came, even from your old acquaintance, the mouse of Pontus, Marcion the abominable heretic. The other saying of Jerome, but that the opinion of the fathers in hell had by that time taken some strength, might be understood of the mortality whereunto they were subject, and never should have been raised, but by the resurrection of Christ; as it seemeth by that which he opposeth of all nations, since the passion and resurrection of Christ, acknowledged to speak like philosophers of the immortality of the soul, and rejoicing in the resurrection of the dead, as the fathers mourned at their death. Chrysostom's place is more apparent for your error, although he also may be understood to speak allegorically of the effect of Christ's death and resurrection, by which all the patriarchs were delivered from death, and hell was spoiled; not that they were in prison there, but that the justice of God had condemned them thither, if Christ's death had not redeemed them: but I will not stand to clear Chrysostom of this error, which it is sufficient for me to have found that Marcion the old heretic was the first author thereof, by Tertullian's confession; howsoever it came to pass, that many good men afterward, deceived by the words ᾅδης and *infernus*, did hold it.

Martin. Therefore did Jacob say, "I will go down to my son unto hell." And again he saith: "If any misfortune happen to (Benjamin) by the way, you shall bring my grey head with sorrow unto hell," which is repeated again twice in the chap. xliv.; by which phrase the holy scripture will signify, not only death, but also the descending at that time of all sorts of souls into hell, both good and bad. And there- MARTIN, 12. Gen. xlviii. 1 Kings ii[1].

[1] Καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀθωώσῃς αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἀνὴρ σοφὸς εἶ σὺ, καὶ γνώσῃ ἃ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ, καὶ κατάξεις τὴν πολιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι εἰς ᾅδου. 1 Kings ii. 9. "Tu noli pati eum esse innoxium. Vir autem sapiens es, ut scias quæ facies ei, deducesque canos ejus cum sanguine ab inferos," Vulg. "Deal with him therefore according to thy wisdom, and bring not his hoar head down to the grave in peace," Edit. 1562. "But thou shalt not count him as unguilty: for thou art a man of wisdom, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him, his hoar head thou shalt bring

fore it is spoken of all sorts in the holy scripture, both of good and of bad. For all went then into hell; but some into a place there of rest, others into other places there of torments. And therefore St Jerome saith, speaking of hell, according to the old testament: "Hell is a place wherein souls are included; either in rest, or in pains, according to the quality of their deserts[2]."

In cap. 13. Osee. Aug. in Psal. lxxxv. 13[1].

FULKE, 12. *Fulke.* Jacob said he would be joined to his son by death, as in the other text you bring it is more manifest than the sun at noon days. For Jacob, speaking of his grey head, must needs mean of his body, and therefore of the grave, and not of hell. So in the 3 *Reg.* 2, which you quote, David chargeth Salomon, that he suffereth not the grey head of Joab to go down to the grave in peace, and that he shall cause the hoar head of Shemei to go down to the grave with blood; which by no means can be understood of his soul going to hell, which goeth not with blood; although it is plain enough by the word "hoar head," that he meaneth his body in age, or his old body. And this text Pagnine, in his dic-

to the grave with blood," Edit. 1584. "Therefore thou shalt cause his hoar head to go down to the grave with blood," Geneva, 1560. "But his hoar head bring thou down to the grave with blood," Authorised version.

Καὶ *κατέβησαν αὐτοὶ, καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶ αὐτῶν ζῶντα εἰς ᾅδου.* Numb. xvi. 33. "Descenderuntque vivi in infernum," Vulg. "They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit," Authorised version.]

[1 *Et descenderunt ipsi, et omnia quæcumque sunt eis, viventes ad inferos.* Notandum secundum locum terrenum dictos esse inferos, hoc est in inferioribus terræ partibus. Varie quippe in scripturis et sub intellectu multiplici, sicut rerum de quibus agitur sensus exigit, nomen ponitur inferorum, et maxime in mortuis hoc accipi solet. Sed quoniam istos viventes dictum est ad inferos descendisse, et ipsa narratione quid factum fuerit satis apparet; manifestum est, ut dixi, inferiores partes terræ inferorum vocabulo nuncupatas, in comparatione hujus superioris terræ in cujus facie vivitur; sicut in comparatione cœli superioris, ubi sanctorum demoratio est angelorum, peccantes angelos in hujus aëris detrusos caliginem scriptura dicit tanquam carceribus inferi puniendos reservari. Augustini Quæstiones in Numeros, c. xxix. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 838, 839. Edit. Bened. Paris. 1836.]

[2 Inter mortem autem et inferos hoc interest: mors est, qua anima separatur a corpore; infernus, locus in quo animæ recluduntur, sive in refrigerio, sive in pœnis, pro qualitate meritorum. Comment. Hieronymi in Osee. c. xiii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1329.]

tionary, thought necessary to be understood of the grave, although he make the word *sheol* indifferent to signify "hell," and the "grave." That all went to hell, some to rest, and some to torments, it was first devised by Marcion the heretic. But St Jerome is once again cited in Osea, cap. xiii. where he saith, "that hell is a place wherein souls are included," &c.: by which you see that he speaketh not of *limbus*, wherein souls were included before Christ, but of such a place wherein they are now included; taking the word *infernus* generally for any place that receiveth the souls of the departed, as he saith most plainly himself in the same place: *Quicquid igitur separat fratres, infernus est appellandus.* "Whatsoever doth separate brethren, is to be called hell." Augustine is quoted to multiply a lie, and for nothing else, as I have shewed before.

Martin. And in this sense it is also often said in the holy scriptures, that such and such were gathered, or laid to their fathers, though they were buried in divers places, and died not in the same state of salvation, or damnation. In that sense, Samuel being raised up to speak to Saul, said, "To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me:" that is, dead, and in hell, though not in the same place or state there: in this sense all such places of the holy scripture as have the word "*inferi*," or "*infernus*," correspondent both to the Greek and Hebrew, ought to be, and may be most conveniently translated by the word "hell." As when it is said, "Thou hast delivered my soul from the lower hell," Psal. lxxxviii. 13, that is, as St Augustine expoundeth it, "Thou hast preserved me from mortal sins, that would have brought me into the lower hell, which is for the damned." Which place of holy scripture, and the like, when they translate "grave," see how miserably it soundeth: "Thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest grave." Which they would never say for very shame, but that they are afraid to say in any place, be the holy scriptures never so plain, that any soul was delivered or returned from hell, lest thereof it might follow by and by, that the patriarchs, and our Saviour Christ, were in such a hell.

MARTIN, 13.

The scriptures speak of another hell, besides that of the damned.

Ab inferno inferiori.

Bib. 1579.

Fulke. That which is spoken indifferently of the elect and reprobate, must needs be understood of that which is common to both, that is, corporal death. How can it be verified of their souls, that they were laid to the fathers, when between the godly and the wicked there is an infinite distance? but the earth, the grave, or pit, is a common receptacle of all dead bodies. That Samuel, which being raised up spake to Saul, might truly say of his soul, though

FULKE, 13.

not of all his sons, that he should be with him in hell, (for it was the spirit of Satan, and not of Samuel, although counterfeiting Samuel,) he might speak of the death of Saul and his sons. As for that verse of the eighty-fifth psalm[1], whereupon you do falsely so often allege St Augustine's resolution, what absurdity hath it, to translate it, "from the lowest grave," or "from the bottom of the grave"? whereby David meaneth extreme danger of death that he was in by the malice of his persecuting enemies, Saul and his accomplices. But we "are afraid to say in any place, that any 'soul was delivered and returned from hell.'" We say that the souls of all the faithful are delivered from hell; but of any which after death is condemned to hell, we acknowledge no return. And these words are spoken by David while he lived, and praised God for his deliverance; which might be not only from the "grave," but also from "hell," saving that he here speaketh of his preservation from death.

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* And that this is their fear, it is evident, because that in all other places, where it is plain that the holy scriptures speak of the hell of the damned, from whence there is no return, they translate there the very same word "hell," and not "grave." As for example, Prov. xv. 24. "The way of life is on high to the prudent, to avoid from hell beneath[2]." Lo, here that is translated "hell beneath," which before was translated "the lowest grave." And again, "Hell and destruction are before the Lord: how much more the hearts of the sons of men?" But when in the holy scriptures there is mention of delivery of a soul from hell, Bib. 1579. De manu inferi. then thus they translate: "God shall deliver my soul from the power of the grave, for he will receive me." Can you tell what they would say? doth God deliver them from the grave, or from temporal death,

[1 ὅτι τὸ ἔλεός σου μέγα ἐπ' ἐμὲ, καὶ ἐῤῥύσω τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐξ ᾅδου κατωτάτου. Psal. lxxxv. 13. "Quia misericordia tua magna est super me; et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori," Vulg. "For great is thy mercy toward me; and thou hast delivered my soul from the nethermost hell," Bishops' bible, 1584; Cranmer, 1562. "For great is thy mercy toward me; for thou hast delivered my soul from the lowest grave," Geneva version, 1560, 1579.]

[2 Ὁδοὶ ζωῆς διανοήματα συνετοῦ, ἵνα ἐκκλίνας ἐκ τοῦ ᾅδου σώθῃ. Prov. xv. 24. "Semita vitæ super eruditum, ut declinet de inferno novissimo," Vulg. "The way of life is above to the wise, that he may depart from hell beneath," Version 1611. "The way of life is on high to the prudent, to avoid from hell beneath," Geneva, 1560. "The way of life leadeth unto heaven, that a man should beware of hell

whom he receiveth to his mercy? or hath the grave any power over the soul? Again, when they say, "What man liveth and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?" Psal. lxxxix 48[1].

Fulke. I have shewed before divers times, that although the Hebrew word *sheol* do properly signify a receptacle of the bodies after death, yet when mention is of the wicked, by consequence it may signify "hell;" as the day signifieth light, the night darkness, fire heat, peace signifieth prosperity, and an hundred such like speeches. But where you say that Proverbs xv. 24, that is translated "hell beneath," which before was translated the "lowest grave," Psalm lxxxv. 13, you say untruly; for although in both places there is the word *sheol*, yet in that psalm there is *tachtijah*, in the Proverbs *mattah*, for which if it were translated "the grave," that declineth, or is downward, it were no inconvenience. In the other texts you trifle upon the word "soul;" whereas the Hebrew word signifieth not the reasonable soul, which is separable from the body, but the life, or the whole person of man, which may rightly be said to be delivered from the hand or power of the grave, as the verse 48[3] doth plainly declare, when in the latter part is repeated the sense of the former, as it is in many places of the Psalms. FULKE, 14. תַּחְתִּיָּה מַטָּה

Martin. If they take "grave" properly, where man's body is buried, it is not true either that every soul, yea, or every body is buried in MARTIN, 15.

beneath," Cranmer, 1562. "The way of life is on high to the wise, that a man should beware of hell beneath," Bishops' bible, 1584.

Ἐκ χειρὸς ᾅδου ῥύσομαι, καὶ ἐκ θανάτου λυτρώσομαι αὐτούς· ποῦ ἡ νίκη σου, θάνατε; ποῦ τὸ κέντρον σου, ᾅδη; "De manu mortis liberabo eos, de morte redimam eos; ero mors tua, o mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne," Vulg. "I will ransom them from the power of the grave; I will redeem them from death: O death, I will be thy plagues; O grave, I will be thy destruction," Version 1611. Hosea xiii. 14.

Ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος; "Ubi est, mors, victoria tua? ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus?" Vulg. "Oh death, where is thy sting? oh grave, where is thy victory?" Authorised version, 1611. 1 Cor. xv. 55.]

[[3] ῥύσεται τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς ᾅδου; Psal. lxxxvii. 48. "Eruet animam suam de manu inferi?" Vulg. lxxxix. 48. "And shall he deliver his soul from the hand of hell?" Bishops' bible, 1584; Cranmer, 1562. "Shall he deliver his soul from the hand of the grave?" Geneva, 1560; Authorised version.]

a grave. But if in all such places they will say they mean nothing else but to signify death, and that to go down into the grave, and to die, is all one; we ask them, why they follow not the words of the holy scripture to signify the same thing, which call it going down to "hell," not going down to the "grave"? Here they must needs open the mystery of antichrist working in their translations, and say, that so they should make hell a common place to all that departed in the old testament; which they will not, no, not in the most important places of our belief concerning our Saviour Christ's descending into hell, and triumphing over the same. Yea, therefore of purpose they will not, only for to defeat that part of our christian creed.

FULKE, 15. *Fulke.* We cannot always take the word "grave" properly, when the scripture useth it figuratively. But if we say, to go down to the grave and to die is all one, you ask us why we follow not the words of the holy scripture. I answer, We do, for the scripture calleth it "grave," and not "hell." Where then is your vain clattering of the mystery of antichrist, that we must open? Because we will not acknowledge that heretical common-place, invented by Marcion the heretic, we purpose to defeat the article of Christ's descending into hell. A monstrous slander! when we do openly confess it, and his triumphing over hell in more triumphant manner than you determine it. For if he descended into that hell only, in which were the souls of the faithful, which was a place of rest, of comfort, of joy, and felicity; what triumph was it to overcome such an hell? which, if you take away the hateful name of "hell," by your own description will prove rather an heaven than an hell. But we believe that he triumphed over the hell of the damned, and over all the power of darkness, which he subdued by the virtue of his obedience and sacrifice, so that it should never be able to claim or hold any of his elect, whom he had redeemed.

MARTIN, 16. *Martin.* As when the prophet first, Osea xiii., and afterward the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. in the Greek, say thus[1]: *Ero mors tua, o mors, morsus*

[1] Κατεπόθη ὁ θάνατος εἰς νῖκος. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ κέντρον; ποῦ σου, ᾅδη, τὸ νῖκος; τὸ δὲ κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἡ ἁμαρτία. 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55, 56. "Absorpta est mors in victoria: ubi est, mors, victoria tua? ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus? Stimulus autem mortis peccatum est," Vulg. "Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting?

tuus ero, inferne. Ubi est, mors, stimulus tuus? ubi est, inferne, victoria tua? "O death, I will be thy death: I will be thy sting, O hell. Where is, O death, thy sting? where is, O hell, thy victory?" They translate in both places, "O grave," instead of "O hell." What else can be their meaning hereby, but to draw the reader from the common sense of our Saviour Christ's descending into hell, and conquering the same, and bringing out the fathers and just men triumphantly from thence into heaven? which sense hath always been the common sense of the catholic church and holy doctors, specially upon this place of the prophet. And what a kind of speech is this, and out of all tune, to make our Saviour Christ say, "O grave, I will be thy destruction"? as though he had triumphed over the grave, and not over hell; or over the grave, that is, over death; and so the prophet should say "death" twice, and "hell" not at all.

שְׁאוֹל שְׁאוֹל.

Bib. 1579.

See S. Hier. Comment. in 13. Osee[2].

Fulke. St Jerome, whom you quote in the margin, to prove that all the catholic doctors understood this text of Osee, of Christ's descending into hell, and thereby reprove our translation, which for "hell" saith "grave," after he hath repeated the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xv. upon this text, thus he concludeth: *Itaque quod ille in resurrectionem interpretatus est Domini, nos aliter interpretari nec possumus nec audemus.* "Therefore that which the apostle hath interpreted of our Lord's resurrection, we neither can nor dare interpret otherwise." You see therefore by Jerome's judgment, that in this text, which is proper of Christ's resurrection, it is more proper to use the word of "grave," than of "hell." How vainly the same Jerome interpreteth the last words of this chapter, of spoiling the treasure of every vessel that is desirable, of Christ's delivering out of hell the most precious vessels of the saints, &c. I am not ignorant; but we speak of translation of the 14th verse, which being understood of Christ's resurrection, it argueth, that the grave is spoken of, rather than hell. As for the repetition of

FULKE. 16.

Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin," Tyndale, 1534. "Death is swallowed up in victory; death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin," Cranmer, 1539. Bishops' bible, 1584, with an interjection. "Death is swallowed up into victory. Death, where is thy sting? grave, where is thy victory? the sting of death is sin," Geneva, 1577. Authorised Version, 1611, with an interjection after. "Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy victory! Death, where is thy sting, and the sting of death is sin," Rheims, 1582.]

[[2] Comment. Hieronymi in Osee, c. xiii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 1330.]

one thing twice for vehemency and certainty's sake, [it] is no inconvenient thing, but commonly used in the scriptures.

MARTIN, 17. *Martin.* Why, my masters, you that are so wonderful precise translators, admit that our Saviour Christ descended not into hell beneath, as you say, yet I think you will grant that he triumphed over hell, and was conqueror of the same. Why then did it not please you to suffer the prophet to say so at the least, rather than that he had conquest only of "death" and the "grave"? You abuse your ignorant reader very impudently, and your own selves very damnably, not only in this, but in that you make "grave," and "death," all one; and so, where the holy scripture often joineth together "death" and "hell," as things different and distinct, you make them speak but one thing twice, idly and superfluously.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* For our faith of Christ's triumphing over hell, I have spoken already sufficiently; but of the prophet's meaning, beside the words themselves, the apostle is best expounder, who referreth it to the resurrection, and his victory over death, which he hath gained not for himself alone, but for all his elect. Where you say we make "grave" and "death" all one, it is false. We know they differ; but that one may be signified by the other, without any idle or superfluous repetition, in one verse, I refer me to a whole hundred of examples, that may be brought out of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Proverbs, where words of the same, like, or near signification are twice together repeated, to note the same matter; which none but a blasphemous dog will say to be done idly or superfluously.

MARTIN, 18. *Martin.* But will you know that you should not confound them, but that *mors* and *infernus*, which are the words of the holy scripture, in all tongues are distinct; hear what St Jerome saith: or if you will not hear, because you are of them which "have stopped their ears," let the indifferent christian reader hearken to this holy doctor and great interpreter of the holy scriptures, according to his singular knowledge in all the learned tongues. Upon the aforesaid place of the prophet, after he had spoken of our Saviour Christ's descending into hell, and overcoming of death, he addeth: "Between death and hell this is the

Hierom. in Osee. c. 13.[1]

[1] Inter mortem autem et inferos hoc interest: mors est, qua anima separatur a corpore; infernus, locus in quo animæ recluduntur, sive in refrigerio sive in pœnis, pro qualitate meritorum. Hoc diximus, ut ostenderemus id mortem facere, quod meretricem mulierem. Mors enim

difference, that death is that whereby the soul is separated from the body; hell is the place where souls are included, either in rest, or else in pains, according to the quality of their deserts. And that death is one thing, and hell is another, the psalmist also declareth, saying: "There is not in death that is mindful of thee, but in hell who shall confess to thee?" And in another place: "Let death come upon them, and let them go down into hell alive." Thus far St Jerome. Psal. vi.

Fulke. He that by the grave understandeth a place to receive the bodies of the dead, and figuratively death, doth no more confound the words of "death" and the "grave," than he that by a cup understandeth a vessel to receive drink properly, and figuratively that drink which is contained in such a vessel. Therefore that you cite out of Jerome maketh nothing against us; for he himself, although deceived by the Septuagintes, or rather by the ambiguity of the word ᾅδης, which they use, in the signification of the Hebrew word שְׁאוֹל, yet by *infernus* understandeth them that be *in inferno*, and the dead, as we do by the word "grave" oftentimes. As for his opinion of the godly souls in happy hell before Christ's death, or his interpretation of any other part of scripture, we profess not to follow in our translations, but as near as we can, the true signification of the words of holy scripture, with such sense (if any thing be doubtful) as the proper circumstances of every place will lead us unto, that we may attain to the meaning of the Holy Ghost. FULKE, 18.

Martin. By which differences of "death" and "hell," whereof we must often advertise the reader, are meant two things: death, and the going down of the soul into some receptacle of hell, in that state of the old testament, at what time the holy scriptures used this phrase so often. Now, these impudent translators in all these places translate it "grave," of purpose to confound it and "death" together, and to make it but one thing, which St Jerome sheweth to be different, in the very same sense that we have declared. MARTIN, 19. Bib. 1579.

dividit fratres, hoc et mulier facit. In fratribus, omnem intellige caritatem: quod et mater dividatur a filia, et pater a filio, et frater a fratre. Quod autem aliud sit mors, et aliud infernus, et Psalmista demonstrat, dicens: *Non est in morte qui memor sit tui; in inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi?* et in alio loco: *Veniat mors super eos, et descendant in infernum viventes.* Hieronymi Comment. in Osee. c. xiii. Opera, III. p. 1329.]

FULKE, 19. *Fulke.* The difference of *mors* and *infernus*, which Jerome maketh, cannot always stand; as I have shewed of the hoar heads of Jacob, Job, and Shemei, (which none but mad men will say to have descended into a receptacle of souls,) beside other places of scripture, where *sheol* must of necessity signify a place for the body. And even those places of the Psalms, that St Jerome calleth to witness, do make against his error. For where David saith, Psalm vi.[1] "In hell who shall confess unto thee?" how can it be true of the souls of the faithful, being in that holy hell, Abraham's bosom? Did not Abraham confess unto God, and acknowledge his mercy? Did not Lazarus the same? did not all the holy souls departed confess God in Abraham's bosom? Were all those blessed souls so unthankful, that being carried into that place of rest and comfort, none of them would confess God's benefits? It is plain therefore, to the confusion of your error, that *sheol* in that place of David must needs signify the "grave," in which no man doth confess, praise, or give thanks unto God, of whom in death there is no remembrance. Therefore he desireth life and restoring of health, that he may praise God in his church or congregation. Likewise in the 54th psalm[2], where he prophesieth unto the wicked a sudden death, such as befel to Chore, Dathan, and Abiram, which went down quick into the "grave;" not into "hell," whither come no bodies of men living, but the souls of men that are dead.

MARTIN, 20. *Martin.* But, alas! it is the very nature of the Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, that forceth them so much to English it "grave," rather than "hell." We appeal to all Hebricians, Grecians, and Latinists in the world: first, if a man would ask, What is Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin for "hell"? whether they would not answer these three words, as the very proper words to signify it, even as *panis* signifieth "bread." Secondly, if a man would ask, What is Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin, for a "grave"? whether they would answer these words, and not three other, which they know are as proper words for "grave," as *lac* is for "milk."

ἅδης. שְׁאוֹל Infernus.

τάφος. קֶבֶר Sepulchrum.

[1 Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἅδῃ τίς ἐξομολογήσεταί σοι; Psal. vi. 5. "In inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi," Vulg.]

[2 Ἐλθέτω θάνατος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, καὶ καταβήτωσαν εἰς ἅδου ζῶντες. Psal. liv. 15. "Veniat mors super illos: et descendant in infernum viventes," Vulg. Psal. lv. 15.]

Fulke. The very nature of the Hebrew word שאול is most properly to signify a "grave", or receptacle of dead bodies, as all that be learned in that tongue do know. About the Greek and Latin terms is not our question, and therefore you deal deceitfully to handle them all three together: although neither ᾅδης nor *infernus* are so proper for "hell," but that they may be taken also sometimes "for the grave," and so perhaps were meant by the Greek and Latin translators in divers places. You speak, therefore, as one void of all shame, to say they are as proper for "hell," as *panis* for "bread." Where you ask what is Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, for "hell," you must understand, that if you speak of a proper word for those invisible places, wherein the souls departed are either in joy or torments; I answer, there is no proper word for those places, either in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin. For that which of all these tongues is translated "heaven," is the proper word for the sensible sky, in which are the sun, moon, and stars; and by a figure is transferred to signify the place of God's glory, in which he reigneth with the blessed spirits of angels and men, above this sensible world. "Paradise" and "Abraham's bosom," who is so childish not to acknowledge them to be borrowed words, and not proper? So for the receptacle of the reprobate souls, in the Hebrew tongue *topheth* or *gehinnom*, which properly are the names of an abominable place of idolatry, are used; and *sheol* sometimes figuratively may signify the same. In Greek and Latin, *gehenna* is used for the same, which is borrowed of the Hebrew. Sometimes also the word ᾅδης, in Greek, is taken for the place of the damned and the kingdom of darkness. The Latin word *infernus* is any low place. Wherefore I cannot marvel sufficiently at your impudency, which affirm these three words, שאול, ᾅδης and *infernus*, to be as proper for our English word "hell," as *panis* is for "bread." That there be other words beside these in all the three tongues to signify a "grave," I marvel to what purpose you tell us, except you would have ignorant folk suppose that there cannot be two Hebrew, Greek, or Latin words for one thing. FULKE, 20.

Martin. Yea, note and consider diligently what we will say. Let them shew me out of all the bible one place, where it is certain and agreed among all, that it must needs signify "grave"; let them shew MARTIN, 21.

me in any one such place, that the holy scripture useth any of those former three words for "grave." As when Abraham bought a place of burial, whether he bought "*infernum*"; or when it is said the kings of Israel were buried in the monuments or sepulchres of their fathers, whether it say, *in infernis patrum suorum*. So that not only divines by this observation, but grammarians also and children may easily see, that the proper and natural signification of the said words is in English "hell," and not "grave."

Gen. xlix.

FULKE, 21. *Fulke.* We note well your foolish subtilty, that will have us to shew you one place, where it is certain and agreed among all, that *sheol* must needs signify "grave." I am persuaded that you and such as you are, that have sold yourselves to antichrist, to maintain his heresies with all impudency, will agree to nothing that shall be brought, though it be never so plain and certain that it must needs so signify. I have already shewed you three places, where the hoary head is said to go down into *sheol*, that is, into the "grave." For whither should the hoary head go but into the grave? Nothing can be more plain to him that will agree to truth, that *sheol* in all such places is taken for the "grave." But to omit those places, because I have spoken of them already, what say you to that place, Numb. xvi., where the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the rebels with their tents, and all their substance of cattle, and whatsoever they had? where the text saith, "They went down, and all that they had, alive, *sheolah*, into the pit or grave." God made a great grave or hole in the earth, to receive them all. Where no man will say that either the bodies of these men, or their substance of tents, cattle, and stuff, went into "hell," as it is sure their souls went into torment. And if authority do weigh more with you than good reason, hear what St Augustine writeth upon the same text, and how he taketh your *inferos* or *infernum*, which in the Hebrew is *sheol*, *quæst. super Num.* Lib. IV. c. 29: *Et descenderunt ipsi et omnia quæcunque sunt eis viventes ad inferos. Notandum secundum locum terrenum dictos esse inferos, hoc est*, &c. "And they themselves descended, and all that they had, alive unto *inferos*, the lower parts. It is to be noted, that *inferi* are spoken of an earthly place, that is, in the low parts of the earth. For diversely and under manifold understanding, even as the sense of things which are in hand

requireth, the name of *inferi* is put in the scriptures, and especially it is wont to be taken for the dead. But forasmuch as it is said that those descended alive *ad inferos*, and by the very narration it appeareth sufficiently what was done; it is manifest, as I said, that the lower parts of the earth are termed by this word *inferi*, in comparison of this upper part of the earth in which we live. Like as in comparison of the higher heaven, where the dwelling of the holy angels is, the scripture saith, that the sinful angels being thrust down into the darkness of this air, are reserved as it were in prisons of a lower part, or hell, tó be punished." St Augustine here doth not only understand this place of the grave, or receptacle of bodies; but also sheweth that the Latin word *inferi* or *infernus* doth not always signify "hell," as you made it of late as proper for "hell," as *panis* for "bread." But because you shall not complain of the singularity of this example, although you require but one, I will add out of the Psalm cxli., where the prophet saith, "Our bones are scattered at the very brink or mouth of *sheol*, 'the grave'."[1] How can you understand him to speak of hell? For the grave, and not hell, is a place for dead men's bones: as he speaketh of the faithful, by the wicked counted as good as dead and rotten, consumed to the bones. By these and many other examples it is manifest, that the proper signification of *sheol* in English is a "grave," and not "hell."

Martin. And therefore Beza doth strangely abuse his reader more than in one place, saying that the Hebrew word doth properly signify "grave," being deduced of a verb that signifieth to *crave* or *ask*, because it craveth always new corses. As though the grave craved more than hell doth, or swallowed more, or were more hardly satisfied and

MARTIN, 22. Annot. in Acts ii. 25, 27 and in 1 Cor. xv. 55. Bib. 1579. Prov. i. 12[2]. xxx. 15, 16[3].

[1 Ὡσεὶ πάχος γῆς διερράγη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διεσκορπίσθη τὰ ὀστᾶ ἡμῶν παρὰ τον ᾅδην, Psal. cxl. 7. "Sicut crassitudo terræ erupta est super terram, dissipata sunt ossa nostra secus infernum," Psal. cxli. 7. Vulg.]

[2 Καταπίωμεν δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ᾅδης ζῶντα, Prov. i. 12. "Deglutiamus eum sicut infernus viventem," Vulg. "We will swallow them up alive like a grave even whole," Geneva bible, 1560. "We shall swallow them up like the hell," Cranmer, 1562. "Let us swallow them up like the grave," Bishops' bible, 1584. Authorised version, 1611.]

[3 Ἅδης καὶ ἔρως γυναικός, Prov. xxx. 16. "Infernus et os vulvæ," Vulg. "The grave and the barren womb," Bishops' bible, 1560, Authorised version. "The grave, a woman's womb," Cranmer, 1562.]

filled than hell; for in all such places they translate "grave." And
Prov. xxvii. 20. in one such place they say, "The grave and destruction can never be full[1]." Whereas themselves a little before translate the very same words
Prov. xv. 11. "hell and destruction[2];" and therefore it might have pleased them to have said also, "hell and destruction can never be full," as their pew-
Bib. 1562. 1577. Prov. i. 1 Pet. v. fellows do in their translation: and again, "We shall swallow them up like hell." "The devil," we read, "goeth about continually like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour:" who is called in the Apo-
Rev. ix. 11. calypse "Abaddon," that is, "destruction." And so very aptly "hell" and "destruction" are joined together, and are truly said never to be filled. What madness and impudency is it then for Beza to write thus:
Beza, before alleged. "Who is ignorant that by the Hebrew word rather is signified a "grave," for that it seemeth after a sort to crave always new carcases?"

FULKE, 22. *Fulke.* Beza doth not abuse his reader, to tell him that *sheol* is derived of a verb that signifieth "craving" or "asking;" but you do unhonestly abuse Beza, as you do every man, when you take in hand to affirm that he standeth only upon the etymology of *sheol*, to prove that it signifieth "the grave."

MARTIN, 23. *Martin.* And again, concerning our Saviour Christ's descending into hell, and delivering the fathers from thence, "it is marvel," saith
Annot. in Acts ii. 24. Beza, "that the most part of the ancient fathers were in this error; whereas with the Hebrews the word *sheol* signifieth nothing else but 'grave'." Before, he pleaded upon the etymology or nature of the word; now also he pleadeth upon the authority of the Hebrews themselves. If he were not known to be very impudent and obstinate, we

[1 Ἅδης καὶ ἀπώλεια οὐκ ἐμπίμπλανται, Prov. xxvii. 20. "Infernus et perditio nunquam implentur," Vulg. "The grave and destruction can never be full," Geneva, 1560. "Hell and destruction are never full," Cranmer, 1562. Bishops' bible, 1584. Authorised version.]

[2 Ἅδης καὶ ἀπώλεια, Prov. xv. 11. "Infernus et perditio," Vulg. "Hell and destruction are before the Lord," Bishops' bible, 1584. Geneva, 1560. Authorised version. "Hell and perdition are known unto the Lord," Cranmer, 1562.]

[3 Fateor tamen etiam de profundissimis illis subterraneis locis idem vocabulum interdum dici, quos alibi scriptura vocat abyssum, unde etiam portæ inferorum nominantur, Matt. xvi. 18. et dives ille apud inferos collocatur in summo cruciatu, Luc. xviii. 23. et rogant dæmones ne mittantur in abyssum, Luc. viii. 31. Sed quid quisque locus ferat, diligenter animadvertendum. * * * * * * Dico igitur שְׁאוֹל (*scheol*) hoc in loco (Act. ii. 27.) propria significatione accipiendum pro sepulchro, et "animam meam" vel loco pronominis *me* accipi, sicut vulgo dicimus *ma personne*, etc. Nov. Test. Edit. Beza, 1582, pp. 415, 416.]

would easily mistrust his skill in the Hebrew, saying that among the Hebrews the word signifieth "nothing else but grave." Nihil aliud.

Fulke. Beza saith that the word *sheol* properly signifieth nothing but "the grave:" nevertheless he saith it is taken figuratively for "tribulation," which is near to extreme destruction, yea, and sometime for the "bottomless pit of hell." Fulke, 23.

Martin. I would gladly know what are those Hebrews. Doth not the Hebrew text of the holy scripture best tell us the use of this word? Do not themselves translate it "hell" very often? do not the Septuaginta always? If any Hebrew in the world were asked, how he would turn these words into Hebrew, *Similes estis sepulchris dealbatis*, "You are like to whited graves;" and, *Sepulchrum ejus apud vos est*, "His grave is among you": would any Hebrew, I say, translate it by this Hebrew word which Beza saith among the Hebrews signifieth nothing else but "grave"? Ask your Hebrew readers in this case, and see what they will answer. Martin, 24. Sheolim. Sheol.

Fulke. The best of the Hebrews, that either interpreted scriptures, or made dictionaries, Jews or Christians, do acknowledge that *sheol* doth properly signify "the grave." That the Septuaginta do always translate it ᾅδης, it proveth not that it always signifieth "hell;" for ᾅδης signifieth not always "hell," as in the place of Numb. xvi. As for the turning of Latin into Hebrew, is not our controversy, but of translating Hebrew into English: *sheol* may signify "the grave," "the hole," "the pit," as *fovea*, though it be not all one with the Latin word *sepulchrum*. And yet rabbi Salomon, whom you boldly cite in the 27th section, saith plainly, that the true and proper interpretation of *sheol* is *keber*, which you say is as proper for "grave," as *lac* is for "milk." Fulke, 24. In Gen. xxxvii.

Martin. What are those Hebrews then that Beza speaketh of? Forsooth, certain Jews or later rabbins, which, as they do falsely interpret all the holy scriptures against our Saviour Christ in other points of our belief, as against his incarnation, death, and resurrection; so do they also falsely interpret the holy scriptures against his descending into hell, which those Jewish rabbins deny, because they look for another Messias that shall not die at all, and consequently shall not after his death go down into hell, and deliver the fathers expecting his coming, as our Saviour Christ did. And therefore those Jewish rabbins hold, as the heretics do, that the fathers of the old testament were in Martin, 25. The protestants in interpretation of scriptures follow the late Jews, rather than the ancient fathers and apostolical church.

heaven before our Saviour's incarnation. And these rabbins are they which also pervert the Hebrew word to the signification of "grave," in such places of the holy scriptures as speak either of our Saviour Christ's descending into hell, or of the fathers going down into hell; even in like manner as they pervert other Hebrew words of the holy
Isai. vii. scripture, as namely, *alma* to signify a young woman, not a virgin, against our Saviour's birth of the blessed Virgin Mary.

FULKE, 25. *Fulke.* Beza speaketh of the holy men of God which did write the scriptures, and so use that word *sheol*, as it cannot be taken to signify any thing properly, but "the grave" or "pit." And as for the Jewish rabbins, what reason is there why we should not credit them in the interpretation of words of their own tongue, rather than any ancient Christians ignorant of the Hebrew tongue? And although they do sometimes frowardly contend about the signification of a word or two, against the truth of the gospel, that is no sufficient cause why they should be discredited in all words. But beside them, Beza hath also the best Hebricians that have been in this last age among the Christians, not only protestants, but papists also, namely Pagninus, and Masius, in their dictionaries.

MARTIN, 26. *Martin.* And if these later rabbins be the Hebrews that Beza meaneth, and which these gay English translators follow, we lament that they join themselves with such companions, being the sworn enemies of our Saviour Christ. Surely the christian Hebrews in Rome and elsewhere, which of great rabbins are become zealous doctors of Christianity, and therefore honour every mystery and article of our christian faith concerning our Saviour Christ, they dispute as vehemently against those other rabbins as we do against the heretics; and
1 Sam. xxiii. among other things, they tell them that Saul said, "Raise me up Samuel;" and that the woman said, "I see gods ascending out of the earth," and, "An old man is ascended or come up;" and that Samuel said, "Why hast thou disquieted me, that I should be raised up?" and, "To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me." And the book of
Eccl. xlvi. 23. Ecclesiasticus saith, that Samuel died, and afterward "lifted up his voice out of the earth," &c. All which the holy scripture would never have thus expressed, whether it were Samuel indeed or not, if Saul and the Jews then had believed that their prophets and patriarchs had been in heaven above. And as for the Hebrew word, they make it, as every boy among the Jews doth well know, as proper a word for "hell, as *panis* is for "bread," and as unproper for a grave; though so it may be used by a figure of speech, as *cymba Charontis* is Latin for "death."

Fulke. If we followed the Jews in exposition of the scriptures against Christ, we were not so much to be pitied as to be abhorred: but if we be content to learn the propriety of Hebrew words of the learned rabbins, as Jerome was glad to do of his rabbin, who (as it appeareth by his scholar in some places) was not excellently learned; there is no cause why any man should pity us, but them rather, that, to cloke their ignorance in the Hebrew tongue, pretend as if it were more unlawful to learn Hebrew of the Hebrew rabbins, than Latin of Quintilian or Priscian, and Greek of Gaza, Suidas, and such like. That you tell us of the Romish rabbins converted from Judaism to papistry, is not worth a straw. For their argument of Saul's and a witch's opinion, that the dead might be raised, proveth nothing in the world that they were in hell. And the son of Sirach sheweth himself not to be directed by the Spirit of God, which affirmeth Samuel did lift up his voice after his death out of the earth, contrary to the judgment of catholic doctors of the church. For that the scripture speaketh of Samuel raised by the witch, is meant of a wicked spirit counterfeiting the shape and similitude of Samuel. For the souls of the faithful, and holy prophets, be not at the commandments of witches, but at rest with God, where they cannot be disquieted. As for the authority of those unknown authors, that teach boys to say *sheol* is as proper for "hell," as *panis* for "bread," we may esteem it to be of as good credit as Charon's boat, Pluto's palace, and Cerberus's three heads, &c. FULKE, 26.

Martin. But what speak I of these? Do not the greatest and most ancient rabbins, (so to call them,) the Septuaginta, always translate the Hebrew word by the Greek ᾅδης, which is properly "hell?" do not the Talmudists, and Chaldee paraphrases, and rabbi Salomon Jarhi, handling these places of the psalms, "He will deliver my soul from the hand of *sheol*," interpret it by *gehinum*, that is, *gehenna*, "hell?" and yet the Calvinists bring this place for an example that it signifieth "grave." Likewise upon this place, "Let all sinners be turned into *sheol*," the aforesaid rabbins interpret it by *gehinum*, "hell." Insomuch that in the Proverbs, and in Job, it is joined with "Abaddon." Where rabbi Levi, according to the opinion of the Hebrews, expoundeth *sheol* to be the lowest region of the world, a deep place opposite to heaven, whereof it is written, "If I descended into hell, thou art present:" and so doth rabbi Abraham expound the same word in chap. ii. Jonæ. MARTIN, 27. Genebr. lib. 3. de Trin. Prov. xv. Job xxvi

Fulke. Although the Septuaginta do always translate FULKE, 27.

sheol by the word ἅδης, yet do they not thereby always understand "hell;" as it is manifest in all those places, where the scripture speaketh of a receptacle of dead bodies. But now you will bear us down with rabbins, Talmudists, and Chaldee paraphrases. And first you say that all these, handling that verse of the 49th psalm, "He will deliver my soul from the hand of *sheol*," interpret it by *gehinnom*, that is, "hell." I grant that rabbi Joseph, using the liberty of a paraphrast, rather than a translator, interpreteth the word by *gehinnom*, that signifieth "hell-fire:" and so the sense is true; for God delivered David from eternal damnation: but rabbi David Chimchi, expounding the same place according to the proper signification of *sheol*, saith, אמר הנביא בראותו, &c. "The prophet said, when he saw the destruction of the souls of the wicked in their death, 'In the day in which my body shall go down to (*sheol*) the grave, God shall deliver my soul from the hand of (*sheol*) the grave, that my soul shall not perish with my body.'" You see, therefore, that all the rabbins be not of your side; no, nor rabbi Salomon Jarchi, whom you cite. For upon Genesis xxxvii. 35, where Jacob saith he will go down to the grave mourning, thus he writeth: "אבל שאולה: כפשוטו לשון קבר הוא וגו. Mourning to *sheol:* according to the plain and literal sense, the interpretation thereof is 'the grave,' in my mourning I will be buried, and I will not be comforted all my days: but after the *midrash*, or exposition, not according to the letter, it is 'hell.' This sign was delivered by hands, or by tradition, from the mouth of his power, (that is, from a divine oracle;) if not one of my sons shall die in my life-time, I had confidence that I should not see hell." By this saying it is manifest, that this rabbin acknowledged the true and proper translation of this word *sheol* was "to the grave;" although after figurative, and sometimes fond, expositions, it was interpreted for "hell." Likewise you say, but untruly, of this verse, Psal. ix. 18, "Let all sinners be turned to *sheol;*" for there the Chaldee paraphrast retaineth the word *sheol*, and doth not give any other word for it. David Chimchi interpreteth it according to the literal sense, ישובו רשעים לקבר. "Let the wicked be turned into the grave;" which is so strange with you to be answerable to *sheol*, although, as R. Salomon saith, it may be understood of their burial in hell. That *sheol* in the Proverbs and Job is joined with *abaddon*, it

hindereth it not to signify the grave, where is the destruction and consumption of the body. And Proverbs xv. 11, the Chaldee paraphrast retaineth *sheol*, which *Kabuenaki* expoundeth thus: "ואמר, &c. It is said of *sheol* and *abaddon*, that *sheol* is "the grave," הקבר, and *abaddon* is "hell," which is deeper than the grave, &c." And although in Job rabbi Levi and others expound *sheol* for a secret place about the centre of the earth, which should seem to be hell; yet they say not that this is the proper signification of the word *sheol*. For in Job xxi. 13, the Chaldee paraphrast for *sheol* interpreteth *kebureta*, "the grave"; and in the xiv. 13, *beith kebureta*, "the house of the grave;" and xvii. 12 and 15, "the grave." In both which places rabbi Abraham Peritsol joineth *sheol* and *keber* together, both signifying "the grave"; and in the latter verse he maketh Job to say to his friends, "בדי הכזבים, the bars of lies with which you comfort me, into the midst of the pit of the grave shall go down with me when I die." By all which testimonies it is manifest, that *sheol* is not the proper word for "hell," the receptacle of souls; but for "grave," the common dwelling-house of men's bodies.

Prov. xv. Job xxvi.

קְבוּרְתָּא

בֵּית קְבוּרְתָּא

But you will press us yet further with the authority of rabbi Abraham upon Jonas ii. Indeed, in Abraham Aben Ezra I read as you say: but this is only his opinion of the figurative sense of that place; for upon Hosee xiii. 14, he expoundeth מיד שאול thus, "I have been a redeemer of thy fathers; now I will be a destruction of death which is to thee." And so do R. Shelomo Jarchi, and rabbi David Chimchi: yea, so doth St Paul, more worth than all the rabbins that ever were, expound it.

Martin. This being the opinion and the interpretation of the Hebrews, see the skill or the honesty of Beza, saying that *sheol*, with the Hebrews, signifieth nothing but "grave." Whereas indeed, to speak skilfully, uprightly, and not contentiously, it may signify "grave" sometime secondarily, but "hell" principally and properly, as is manifest; for that there is no other word so often used, and so familiar in the scriptures to signify "hell," as this; and for that the Septuaginta do always interpret it by the Greek word ᾅδης. MARTIN, 28.

Fulke. The opinion of the Hebrews being as I have rehearsed out of their own words, "see the skill or honesty" FULKE, 28.

of Martin, which dare open his mouth against Beza in this matter, and tell us that *sheol* may secondarily signify "a grave;" whereas it doth first and principally so signify, howsoever the Septuaginta do interpret it by ᾅδης, which signifieth an obscure dark place under the earth, and not "hell" properly.

MARTIN, 29. *Martin.* The which Greek word is so notorious and peculiar for "hell," that the pagans use it also for "Pluto," whom they feigned to be god of hell, and not god of "graves;" and if they would stand with us in this point, we might beat them with their own kind of reasoning out of poets and profane writers, and out of all lexicons. Unless they will tell us, contrary to their custom, that we Christians must attend the ecclesiastical use of this word in the bible and in christian writers, and that in them it signifieth "grave." For so Beza seemeth to say, that the Greek interpreters of the bible translated the Hebrew word aforesaid by this Greek word, as signifying "a dark place;" whereas the Greek poets used it for that which the Latins called *inferos*, that is "hell." "Which ambiguity," saith he, "of the word made many err, affirming Christ's descending into hell. So was *limbus* builded, whereunto afterward purgatory was laid."

Annot. in Acts ii. 27.

FULKE, 29. *Fulke.* That Pluto of the poets is feigned to be the god of hell, it was hereof that they imagined hell to be a place under the earth, which was his palace, as earth was his kingdom; or else, what becometh of the triple division of all the world, if Jupiter having heaven, Neptune the sea, Pluto should not have the earth? who had his name of the riches inclosed in the earth, and was also called Ἅδης, or Ἀΐδης, as in Homer Il. xv.

Ζεὺς καὶ ἐγὼ, τρίτατος δ' Ἀΐδης ἐνέροισιν ἀνάσσων.

"Jupiter and I, and Pluto the third that ruleth over the dead." Whereof it is put in the genitive case, after such prepositions as govern an accusative or dative, where οἶκος "the house of Pluto" is to be understood. I might here cite divers places out of Nonnus, the christian Greek poet, who seemeth to use ἄϊς and ἀΐδης for "the grave," speaking of the resurrection of Christ, John ii. and of Lazarus, xi. But of the translation of the Greek word is not our question, but of the Hebrew word *sheol*, which the Septuaginta turning into ᾅδης, mean a place generally to receive the dead, which sometimes is the "grave" of the bodies, sometimes "hell" of the souls.

Martin. I see Beza's wiliness very well in this point: for here the man hath uttered all his heart, and the whole mystery of his crafty meaning of this corrupt translation: that to avoid these three things, "Christ's descending into hell," *limbus patrum*, and *purgatory*, he and his companions wrest the foresaid words of the holy scriptures to the signification of "grave." But let the indifferent christian reader only consider Beza's own words in this place, point by point. MARTIN, 30.

Fulke. Beza useth no wiliness or craft at all; for he doth always openly detest the dreams of *limbus* and purgatory, and whatsoever may depend upon them. But let us see what you can gather out of his words. FULKE, 30.

Martin. First he saith, that the Greek poets were wont to use the Greek word for "hell;" secondly, that they which interpreted the bible out of Hebrew into Greek, used the very same word for that Hebrew word, whereof we have now disputed; thirdly, that the ancient fathers, (for of them he speaketh, as a little before he expresseth,) understood the said Greek word for "hell," and thereby grew to those errors, as he impudently affirmeth, of Christ's descending into hell, and of the place in hell where the fathers rested expecting the coming of our Saviour, &c. Whereby the reader doth easily see, that both the profane, and also the ecclesiastical use of the word is for "hell," and not for "grave." MARTIN, 31. Acts ii. 24.

Fulke. I looked for some great matter, when you began to consider so diligently from point to point: but I see we shall have nothing but this cold collection, "that both the profane and ecclesiastical use of this word ᾅδης is for 'hell,' and not for the 'grave'." That it is used for "hell," no man denieth: but that it is used only for "hell," Beza saith not, and I have proved that it is not. As also it may be proved by divers other places out of the apocryphal writings; namely, Wisd. xvi. 13, where it is translated for "death" by your own Latin translator, being the same verse that is in the song of Anna, 1 Sam. ii., where *sheol* is used, and is repeated in that signification Tob. xiii. 12. Likewise Wisd. ii. 1, where the ungodly that profess the mortality of the soul say, that none was known to return from ᾅδης, the word can signify nothing but "grave." For "hell" it cannot signify in their speech, that believe no hell, and say plainly that their souls shall vanish like smoke or light air. Likewise in Baruch ii. it is taken for the "grave," where he saith the dead, which are in the ᾅδης, shall not give honour to God; where it is cer- FULKE, 31.

tain, that by that word is meant the "grave," seeing the souls of the righteous that were in Abraham's bosom did praise God: and moreover, he maketh it plain that he speaketh of the dead bodies, when he saith, "their spirit is taken out of their bowels."

MARTIN, 32. Infernus, inferi.

Martin. And for the Latin word, it is the like case for all the world; and if a man will ask but his child that cometh from the grammar, what is *infernus,* he will say "hell," and not "grave:" what is Latin for "grave"? he will answer, *sepulchrum,* or *monumentum;* but never *infernus,* unless one of these Calvinistical translators taught him so, to deceive his father.

FULKE, 32.

Fulke. I hope they that be wise will believe St Augustine rather than you, that the word *inferi,* which is the same that *infernus,* hath diverse and manifold understandings in the scripture, as I have declared before, sect. 21. But with the Latin word *infernus* we have little to do, which translate not out of Latin, but out of Hebrew or Greek.

MARTIN, 33.

Martin. Now then, to draw to a conclusion of this their corruption also in their English translation: whereas the Hebrew and Greek and Latin words do most properly and usually signify "hell;" and both Greek and Latin interpreters precisely in every place use for the Hebrew word that one Greek word, and that one Latin word, which by all custom of speaking and writing signify "hell;"* it had been the part of sincere and true-meaning translators, to have translated it also in English always by the word "hell;" and afterward to have disputed of the meaning thereof, whether and when it is to be taken for "hell," or "grave," or "lake," or "death," or any such thing. As in one place they have done it very exactly and indifferently, namely when Jonas saith, chap. ii. 2, out of the whale's belly, "Out of the belly of hell cried I, and thou heardest my voice[1]." So all translate it, and well, whatsoever it signify in this place. They think that "hell" here signifieth nothing else but the whale's belly, and the affliction of Jonas; and so the word may signify by a metaphorical speech, as when we say in English, "It is a hell to live thus;" and therefore* no doubt they did here translate it so, to insinuate that in other places it might as well signify "grave," as here the "whale's belly."

* If they object unto us some Catholics, that translate it *sepulchrum,* as they do: it is a fault in them also, but so far less than in the protestants, as chance medley is in respect of wilful murder.

See their marginal annot. Jonæ ii. 2. Bib. 1577.

FULKE, 33.

Fulke. Your conclusion is as good as your premises: because the Greek and Latin interpreters had before us translated amiss, which gave occasion to divers errors, therefore we also, knowing the true signification of the word,

[1 Genevan translation, 1560.]

must have followed them in wrong and doubtful translation, and afterward debated the meaning of the several places. But in the margin you tell us, that such catholics as have translated the word *sheol* for a "grave," have also done amiss. Pardon us, M. Martin; we take you for no such learned Hebrician, that you should control Pagninus, Isidorus Clarius, and all other Hebricians of this time upon such slender sleeveless reasons as you have brought hitherto. And you shew an intolerable proud stomach, that being a man so little seen in the Hebrew tongue (as you shew yourself to be), you should condemn such grave and learned persons of your own side, of rashness or ignorance. For you make them in the case of chance medley, that have translated *sheol* a "grave." Think you, the deputies of the council of Trent had no more discretion in perusing Isidorus Clarius' correction of the bible, than to suffer him to change life and safety into chance medley and manslaughter? You may in time to come, if you apply your study, prove learned in that language, wherein as yet you are but a smatterer, not worthy to be heard against so many, so learned, so famous professors of the Hebrew tongue, Jews and Christians, protestants and papists, authors of grammars, dictionaries, and translations. But in the second of Jonas it pleaseth you well that our Geneva bible translateth this word "hell," "out of the belly of hell," &c.; but you like not that they should interpret it a metaphorical hell, or the extremity of affliction whereinto the prophet was brought: where you make it no doubt what they would insinuate, you shew yourself more bold to affirm, than ready or able to prove.

Martin. But then they should have translated it also "hell" in other places, as they did in this, and afterward have interpreted it "grave" in their commentaries; and not presumptuously to straiten and limit the word of the Holy Ghost to their private sense and interpretation, and to prejudice the ancient and learned holy fathers, which look far more deeply and spiritually into this prophecy, than to Jonas or the whale; our Saviour himself also applying it to his own person, and to his being in the heart of the earth three days and three nights. And therefore[2] St Jerome saith: "This belly of hell, according to the story,

MARTIN, 34.

Matt. xii.

Comment. in 2 Jonæ.

[2] Ventrem autem inferi alvum ceti intelligamus, quæ tantæ fuit magnitudinis, ut instar obtineret inferni. Sed melius ad personam Christi referri potest, qui sub nomine David cantat in psalmo: *Non*

is the whale's belly; but it may much better be referred to the person of Christ, which, under the name of David, singeth in the psalm, 'Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell,' who was in hell alive, and free among the dead." And that which our Saviour saith, "The Son of man shall be in the heart of the earth," he doth interpret of his soul in hell. "For as the heart is in the midst of the body, so is hell said to be in the midst of the earth."

Psal. xxv. In inferno. Psal. lxxxvii.

FULKE, 34.

Fulke. They have in other places translated it according to the propriety of the word; and if in this place they had done so likewise, I see not what fault they had committed. Certain it is that the whale's belly did rather resemble a grave, wherein Jonas seemed to be buried, than hell, the receptacle of separated souls. It is the office of a translator not so much to regard what other have written upon the place he translateth, be they ancient, be they godly, be they learned, as what sense the interpretation of the words will best bear. Without prejudice therefore of any man's credit, the truth in this case must be sought out.

That you report out of Jerome upon this place, sheweth that both the Hebrew word *sheol*, and the Latin *infernus*, are not proper and peculiar for "hell," as in other places you tell us. That St Jerome interpreteth the saying of Christ, Matt. xii. 40, of his being "in the heart of the earth," to be meant of his being in hell, which is said to be in the middle of the earth, it is confuted by the words of our Saviour Christ, who saith, that he shall be there "three days and three nights," that is, all the time of his death; which is true of his body in the grave, but not of his soul in hell: for both he said he would be that day in paradise, and you yourselves hold that he made no tarriance in hell. Beside that it is a fantastical opinion to limit hell into the midst of the earth, which is rather a place without the sensible world, than any dungeon within the earth.

derelinques animam meam in inferno, nec dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Qui fuit in inferno vivens, inter mortuos liber. * * * * Porro per cor maris significatur infernus, pro quo in evangelio legimus, *In corde terræ.* Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est; ita infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur. Comment. Hieronymi in Jonæ c. ii. Opera, Vol. IV. pp. 1481, 1482.]

Martin. Thus then presupposing, as we must, that Jonas speaketh in the person of our Saviour Christ, the principal sense is not of the whale's belly, but of that hell whither our Saviour Christ descended, and from whence he delivered the fathers of the Old Testament, himself ascending into heaven, as their king and general captain, before them, and opening the way of heaven unto them, as is signified in another prophet, and was the first that entered heaven. MARTIN, 35. Mic. ii. 13.

Fulke. That which Jonas spake was first true of his own person, and then of Christ, as Jonas was in this a resemblance of him. But by this similitude of Christ remaining so many days and nights in the heart of the earth, as Jonas did in the whale's belly, it is manifest that he speaketh of his body remaining in the "grave," not of his soul tarrying in "hell." Wherefore the descending of Christ into *limbus patrum* hath no manner of hold, either of the saying of Christ in the gospel, Matt. xii., or of Jonas in his prayer, Jon. ii. FULKE, 35.

Martin. Against all which truths and every point thereof these translators are so watchful and wary, that where the apostle saith, Christ "began" and "dedicated" unto us the way into heaven, they say in their English translations, with full consent, nothing else but, "he prepared[1]." Why are they falser here than their masters, Calvin, Beza, Illyricus, who read *dedicavit?* Is there nothing in the Greek word, but bare "preparation"? Where be these etymologists now, that can strain and wring other words to the uttermost advantage of their heresy, and here are content for the like advantage to dissemble the force of this word, which by all use and property signifieth "to make new," "to begin a thing," "to be the first author," "to dedicate?" as St Augustine might have taught them, and their lexicons, and the scriptures in many places. This translation, no doubt, is not done sincerely and indifferently of them, but for their own deceitful purpose, as is all the rest. When St Paul speaketh of "preparation" only, they know right well that he useth the usual word to "prepare"; as, "He hath prepared them a city:" and wheresoever is signified "preparation" only, let them bring us one example where it is expressed by the other Greek word which now we speak of. MARTIN, 36. Heb. x. 20. ἐνεκαίνισε. Initiavit. χειροτονία. μετάνοια. Aug. tract. 48. in Ioan. Heb. xi. 16. ἡτοίμασε.

[1 Ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν, Heb. x. 20. "Quam initiavit nobis viam novam et viventem," Vulg. "By the new and living way which he hath prepared for us," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "Which he hath dedicated to us a new and living way," Rhemish. "By a new and living way which he hath consecrated for us," Authorised version. "Ea via quam dedicavit nobis recentem et vivam," Beza, 1556. 1582.]

FULKE, 36. *Fulke.* I grant, the translations had been more proper and agreeable to the Greek word, to have said, "which he hath dedicated," or "by dedication prepared." But here is no fraud against any truth or error of yours. For the apostle speaketh not of the way by which we ascend immediately to heaven, but of the way by which we have free access to God through faith, without the vails and ceremonies of the law, as it is manifest by his exhortation. And whereas you said before, that Christ ascending into heaven, * * to those whom he had brought out of hell, you must tell us then where they remained all those forty days that were between his resurrection and ascension; except you will make two ascensions of Christ into heaven, one in soul alone, the other in body and soul: which hath not been heard of in the church before. For that his soul was first received into heaven or paradise immediately after his death, it proveth not an ascension; seeing the same was common to him with other saints. Again, seeing the mystery of our redemption is divided into the death and resurrection of Christ, and that by his death we are delivered from sins, by his resurrection we are justified; if you will not allow his death to have purchased equal redemption to the fathers of the Old Testament and us, but measure the virtue thereof by the instance of time in which it was actually performed, you must stay your prisoners from entering into the kingdom of heaven at least until his resurrection: for none can enter into the kingdom of heaven but justified persons. Seeing therefore that justification dependeth upon his resurrection, you must either grant that it was communicated to the fathers in their time before his incarnation, or else you must stay them from entering into heaven before they were justified by his resurrection. The place of Michah ii. that you quote is nothing to the purpose of Christ's ascending. For there the prophet threateneth the Israelites with the violence of their enemies the Chaldees, whom God himself would prosper against them, to have the victory, and to drive them into captivity.

MARTIN, 37. *Martin.* But it is of more importance which followeth, and appertaining altogether to this controversy. Heb. v. 7, your translation is thus, in the very English bible that now is read in your churches

Of the year 1577.

"Which in days of his flesh offered up prayers with strong crying unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that which he feared[1]." Is the Greek here, "In that which he feared?" You know that no grammar nor lexicon doth allow you this translation. But either thus, "for reverence," or as one of your own English bibles hath it, "because of his reverence[1]." Against Christ's descending into hell. ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

Fulke. Your first quarrel against the truest translation of that word ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, Heb. v., is that it saith "in that which he feared," whereas the Greek is "from fear" or "out of fear:" which afterward you confess, though distant in word, yet to be agreeable in sense. The second, that in the margin, our translation is against Christ's descending into hell. How so, I pray you? do you, according to your translation, expound that word of Christ's descending into hell? No, verily. But we do expound it of his descending into hell, therefore our translation is to prove Christ's descending into hell; and if our exposition were not true, yet even your opinion of Christ's descent were nothing hindered thereby. You will say, that by our exposition we exclude his descent after his death: we do indeed in such sort as your error teacheth altogether without the scripture. For if there had been an history of Christ's going into hell, and delivering the patriarchs and others the faithful from thence, all the evangelists would not have omitted so notable a matter, and that also an article of our belief. FULKE, 37.

Martin. How is it then, that in your later English bibles you changed your former translation from better to worse? or who taught you so to translate it? Forsooth the heretic Beza, whose translation you follow for the most part in your later bibles, though here in sense rather than in word. And who taught Beza? he saith, Calvin was the first that ever found out this interpretation. And why? surely for defence of no less blasphemy than this, that our Saviour Jesus Christ MARTIN, 38. Ex metu. Calv. Catech. et Institut. lib. ii. c. 16.

[1 Καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας, Heb. v. 7. "Exauditus est pro sua reverentia," Vulg. "Exauditus esset ex metu," Beza. "Was heard for his reverence," Wiclif, Rheims. "Was also heard because of his godliness," Tyndale. "Was heard because of his reverence," Cranmer. "Was heard in that he feared," Geneva, Authorised. "Which in the days of his flesh, when he had offered up prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears unto him that was able to save him from death, and was heard in that which he feared," Edit. 1568.]

upon the cross was horribly afraid of damnation, that he was in the very sorrows and torments of the damned, and that this was his descending into hell, and that otherwise he descended not. Let the reader note these new teachers upon this place, and judge to what wicked end this translation tendeth.

FULKE, 38. *Fulke.* If we have in the latter reformed an error escaped in the former, what skilleth it by whom we were admonished so to correct it? But Beza, you say, "affirmeth that Calvin was the first that ever found out this interpretation." It appeareth you were never well beaten for lying, it is such a common fault with you. Beza, speaking of the interpreters of this age, saith that Calvin (as he thinketh) was the first that shewed the true and natural interpretation of this place. He saith not, the first that ever found it: yea, clean contrariwise he saith, *Denique ut non dubium sit, etc.*[1] "Finally, that it should not be doubtful but that some of the ancient fathers also have interpreted this place even so, *Nazianzenus*[2], *Conc. de fil.* ii., doth plainly number τὸ εὐλαβὲς, 'this fear,' among the infirmities of Christ's manhood." As for that which you call a blasphemy, [it] is a holy and comfortable true doctrine, that Christ for the redemption of our souls suffered the wrath of God in his soul, as those tears and that strong cry declareth, in which he complained, according to the sense of his humanity, that he was forsaken of God.

MARTIN, 39. *Martin.* A wonderful thing! when all antiquity, with a general and full consent, hath in that place of the holy scripture read thus, "that Christ was heard (of his Father) for his reverence," (according as our John xi. 42. Saviour himself also saith in the raising of Lazarus, and signifieth in his long prayer, John xvii.); how a blasphemous and presumptuous heretic should be so malapert thus to alter it, that "he was heard in that which he feared," that is, that he was delivered from damnation

[1 Denique ut non dubium sit quin hunc locum ita etiam interpretati sint nonnulli veteres, Nazianzenus diserte, concione de filio secunda, inter Christi hominis imbecillitates τὸ εὐλαβὲς numerat. See the long note on Heb. v. 7. Nov. Test. Bezæ, 1582, pp. 349, 350.]

[2 Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἔχεται θεωρίας καὶ τὸ μαθεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθεν· ἥ τε κραυγὴ, καὶ τὰ δάκρυα, καὶ τὸ ἱκετεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ εἰσακουσθῆναι, καὶ τὸ εὐλαβὲς, ἃ δραματουργεῖται καὶ πλέκεται θαυμασίως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν. Greg. Nazianz. Oratio. xxxvi. Opera, Vol. i. p. 580. Edit. 1609.]

and the eternal pains of hell, which he was sore afraid of. To the maintenance of which blasphemy Beza will seem to force the Greek thus. First, saith he, εὐλάβεια doth not here signify reverence or piety, but fear; and such a fear which he calleth *pavorem et consternationem animi*, that is, dreadfulness and astonishment of mind; and other like words, to insinuate an exceeding horror and fear in our Saviour Christ. For confutation whereof, we might easily bring the common use of this Greek word in the holy scriptures to signify not every fear, but that religious fear which is in the best men joined with godliness, holiness, and devotion; as when in the Acts they that buried St Stephen are called *viri timorati*, "devout men," such as feared God.

ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

Acts viii. ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς.

Fulke. How know you that all antiquity hath so read? If we had the commentaries of many of the ancient fathers upon this text, we might perhaps prove unto you that they read otherwise. Nazianzenus, as I shewed before, among Christ's infirmities reckoneth this fear. Primasius[3], although he expoundeth it of reverence, yet allegeth out of Cassiodorus that the word is taken sometime for love, sometimes for fear. Theodoretus also interpreteth this place of Christ's fear, according to his human nature; shewing that he feared death, which St Paul feared not, both to shew himself a man, and to have experience of all our infirmities without sin. But where you say that Calvin maketh him "to fear damnation and the eternal pains of hell," it is false. Calvin saith plainly, his fear came not of distrust, but of the sense of his human nature, forbearing the judgment of God, which without vehement endeavour could not be overcome. Therefore was the astonishment, the tears, the strong

FULKE, 39.

[3 *Pro sua reverentia.* Hoc est, propter voluntariam obedientiam et perfectissimam caritatem. Nonne cum lacrymis preces fundebat, dicens, Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem; et, Pater, transfer calicem istum a me? Et quia voluntarie fuit obediens Deo Patri usque ad mortem, exaudivit illum, die tertia resuscitando; juxta quod Psalmista dicit: Non dabis Sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Dicitur autem fudisse preces supplicationesque, non timore mortis, quam sponte suscipiebat, sed potius causa nostræ salutis voluntatem paternæ dispensationis præposuit voluntati carnis suæ; ut veram ostenderet in seipso naturam humanitatis nostræ. Notandum autem, quia reverentia secundum sententiam Cassiodori accipitur aliquando pro amore, aliquando pro timore: hic vero, pro summa ponitur caritate, qua Filius Dei nos dilexit, et pro summa obedientia, qua fuit obediens Patri usque ad mortem. Primasius Comm. in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 207, 208. Edit. Paris. 1543, 12mo.]

cry, the drops of blood, the angel needful to comfort him, the last extreme conflict, in which he cried, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" As for the signification of the Greek word εὐλάβεια, although it be so often taken for piety and religion, yet it is also taken for fear: as Acts xxiii.[1] where St Luke saith the tribune was greatly afraid least Paul should have been rent in pieces between the Pharisees and Sadducees, he useth this word εὐλαβηθεὶς for being afraid; which was of no piety or religious fear in him, that was a pagan, but a natural and civil fear, least a prisoner, being a Roman, of whom he had charge, should be violently murdered amongst them.

MARTIN, 40. Annot. in Luc. ii. 25.

Martin. But we need not go far; for Beza will help us himself, who telleth us in another place the very same. His words be these: *εὐλάβεια significat non quemvis timorem, sed cum reverentia potius quam cum animi trepidatione conjunctum; Latini*[2] *religionem vocant.* That is, "εὐλάβεια doth not signify every fear, but that which is joined with reverence rather than with astonishment of mind; the Latins do call it religion, or religious fear." If this be the true signification of εὐλάβεια, as Beza himself confesseth, why doth he not so translate it in the aforesaid place to the Hebrews? Why forsaketh he the old approved Latin translation, and general consent of all ancient interpreters, and translateth it "that fear or astonishment of mind," which he saith the word doth not signify?

FULKE, 40.

Fulke. You have great leisure thus to trifle, or rather intolerable malice thus to cavil. Beza in the place by you cited speaketh of the word εὐλάβεια, when it is taken for religion; for then it is rather joined with reverence, than with astonishment.

MARTIN, 41.

Martin. And mark, that in his aforesaid annotation upon St Luke, he telleth not a peculiar signification of the Greek word in that place, as though in some other places it might have another signification; but he telleth generally what the very nature of the Greek word is, that is, that it signifieth not every fear, but a fear joined with reverence.

[1 Πολλῆς δὲ γενομένης στάσεως, εὐλαβηθεὶς ὁ χιλίαρχος μὴ διασπασθῇ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, Act. xxiii. 10. "Et cum magna dissensio facta esset, timens tribunus ne discerperetur Paulus ab ipsis," Vulg.]

[2 Martin has omitted, after "Latini," "ni fallor" in this quotation; and at the commencement of it these words also: "Religiosus, εὐλαβής. Vulgata barbare *timoratus*, significat enim εὐλάβεια non quemvis," &c.]

And he said truly; and they shall hardly give an instance where it signifieth that fear of astonishment, which both he and they translate in the aforesaid place of St Paul. Such a force hath heresy to lead a man, even contrary to his own knowledge, to falsify God's holy word!

Fulke. Any reasonable man reading the note upon the word εὐλαβῆς, "religious," used by St Luke of Simeon, will understand Beza to speak of the signification of that word as it is taken in that place; for he speaketh against the barbarous word *timoratus*, used by the vulgar interpreter, which signifieth, if it have any signification, one made afraid, rather than fearing God with love and reverence. "But where you say, we "shall hardly give an instance where the word signifieth that fear of astonishment, which they translate," if you would have taken pains to read Beza's annotations yourself upon this text in question, you should have found, that he bringeth many instances out of Aristotle, Sophocles, Plutarch[3], Nazianzen, and St. Luke, Acts xxiii. If you had remembered what St Mark writeth of our Saviour Christ, Mark xiv. 33[4], it should not have been so strange a matter unto you, to hear that our Saviour Christ, with great astonishment and terror of mind, was afraid of death, where he useth the words ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, and ἀδημονεῖν: which was not for bodily pain, or bodily death, (which not only thousands of holy martyrs have joyfully embraced, but infinite wicked persons have contemned,) but for the feeling of God's wrath, which was infinitely more heavy upon his soul than any torments were upon his body. FULKE, 41.

Martin. Yea, Beza saith further to this purpose, much more against his skill in the Greek tongue, if he had any at all, that ἀπὸ the preposition cannot bear this sense, "for which," or "in respect whereof;" and therefore he translateth the Greek into Latin thus, *exauditus est ex metu*, "he was heard from fear," not "for fear," or, "for his reverence." And because "from fear" is a hard speech and dark, that MARTIN, 42.

[3 Pericles, inquit Plutarchus, περὶ τὸν λόγον ἦν εὐλαβής, timide ad dicendum accedebat, quod de se quoque Cicero testatur. εὐλαβοῦμαι πεσεῖν, inquit ille apud Sophoclem, timeo ne cadam. Sed et Aristoteles alicubi in Rhetoricis τοὺς δειλοὺς καὶ τοὺς εὐλαβεῖς conjungit. Act. xxiii. 10; Luc. xxii. 43. Bezæ, Nov. Test. Edit. 1556.]

[4 Καὶ ἤρξατο ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἀδημονεῖν. "Et cæpit pavere et tædere," Vulg. "And he began to fear and to be heavy," Mark xiv. 33. Rheims.]

seemeth to be the cause why our English translators say, "in that which he feared," far from Beza in word, but agreeably in sense.

FULKE, 42. *Fulke.* When Beza hath shewed his skill in the Greek tongue, not only in his translation and annotations, but also in divers Greek epigrams, which he hath set forth; who but one stark mad with malice, and blind with conceit of his own slender skill, would doubt whether Beza "had any skill at all in the Greek tongue?" As for that he saith of the signification of the preposition ἀπὸ, he speaketh in respect of the property of the Greek tongue; for yet you bring no examples, but Hebraisms out of the scripture, for that signification of the preposition.

MARTIN, 43. Flac. Illyric. *Martin.* But for this matter we send them to Flaccus Illyricus, a captain Lutheran, who disputeth this very point against the Calvinists, and teacheth them that nothing is more common than that signification of ἀπό. For proof whereof we also refer them to these places of the holy scripture: Matt. xiii., Luc. xxii. and xxiv., Acts xii., Psal. lxxxvii., and [2] Machab. v. 21, where ἀπὸ with a genitive, and διὰ with an accusative, signify all one, which Beza denieth. Gentle reader, bear with these tedious grammatications, fitter to be handled in Latin, but necessary in this case also; good for them that understand, and for the rest, an occasion to ask of them that have skill in the Greek tongue, whether we accuse our adversaries justly, or no, of false translating the holy scriptures.

ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς.
ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης.
ἀπὸ ταλαιπωρίας.
ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανίας.
διὰ τὸν μετεωρισμὸν τῆς καρδίας.

FULKE, 43. *Fulke.* And we, by the same authority, send you to Beza's answer, in his last edition of his annotations[1]. And yet the reader must know, that Beza did not simply deny that the preposition might have such sense: but he said, *Non facile mihi persuaserim*, I cannot easily persuade myself, that any example can be brought wherein ἀπὸ is so used. And in all these examples that you have brought, it signifieth rather *præ*, which is ὑπὸ, than *propter*, διὰ, as your vulgar translator observeth the difference, 2 Mac. v. 21,

[1 *Ex metu*, ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας. Ergo quod ad totum ipsum dicendi genus attinet, si pro *reverentia*, ut omnibus adhuc placuisse video; vel pro *pietate*, quod Erasmus annotavit, interpreteris; non aliud declarabit *pro* quam *propter* vel *secundum*, vel aliquid denique ejusmodi quod significet quo respectu sit exauditus. Atqui non facile mihi persuaserim proferri posse ullum exemplum in quo ἀπὸ ita usurpetur. Bezæ, Nov. Test. 1556, p. 219. Vide chap. i. numb. 29.]

translating *præ superbia*, and *propter elationem mentis*. But Beza requireth an example of ἀπὸ taken for διὰ, ὑπὲρ or κατὰ, that may answer to the vulgar Latin, *pro reverentia*. For who would translate in St Matthew, xiii. ἀπὸ χαρᾶς, *pro gaudio, propter gaudium*, or *secundum gaudium*, or ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης, *pro dolore*, and so of the rest? But of these let Beza himself give account. As for "these tedious grammaticications," which you confess to have been "fitter to be handled in Latin," it seemeth you uttered in English, for that of many ignorant you might be thought to bring some great learning out of the Hebrew and Greek tongues against us; whereas the learned, if you had written in Latin, of other nations, as well as ours, might have been witnesses of your fond trifling and quarrelling against our translations. As for the necessary cause you pretend, that the unlearned may ask them that have skill in Greek, [it] is very ridiculous. For neither can they have at hand always such as be able to resolve them; neither if they be of your faction, will they ask any indifferent man's judgment, but only such as will avouch before the ignorant that all which you write is good and perfect.

Martin. And we beseech them to give us a good reason, why they, professing to follow precisely the Greek, do not observe truly the Greek points in such place as concerneth this present controversy. For the place in the Apocalypse, which they allege of our Saviour Christ's suffering from the beginning, (thereby to infer that the just men of the Old Testament might enter heaven then, as well as after his real and actual death,) according to the Greek points saith thus: "All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him (the beast), whose names have not been written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world." Where it is evident that the Greek text saith not, "the Lamb slain from the beginning;" but that the names of those antichristian idolaters were not written in God's eternal book of predestination from the beginning; as it is also most plain without all ambiguity in the xviith chap. ver. 8. If in a place of no controversy they had not been curious in points of the Greek, they might have great reason sometime to alter the same. MARTIN, 44.

Fulke. How fain would you obscure the light of that excellent testimony, even contrary to your own vulgar Latin translation, that you might not have such a faithful witness against your *limbus patrum!* You require a reason, why FULKE, 44.

we keep not the Greek points, Apoc. xiii.[1] I answer, we keep those points which the most ancient written copies have, which the *Complutensis editio* hath, and which the best Greek prints now have. If you would know a reason why we follow not them that point otherwise, I answer you, the composition of the words is against that pointing. For except St John had meant that the Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world, he would not have placed those words, "from the beginning of the world," next to those words "the Lamb which is slain," but next the word "written." And therefore Aretus, that could not understand how the Lamb was "slain from the beginning of the world," is forced to imagine *hyperbaton* in this text, where none needeth, the sense being good and plain without it, as the words do lie: "Whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb that hath been slain since the beginning of the world." And although it be true that "the names of the antichristian idolaters were not written in God's eternal book of predestination from the beginning," as it is said, Apoc. xiii. 8; yet is that no reason why this also should not be true, that the Lamb was slain since the beginning of the world, seeing without violence you cannot distract ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου from "the Lamb slain," whom it doth immediately follow.

MARTIN, 45. *Martin.* But if in points of controversy between us, they will say, divers pointing is of no importance, they know the contrary by the example of ancient heretics, which used this mean also to serve their false heretical purpose. If they say, our vulgar Latin sense pointeth it so, let them profess before God and their conscience that they do it of reverence to the said ancient Latin text, or because it is indifferent, and not for any other cause; and for this one place we will admit their answer.

FULKE, 45. *Fulke.* We say that wrong pointing may greatly alter the sense; but good composition and placing of words in a sentence is a good rule to direct pointing, where it is either lacking, or falsely signed. We refuse not the testimony of the vulgar Latin, where it agreeth with the truth of the Greek or Hebrew; yea, before God and our consciences we reverence it as a monument of some antiquity, from which

[1 Καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὧν οὐ γέγραπται τὸ ὄνομα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἀρνίου τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, Apoc. xiii. 8.]

we neither do, nor are willing to dissent, except the same dissent from the original text. Otherwise the truth of this assertion, that Christ was "slain from the beginning of the world," hath not only testimony of the ancient fathers, but also may be confirmed out of the scripture. For by the obedience of Christ, St Paul, Rom. v. teacheth that "many are justified," meaning all the elect of God; who, except Christ's death had been effectual to them, before he suffered actually on the cross, must have gone, not into *limbo patrum*, but into hell *diabolorum*, which is the place appointed for all them that are not "justified freely by the grace of God, through the redemption of Christ Jesus, whom God before hath set forth to be a propitiatory in his blood," Rom. iii. 24, &c.

The title of this chapter threateneth a discovery of heretical translations against purgatory especially; but in the whole discourse thereof, which is a shameful long one, containing forty-five sections, there is not one place noted against purgatory. *Amphora cœpit institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?*

CHAPTER VIII.

Heretical Translation concerning Justification.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* ABOUT the article of justification, as it hath many branches, and their errors therein be manifold, so are their English translations accordingly many ways false and heretical. First, against justification by good works and by keeping the commandments, they suppress the very name of "justification" in all such places where the word signifieth the commandments or the law of God, which is both in the Old and New Testament most common and usual, namely in the books of Moses, in the psalm cxviii.[1], that beginneth thus, *Beati immaculati*, in the psalm cxlvii. 19[2], 1 Mach. i. 51[3], and ii. 21[4], Luke i. 6[5], Rom. ii. 26[6]. In all which places, and the like, where the Greek signifieth "justices" and "justifications" most exactly, according as our vulgar Latin translateth

τὰ δικαιώματα.

[1 Μακάριοι ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ. "Beati immaculati in via," Psal. cxix. 1. "Blessed are all those that be undefiled in the way of the Lord," Cranmer's bible, 1562. "Undefiled in the way," Bishops' bible, 1584. Authorised version, 1611. "Upright in their way," Genevan version, 1560. Ὄφελον κατευθυνθείησαν αἱ ὁδοί μου, τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ δικαιώματά σου, Psal. cxix. 5. "Utinam dirigantur viæ meæ ad custodiendas justificationes tuas," Vulg. "Keep thy statutes," Cranmer's bible, 1562, Geneva, 1560, Bishops' bible, 1584. Authorised version.]

[2 Ἀπαγγέλλων τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰακὼβ, δικαιώματα καὶ κρίματα αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰσραήλ. Psal. cxlvii. 19. "Qui annunciat verbum suum Jacob, justitias et judicia sua Israel," Vulg. "His statutes and ordinances unto Israel," Cranmer, 1562, Bishops' bible, 1584. "His statutes and his judgments unto Israel," Geneva, 1560. Authorised version 1611.]

[3 Καὶ ἀλλάξαι πάντα τὰ δικαιώματα, 1 Macc. i. 49. Edit. Grabbe. "Change all the [holy, Cranmer's bible, 1562] ordinances of God," Bishops' bible, 1584. "Change all the ordinances," Geneva, 1560, v. 51. Authorised version, 1611, v. 49.]

[4 Καταλιπεῖν νόμον καὶ δικαιώματα, 1 Macc. ii. 21. "Forsake the law and ordinances," Bishops' bible, 1584, Cranmer's Bible, 1562, Geneva, 1560, Authorised, 1611.]

[5 Πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιώμασι τοῦ Κυρίου ἄμεμπτοι, Luc. i. 6. "Incedentes in omnibus mandatis et justificationibus Domini sine querela," Vulg. "Going in all the maundementis and justifyings of the Lord without plaint," Wiclif, 1380. "Laws and ordinances," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Commandments and ordinances," Geneva, Bishops' bible. Authorised version. "Commandments and justifications," Rhemish.]

[6 ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσῃ, Rom. ii. 26. "Si igitur præputium justitias legis custodiat," Vulg. "If the

justitias et justificationes; there the English translations say jointly and with one consent, "ordinances," or, "statutes." For example, Rom. ii., "If the uncircumcision keep the ordinances of the law, shall it not be counted for circumcision?" And Luke i. 6, "They were both righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless." Why translate you it "ordinances," and avoid the term "justifications?" is it because you would follow the Greek? I beseech you, is not δίκαιος "just," δικαιοῦσθαι "to be justified," δικαιώματα "justifications," or "justices?" In the Old Testament you might perhaps pretend that you follow the Hebrew word, and therefore there you translate "statutes," or "ordinances." But even there also are not the seventy Greek interpreters sufficient to teach you the signification of the Hebrew word; who always interpret it δικαιώματα, in English "justifications?" δικαιώματα. δίκαιοι. καὶ δικαιώματα. חקים

Fulke. These matters were driven so thin in the first chapter, that you shall sooner press out blood than any more probable matter. For the Old Testament, which we translate out of the Hebrew, you yourself do set forth our answer, that we give the English of *chukim*, when we say, "ordinances" or "statutes," and not of the Greek word δικαιώματα, which of the Septuaginta is used in the same sense for "precepts" and "commandments," as you yourself confess, cap. i. sect. 50, that very often in the scripture it signifieth "commandments." But the Septuaginta, you say, "are sufficient to teach us the interpretation of the Hebrew word, who always interpret it δικαιώματα." If they had always interpreted it so, it is not sufficient to teach us; for then there needed none other translation: but according to theirs then must you depart from your vulgar translation, which in many things departeth from them. But where you say they always interpret the Hebrew word *chukim* by δικαιώματα, it is false. For Exod. xviii. 20.[7], they translate it προστάγματα, *præcepta*, which your vulgar translation calleth *ceremonias*, "ceremonies;" as it doeth also Gen. xxvi. 5, where the Septuaginta translate δικαιώματα; by which you see חקים חקים FULKE, 1.

uncircumcised keep the right things contained in the law," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, Geneva, 1557. "If the uncircumcision keep the ordinances of the law," Bishops' bible, 1584. "Therefore if the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law," Authorised version, 1611. "If then the prepuce keep the justice of the law," Rhemish version, 1582.]

[7 Καὶ διαμαρτύρῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ προστάγματα τοῦ Θεοῦ, Exod. xviii. 20. "Ostendasque populo ceremonias," Vulg. Καὶ ἐφύλαξε τὰ προστάγματά μου, Gen. xxvi. 5. "Et custodierit præcepta et mandata mea," Vulg.]

that "justification" is not always the English for the Greek word which the Septuaginta do use. Also Numb. ix. 3, for חֻקּוֹת *chukoth* they translate *νόμον*, "the law," which the vulgar Latin calleth *ceremonias*, "ceremonies;" and for the Hebrew מִשְׁפָּטִים word *misphatim* they give *σύγκρισιν*, "comparation," the vulgar Latin "justification;" by which you may see how your translator useth even the Latin word, that you make so much ado about. Likewise in the fourteenth verse of the same חֻקַּת chapter, the Septuagint translate *chukath*, twice together, *νόμον*; and that which the vulgar Latin calleth "justification of the passover," the Greek calleth *συντάξιν*, "the order of חֻקִּים the paschal." Deut. iv., your vulgar Latin turneth *chukim* thrice *ceremonias*, "ceremonies;" and Deut. v. twice, and Deut. vi. twice, Deut. vii. once; and so commonly almost in every chapter. But in the chap. xi. 32, the Greek for חֻקִּים *chukim* hath *προστάγματα*, where as in the beginning of the chapter he had *δικαιώματα*; the Latin in both *ceremonias*, "ceremonies." By which it is evident, what the Greeks and Latins meant by those words, chap. xx. for this Hebrew word; and in another the Greek hath nothing but *ἐντολὰς*, "commandments." So hath he, 1 Reg. ii. 3, for חֻקִּים, *ἐντολὰς*, "commandments." Also 1 Reg. viii. 58, for *chukim* חֻקִּים he hath *προστάγματα*, and for *misphatim* he hath *δικαιώ-* מִשְׁפָּטִים *ματα*, as he hath it twice in the next verse, where Salomon prayeth that God will defend his cause, and the cause of his people Israel, as the cause shall require. More examples might I bring, but for tediousness, to convince the bold rashness of this quarreller; but these may suffice all indifferent readers, and answer sufficiently for us. Within the New Testament, we translate *δικαιώματα* "ordinances," or "statutes," seeing it is proved both by the Septuaginta, which calleth the same Hebrew word not only "justifications," but often "commandments," "statutes," "precepts," "judgments;" and the vulgar Latin interpreter, which commonly calleth it "ceremonies" or "precepts."

MARTIN, 2. *Martin.* But be it that you may control them in the Hebrew, which none but fools will grant unto you: in the New Testament what pretence have you? do you there also translate the Hebrew word, or rather the Greek? The Greek undoubtedly you should translate. What reason then can you have why you do not? None other surely, then that which Beza giveth for himself, saying, that he rejected the word "justi-

fication," (notwithstanding it expressed the Greek, word for word, notwithstanding the seventy Greek interpreters used it to signify "the whole law," and in Latin it be commonly translated *justificationes*,) notwithstanding all this, "for this only cause (saith he) did I reject it, to avoid the cavillations that might be made by this word against justification by faith." As if he should say, This word truly translated, according to the Greek, might minister great occasion to prove by so many places of scripture, that man's justification is not by faith only, but also by keeping the law, and observing the commandments, which therefore are called, according to the Greek and Latin, "justifications," because they concur to justification, and make a man just, as by St Luke's words also is well signified, which have this allusion, that they were both just, because they walked in all the justifications of our Lord. Which they of purpose suppress by other words. Annot. in Luc. i.

Fulke. None but fools, considering what I have brought of the usage of that word, δικαιώματα, will judge that it signifieth only "justifications;" and all wise men may see that we have good warrant to translate it otherwise in the Greek testament, where it must needs have another signification. The concurrence of works with faith to justification before God, which the apostle doth exclude, Rom. iii., we may not admit. But justification by works, as St James teacheth, we do acknowledge. I hope you will not say that your Latin translator, against justification by works, translated the word so often "ceremonies," or that ceremonies of the law do concur to justification by faith. The commandments indeed are called "justifications," because the works of the law, if a man keep it wholly, are able to justify. Not that every ceremony or observation of any piece of the law is a justification, or maketh a man just; which you may better say, upon the etymology of the word, than that every particular observation of the law, or good work, doth concur with faith unto justification. FULKE, 2.

Martin. And hereof also it riseth, that when he cannot possibly avoid the word in his translation, (as Apoc. xix. 8[1], *bissinum enim justificationes sunt sanctorum*, "The silk is the justifications of saints,") there he helpeth the matter with this commentary, "That justifications MARTIN, 3. τὰ δικαιώματα. Bezæ Annot. in Apoc. xix.

[1] Τὸ γὰρ βύσσινον τὰ δικαιώματά ἐστι τῶν ἁγίων, Apoc. xix. 8. "Justifying of saints," Wiclif. "Righteousness of saints," Tyndale's, Cranmer's, Genevan, Bishops', Authorised version. "Justifications of saints," Rhemish, 1582.]

are those good works which be the testimonies of a lively faith." But our English translators have another way to avoid the word even in their translation. For they say here, "the righteousness of saints;" because they could not say, "ordinances of saints;" and they would not say, "justifications of saints;" knowing very well by Beza's own commentary, that this word includeth the good works of saints; which works if they should in translating call their "justifications," it would go sore against justification by only faith. Therefore do they translate instead thereof "ordinances," and "statutes," where they can, which are terms furthest off from justification; and where they cannot, there they say, "righteousness," making it also the plural number, whereas the more proper Greek word for righteousness is εὐθύτης, Dan. vi. 22, which there some of them translate "unguiltiness," because they will not translate exactly, if you would hire them.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* When δικαιώματα, Apoc. xix., are translated *justificationes*, they signify "just works," as I have already proved the signification of the word to bear; beside that it is so used by Aristotle in his *Ethics*[1], who of justification before God, whereof we speak, understood never a whit. Therefore, if instead of "righteousness," which is the singular number, it were translated "righteous or just works," it were not amiss, in mine opinion. Although by "righteousness" in that place, is nothing meant but "good or righteous works," as Beza's note doth tell you.

MARTIN, 4. Bib. of the year 1577, most approved. Matt. i. 19. Luke i. 6. *Martin.* And therefore as for "justice," and "justifications," they say "righteousness," so for "just" they translate "righteous;" and by this means, "Joseph was a righteous man[2]," rather than a just man; and Zacharias and Elisabeth "were both righteous before God[3]," rather than just; because when a man is called just, it soundeth that he is so in deed, and not by imputation only; as a wise man is understood to be wise in deed, and not only so imputed. Therefore do they more gladly and more often say "righteous men," rather than "just men;" and when they do say "just men," (as sometime they do, least they might seem wilful

[1 Καλεῖται δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μᾶλλον δικαιοπράγημα· δικαίωμα δὲ, τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα ἀδικήματος. Arist. Ethic. v.]

[2 Ἰωσὴφ—δίκαιος ὤν, Matt. i. 19. "Joseph cum esset justus," Vulg. "Joseph being a perfect man," Tyndale, 1534. "Joseph was a righteous man," Cranmer, 1539, Bishops', 1584. "Joseph was a just man," Genevan, Rhemish, Authorised versions.]

[3 ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφότεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, Luc. i. 6. "Erant autem justi ambo," Vulg. "Both were perfect before God," Tyndale, Geneva. "They were both righteous before God," Bishops' bible, 1584, Cranmer, Authorised. "Both just before God," Rheims.]

inexcusably,) there they understand "just" by imputation, and not in deed; as is to be seen in Beza's annotations upon the Epistle to the Romans. Note also, that they put the word "just," when faith is joined withal, as Rom. i.,[4] "The just shall live by faith," to signify that justification is by faith. But if works be joined withal, and keeping the commandments, as in the place alleged, Luke ii., there they say "righteous," to suppress justification by works.

Fulke. This is a marvellous difference, never heard of (I think) in the English tongue before, between "just" and "righteous," "justice" and "righteousness." I am sure there is none of our translators, no, nor any professor of justification by faith only, that esteemeth it the worth of one hair, whether you say in any place of scripture "just" or "righteous," "justice" or "righteousness;" and therefore freely they have used sometimes the one word, sometimes the other. Therefore it is a monstrous falsehood, that you feign them to observe this distinction, that they join "just" with "faith," and "righteous" with "works." Do they not translate, Rom. ii. 13, "the hearers of the law are not righteous before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified[5]"? Have you not again, "the righteousness of God is made manifest without the law, &c., by the faith of Jesus Christ"? And where you read, "the just shall live by faith," have you not immediately, "the righteousness of God is revealed from faith to faith, as it is written, The just shall live by faith"? Who then but the devil, which hath his name of slandering, would here invent a distinction of "just" and "righteous"? FULKE, 4.

Martin. And certain it is, if there were no sinister meaning, they would in no place avoid to say "just," "justice," "justification," where both the Greek and Latin are so, word for word; as for example, 2 Tim. iv. 8[6]. in all their bibles, "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at MARTIN, 5. τῆς δικαιοσύνης. ὁ δίκαιος κριτὴς ἀποδώσει, &c.

[4 Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, Rom. i. 17. "Justus autem ex fide vivit," Vulg. "The just shall live by faith," Tyndale's, Cranmer's, Geneva, Bishops', Authorised versions. "The just liveth," &c., Rhemish.]

[5 ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται, Rom. ii. 13. "But the doers of the law shall be justified," Rhemish, and all the versions.]

[6 λοιπὸν, ἀπόκειταί μοι ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος, ὃν ἀποδώσει μοι ὁ Κύριος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ δίκαιος κριτής. 2 Tim. iv. 8. "Corona justitiæ," Vulg. "Crown of justice," Rheims. "Crown of righteousness," all the other versions.]

τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως. δίκαιόν ἐστι. justum est. οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος. Non enim injustus est Deus.

that day." And again, 2 Thess. i., "Rejoice in tribulation, which is a token of the righteous judgment of God[1], that you may be [counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which ye suffer. For it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you; and to you that are troubled, rest with us, in the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven." And again Hebrews vi. 10, "God is not unrighteous to forget your good work and labour," &c.[2] These are very pregnant places to discover their false purpose in concealing the word "justice" in all their bibles. For if they will say, that "justice" is not an usual English word in this sense, and therefore they say "righteousness;" yet, I trow, "just," and "unjust," are usual and well known. Why then would they not say at the least, in the places alleged, "God the just judge," "a token of the just judgment of God," "it is a just thing with God," "God is not unjust to forget," &c.? Why is it not at the least in one of their English bibles, being so both in Greek and Latin?

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* Certain it is, that no Englishman knoweth the difference between "just" and "righteous," "unjust" and "unrighteous," saving that "righteousness" and "righteous" are the more familiar English words. And that we mean no fraud between "justice" and "righteousness," to apply the one to faith, the other to works, read Rom. x. 4, 5, and 6[3], of the Geneva translation, where you shall see "the righteousness of the law," and the "righteousness of faith." Read also against this impudent lie, in the same translation,

[1 Ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, 2 Thess. i. 5. "Exemplum justi judicii Dei," Vulg. "A token of the righteous judgment of God," all the versions, except the Rhemish, which has, "An example of the just judgment of God."]

[2 οὐ γὰρ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὑμῶν, &c. Heb. vi. 10. "Non enim injustus Deus," Vulg. "God is not unrighteous," &c., all the versions, except those of Wiclif and Rheims, which have "unjust."]

[3 "For Christ is the end of the law, to justify (εἰς δικαιοσύνην) all that believe. For Moses describeth the righteousness (τὴν δικαιοσύνην) which cometh of the law, in these words, that the man which doth these things, shall live thereby. But the righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) which cometh of faith speaketh on this wise," &c., Rom. x. 4, 5, 6. Genevan testament, 1557. "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness unto every one that believeth. For Moses thus describeth the righteousness which is of the law, that the man which doeth these things, shall live thereby," Geneva bible, 1560. Upon which passage is the following marginal note: "The end of the law is to justify them which observe it: therefore Christ having fulfilled it for us, is made our justice, sanctification," &c.]

Luke i., "Zachary and Elizabeth were both just[4]:" cap. ii., "Simeon was just:" Matt. i., "Joseph a just man"; and elsewhere oftentimes, and without any difference in the world from the word "righteous." Who ever heard a difference made between a "just judge" and a "righteous judge"? This trifling is too shameful abusing of men's patience, that shall vouchsafe to read these blotted papers.

Martin. Understand, gentle reader, and mark well, that if St Paul's words were truly translated thus, "A crown of justice is laid up for me, which our Lord the just Judge will render unto me at that day," and so in the other places; it would infer that men are justly crowned in heaven for their good works upon earth, and that it is God's "justice" so to do, and that he will do so because he is "a just judge," and because he will shew his "just judgment," and he will not forget so to do, because he is not unjust; as the ancient fathers, namely the Greek doctors, St Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Œcumenius upon these places do interpret and expound. Insomuch that Œcumenius[5] saith thus upon the foresaid place to the Thessalonians, ὅρα ὅτι, &c.: "See here, that to suffer for Christ procureth the kingdom of heaven according to just judgment, and not according to grace." Which lest the adversary might take in the worse part, as though it were only God's justice or just judgment, and not his favour or grace also, St Augustine excellently declareth how it is both the one and the other; to wit, his grace, and favour, and mercy, in making us by his grace to live and believe well, and so to be worthy of heaven; his justice and just judgment, to render and repay for those works, which himself wrought in us, life everlasting. Which he expresseth thus: "How should he render or repay as a just judge, unless he had given it as a merciful father?" Where St Augustine urgeth the words of "repaying" as due, and of being "a just judge" therefore. Both which the said translators corrupt; not only saying "righteous judge," for "just judge;" but that he will "give a crown," which is of a thing not due, for that which is in the Greek, "He will render or repay," which is of a thing due and deserved, and hath relation to works going before, for the which the crown is repaid. "He said not," saith Theophylact upon this place, "'he

MARTIN, 6.

The scriptures most evident for justification, by works, against only faith.

Psal. lvii. Si utique est fructus justo, utique est Deus judicans eos in terra.

κατὰ δικαιοκρισίαν, καὶ οὐ κατὰ χάριν.

Aug. de gra. et lib. arb. c. 6.

ἀποδώσει.

[4 "Both were just (δίκαιοι) before God," Geneva version, 1560. "Both were perfect before God," Geneva version, 1557, Luke i. 6. "This man was just and feared God: (δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβὴς), Luke ii. 25, Geneva version, 1557, 1560, Tyndale, 1534. "Just and godly," Cranmer, 1539, Bishops' bible, 1584. "Just and devout," Authorised version.]

[5 ὅρα δὲ ὅτι τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ πάσχειν κατὰ δικαιοκρισίαν παρέχει τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ οὐ κατὰ χάριν. Œcumen. Comment. in 2 Epist. ad Thessal. Vol. II. p. 189.]

will give,' but, 'he will render or repay,' as a certain debt. For he being just, will define and limit the reward according to the labours. The crown therefore is due debt, because of the judge's justice." So saith he.

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* Whatsoever you may cavil upon the words "just" and "justice," you may do the same, with as great advantage, upon the words "righteous" and "righteousness." That God as a just judge rewardeth good works of them that are justified freely by his grace, by faith without works, with a crown of justice, it proveth not either justification by works, or the merit or worthiness of men's works; but all dependeth upon the grace of God, who promiseth this reward of his mere mercy, and of the worthiness and merits of Christ, which is our justice; whereby we being justified before God, our works also, which he hath given us, are rewarded of his justice, yet in respect of Christ's merits, and not in respect of the worthiness of the works. Again, God is not unmindful of his promise to reward our works; for then he should be unjust: he is just therefore to perform whatsoever he hath promised, though we nothing deserve it. Neither hath Chrysostom, or Theodoret, any other meaning. That you cite out of Œcumenius, a late writer in comparison[1], is blasphemous against the grace of God; neither is St Augustine, that lived five hundred years before him, a sufficient interpreter of his saying to excuse him. With Augustine we say, "God crown-

In Ps. lx x[2]. and in Ps. ci[3].

[1] Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thessaly, in the tenth century, wrote a Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St Paul, and the Catholic Epistles. But the remarks are chiefly taken from Chrysostom, Cyril, and other preceding writers.]

[2] Hanc ergo gratiam commendat nobis Deus et in isto psalmo: intueamur illum, et videamus an ita sit, an forte ego aliter suspicer. Etenim arbitror hunc eum habere affectum, et hoc omnibus prope suis syllabis resonare: id est, hoc nobis commendare, gratiam Dei gratuitam, quæ nos liberat indignos, non propter nos, sed propter se; ut etiamsi non hoc dicerem, neque hoc prælocutus essem, quilibet mediocris cordis homo, attente audiens verba ejusdem psalmi, saperet hoc; et forte ipsis verbis, si aliud habebat in corde, mutaretur, et fieret quod hic sonat. Quid est hoc? Ut tota spes nostra in Deo sit, nihilque de nobis tamquam de nostris viribus præsumamus; ne, nostrum facientes quod ab illo est, et quod accepimus amittamus. Augustini Enarrat. in Psal. lxx. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 1027.]

[3] Ergo coronat te, quia dona sua coronat, non merita tua. Plus

eth his gifts, not our merits." And as he acknowledgeth God's mercy, and also his justice, in rewarding our works, so do we. Where ἀποδώσει is translated "he will give," I confess it had been more proper and agreeable to the Greek to have said, "he will render," or "repay;" which yet is wholly of mercy in respect of us or our deserving, but of justice in respect of his promises, and of Christ's merits, unto which is rendered and repayed that which he deserved for us. The crown therefore is due debt, because it is promised to us for Christ's sake, not because any works of ours are able to purchase it.

Martin. Which speeches being most true, as being the express words of holy scripture, yet we know how odiously the adversaries may and do misconstrue them to the ignorant, as though we challenged heaven by our own works, and as though we made God bound to us: which we do not, God forbid! But because he hath prepared good works for us, as the apostle saith, to walk in them, and doth by his grace cause us to do them, and hath promised life everlasting for them, and telleth us in all his holy scriptures, that to do them is the way to heaven; therefore not presuming upon our own works as our own, or as of ourselves, but upon the good works wrought through God's grace by us, his seely[4] instruments, we have great confidence, as the apostle speaketh, and are assured that these works, proceeding of his grace, be so acceptable to him, that they are esteemed, and be, worthy and meritorious of the kingdom of heaven. Against which truth let us see further their heretical corruptions. MARTIN, 7. Eph. ii. 10. Heb. x.

Fulke. If you would abide by your first protestation, we should not need to contend much about this question. But after you have in the beginning magnified the grace and mercy of God, and abased your own merits, you come back again with a subtle compass, to establish your own free will, the worthiness of your works, and your merit of FULKE, 7.

omnibus illis laboravi, ait apostolus: sed vide quid adjungit, Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum. Et post labores omnes exspectat ipsam coronam, et dicit, Bonum agonem certavi, cursum consummavi, fidem servavi: de cetero superest mihi corona justitiæ, quam reddet Dominus in illa die justus judex. Quare? Quia agonem certavi. Quare? Quia cursum consummavi. Quare? Quia fidem servavi. Unde certasti? unde fidem servasti? Non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum. Ergo et quod coronaris, illius misericordia coronaris. Augustini Enarrat. in Psalm. cii. Opera, Vol. IV. pp. 1592, 1593. Edit. Bened. Paris. 1835.]

[4 Simple.]

the kingdom of heaven. First, you say, God telleth us in all his holy scriptures, that "to do good works is the way to heaven." Indeed to fulfil the law, is to deserve heaven. But whosoever is guilty of sin, must seek another way than by good works to come to heaven, namely to Jesus Christ, who is the only way to heaven, the truth, and the life; by whose blood when he is purged from his sin, and reconciled unto God, and the kingdom of heaven purchased for him, then he hath the way of good works appointed him to walk in toward the same. Secondly, you say, you "presume not upon your own works, as your own, or as of yourselves, but upon the good works wrought by God's grace, by you his seely instruments, you have great confidence." Thus while you would seem to fly from Pelagianism, you fall into flat Pharisaism. For you trust that you are righteous in your-
Luke xviii. selves, though not as of yourselves. Such was the Pharisee of whom Christ telleth the parable; which, ascribing all his works to the grace of God, had confidence in them, that he was just before God by them. "God, I thank thee," saith the Pharisee. He acknowledgeth the grace of God, as author of all his works: yet against such as he was, Christ telleth that parable. And whereas you call the apostle, Heb. x., to witness of your error, you do him great wrong; for he speaketh not of any confidence to be had upon good works, wrought by the grace of God by us; but in the new covenant of remission of sins, by the sacrifice of Christ's death, by whom we have access to God, that we may be acceptable to him, not for any meritorious works wrought by us, but by the only oblation of his body once for all, by which "he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified."

CHAPTER IX.

Heretical Translation against Merits, or Meritorious Works, and the Reward for the same.

Martin. When they translate Rom. viii. 18, thus, "I am certainly persuaded, that the afflictions of this time are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed upon us[1];" do they not mean to signify to the reader, and must it not needs so sound in his ears, that the tribulations of this life, be they never so great, though suffered for Christ, yet do not merit nor deserve the heavenly glory? But in the Greek it is far otherwise. I will not stand upon their first words, "I am certainly persuaded," which is a far greater asseveration than the apostle useth; and I marvel how they could so translate that Greek word, but that they were disposed not only to translate the apostle's words falsely against meritorious works, but also to avouch and affirm the same lustily, with much more vehemency of words than the apostle speaketh. Well, let us pardon them this fault, and examine the words following: where the Greek saith not, as they translate with full consent in all their English bibles, "The afflictions are not worthy of the glory," &c., but thus, "The afflictions of this time are not equal, correspondent, or comparable to the glory to come;" because the afflictions are short, the glory is eternal; the afflictions small and few in comparison, the glory great and abundant above measure.

Martin, 1. Bib. 1577.

λογίζομαι[2]. "I suppose."

οὐκ ἄξια πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν. Non sunt condignæ ad futuram gloriam. S. Chrysost. upon this place.

Fulke. Although an invincible argument against merits and desert of good works may be drawn out of this text; yet the meaning of the translators is to shew no more than the apostle saith, that the heavenly glory is incomparably greater than all the tribulations of this life. And this the apostle speaketh, not doubtingly, as our English

Fulke, 1.

[1 Bishops' bible, 1584.]

[2 Λογίζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς, Rom. viii. 18. "And I deem that the passions of this time," &c., Wiclif. "For I suppose that the afflictions of this life," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539. "For I confirm that the afflictions of this life," Geneva testament, 1557. "For I count that the afflictions of this present time," Geneva bible, 1560. "For I think that the passions of this time are not condign to the glory to come," Rheims, 1582. "For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us," Authorised version, 1611.]

word "I suppose" doth signify, when a man may be deceived in his supposal; but he avoucheth it constantly, as a thing, which being well considered, with the reasons thereof, he concludeth of it with certainty. And so doth λογίζομαι. signify in this place, and in divers other, by the judgment of better Grecians than Gregory Martin will be these seven years; as Rom. iii. 28, where the apostle, having discussed the controversy of justification by faith or works, concludeth, as of a certain, λογιζόμεθα οὖν, "we determine therefore, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law." Likewise, Rom. vi. 11, after he hath proved, that sanctification is necessary to all them that shall or have put on the justice of Christ, he saith with great asseveration unto the Romans, λογίζεσθε ἑαυτοὺς, "Make you full account therefore, that you are dead to sin;" and not uncertainly think or suppose it so to be. Therefore for the translation of λογίζομαι, in this place, we will accept no pardon of you; it is better translated than your wit or learning serveth you to understand. Now let us come to the other words, ἄξια πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν, "are not worthy of the glory." Where you say, it should be "not equal," "correspondent," or "comparable," to the glory. Verily, those words we use have none other sense in this place, than the words which you supply us withal; but our words do express the most usual signification of the Greek word ἄξια, even as your vulgar Latin doth, calling it in the same sense *condignæ*, which you in your own translation dare not render "equal," "correspondent," or "comparable," but "condign"; lest following the sense, you might be accused to forsake the word: even so we think it best, where the usual signification of the word will bear the sense in our English, to retain the same, and not to change it.

MARTIN, 2. *Martin.* This is the Greek phrase and the apostle's meaning, which we need not greatly to prove, because their own doctors, Calvin and Beza, do so interpret it: and therefore wonder it were that the Geneva English bibles also should forsake their masters, and follow the error of the other English bibles, but that they thought the more voices the better. In the mean time, the people seeth no other translation, and thinketh it is the apostle's very words. But Beza himself telleth them the contrary, translating thus: *Statuo minime esse paria quæ præsenti tempore perpetimur, futuræ gloriæ nobis revelandæ:* that is, "I am of this

opinion, that the things which we suffer in this present time, are not equal to the glories that shall be revealed to us." And in his commentary thus: "St Paul's discourse and matter handled in this place declare, that he speaketh not of the value or price of the afflictions which we suffer for Christ; but rather by comparing their quality and quantity with life everlasting, he gathereth that we shall be infinitely more happy with Christ, than we are miserable here. Therefore did he use the Greek word rightly and properly, which the grammarians say is spoken ἄξια. of such things as, being poised or weighed, are found of one weight." Thus far Beza[1].

Fulke. We contend not, as it seemeth, at this time about the meaning of the place, but about the true translation of the words. If you can prove therefore, that the Greek word ἄξιος doth not signify "worthy," or that this English word "worthy" cannot express the meaning of the apostle in this text, your accusation is just; but if you can prove neither of both, you multiply words, as your manner is, without matter, to no purpose but to weary the reader. And wisely you translate Beza's Latin word *statuo*, "I am of opinion," which signifieth more truly, "I determine," or, as our translation hath, "I am certainly persuaded," and not, "I am of an opinion," whereof there is no certain knowledge; for an opinion may be false, and is of uncertainties. FULKE, 2.

Martin. If then a comparison only be signified, why do they not so translate it in English, that it may be taken for a comparison in our English phrase? For they know very well, that if a man should say in English, according as they translate, "Good works are not worthy of heaven;" "this man is not worthy of my favour," "he is not worthy of such a living, of so great praises;" every Englishman understandeth it thus, that they "deserve not heaven," and that such a man "deserveth not this or that." Even so must the reader needs take it in this place, and they must needs have intended that he should so take it. For though the Greek phrase may signify a comparison, being so uttered, yet not the English. And if it might, yet obscurely, and ambiguously: and if it might, yet here they do falsely translate so, because here the Greek phrase is otherwise, and therefore should otherwise be Englished. For it is not ἄξια τῆς δόξης, which is as they translate, "worthy of the glory;" but ἄξια πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, which cannot be so translated. For if it might, then these Greek phrases were all one, and might be used indifferently. And then I must desire them to turn me this into Greek, "He is not worthy of thanks:" and if they turn it by the apostle's phrase in this place, οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστι πρὸς τὴν χάριτα, to all Grecians they MARTIN, 3. Prov. iii. [15, Sept.] ἄξιον αὐτῆς.

[1 Nov. Test. Bezæ, p. 189, in Rom. viii. 18.]

shall be ridiculous. And yet this is as well turned out of English into Greek, as they have turned the other out of Greek into English.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Verily I cannot see, nor any wise man else, I think, what this English word "worthiness" doth signify, but a comparison of equality in price, valour[1], goodness, excellency, or such like. And even in those English phrases that you bring for example, "good works are not worthy of heaven," the meaning is, there is not an equality of excellency in good works and heaven; or, good works compared to heaven are not equal in value. And even so, "this man is not worthy of my favour;" "the goodness of this man is not so great, as the goodness of my favour;" and so of the rest. And where you say, "every Englishman understandeth it thus, that they deserve not heaven, and that such a man deserveth not this," &c. I grant they may of worthiness gather desert, in such as may deserve; and so may they of the comparison of equality conclude desert in the like case. For to deserve is, by doing to make himself equal in good or evil to that reward or punishment which is valued with such doing. Therefore whether you say "worthy," or "equal," it is all one. And in this text by either of both merit or desert is necessarily excluded. For if the heavenly glory be incomparably greater than the afflictions of this life, it followeth of necessity, that the afflictions of this life deserve not, that is, make not an equality of excellency with heavenly glory. But the Greek phrase, you say, is otherwise; for ἄξια is not joined with a genitive case, but with an accusative and a preposition. Indeed this latter construction of ἄξιος is not so usual, and doth more fully set forth the comparison; but the same also is set forth by the genitive case, as you yourself cannot deny. Now our English phrase would not bear that we should say, "worthy to the glory;" and therefore we said, "worthy of the glory." But if that were good, you say, the "Greek phrases were all one, and might be used indifferently." I see no great difference between the Greek phrases; and yet it followeth not that they may be used indifferently. For unusual phrases are not to be used as indifferently as common phrases. And therefore your example, of turning English into Greek, is not all one with turning Greek into English. If I translate out

[1 Valour: value.]

of Greek into English, I must observe the English phrase as near as I can; and so, if I translate into Greek, must I have respect to the usual Greek phrase. And to speak of your ridiculous translation out of English into Greek; I think he that should say ἄξιος χάριτος, for "worthy of thanks," should deserve no great commendation: but he that should say, ἄξιος πρὸς τὴν χάριν τοῦ βασιλέως, for "worthy of the king's favour," though it be no usual phrase, I see not why he should be ridiculous. And if you should translate these words into English, Νέρων οὐκ ἄξιος ἦν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, would you not, or might you not, translate it thus, "Nero was not worthy of the kingdom"? Therefore we have not done amiss to translate "worthy of the glory."

Martin. Marry, if they would express a comparison of equality or inequality between thing and thing, then this is the proper Greek phrase thereof, and much more proper for this purpose, than by ἄξιος and a genitive case. Which notwithstanding is often so used in scriptures by way of comparison, as Prov. iii., concerning the praise of wisdom: where St Augustine, to express the comparison, readeth thus: *Omne pretiosum non est illi dignum:* and St Hierome, according to the Hebrew, thus: *Omnia quæ desiderantur non valent huic comparari,* or *adæquari;* and Eccles. xxvi. we have the very like speech proceeding of the said Greek word ἄξιος. *Omnis ponderatio non est digna continentis animæ.* Which the English bibles thus, "There is no weight to be compared unto a mind that can rule itself, or, with a continent mind." MARTIN, 4. The Greek ἄξιος signifieth a comparison. πᾶν τίμιον οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῆς ἐστί. כָּל־ חֻפְצַיִם לֹא יִשְׁוּוּ־בָהּ

Fulke. You cannot use the word ἄξιος but it will include a comparison, whether it be with a genitive case, as in the examples you bring, or with an accusative, as in this text of St Paul. And even so the English word, "worthy," doth comprehend an equality in good or evil. Wherefore the sense is all one, whether you say in this text "equal," or "worthy," but that the usual signification of ἄξιος is "worthy," as no man will deny that is not past all shame. FULKE, 4.

Martin. And if ἄξιος with a genitive case signify a comparison, and themselves so translate it in all their bibles, should not ἄξιος in the apostle's phrase much more be so translated? I appeal to their own consciences. Again, if here in Ecclesiasticus they say not according to the Greek words, "There is no weight worthy of a continent mind," because they would by an English phrase express the comparison; is it not more than evident, that when they translate the apostle by the very same words, "worthy of the glory," &c. they know it cannot, and they mean it should not, signify a comparison? I cannot sufficiently MARTIN, 5. ἄξια πρὸς τὴν δόξαν. ἄξιος ἐγκρατοῦς ψυχῆς.

express, but only to the learned and skilful reader, their partial and heretical dealing. Briefly I say, they translate οὐκ ἄξιος ἐγκρατοῦς ψυχῆς, "Not to be compared with a continent mind," being in Greek, word for word, "not worthy of a continent mind;" and contrariwise they translate in St Paul, οὐκ ἄξια πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν, "Not worthy of the glory to come," being in the Greek, "Not to be compared to the glory to come;" according to the very like Latin phrase by *dignus*, Eccl. vi., *Amico fideli nulla est comparatio, et non est digna ponderatio auri et argenti contra bonitatem fidei;* that is, according to their own translation, "A faithful friend hath no peer: weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith."

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* If the English word "worthy" did not signify a comparison, as well as the Greek word ἄξιος, it were somewhat that you say; but seeing one signifieth as much as the other, there is no more savour in your disputation than in an egg without salt. When we say there is no weight of gold to be compared "to a continent mind," it is all one as if we said, "worthy of a continent mind;" for we meant, to be compared in goodness, price, excellency, &c. And therefore you speak out of measure falsely and impudently, when you say, we mean not that the word "worthy" in this text of St Paul should signify a comparison, for it is not possible that it should signify otherwise. Doth not the Geneva note in the margin say, "or of like value"? If you be so blind that you cannot see a comparison in the word "worthy," at the least shore up your eyes, and behold it in those words, "of like or equal value." For all comparison is either in quantity or quality. And where you say that you cannot express your conceit, "but only to the learned," there is none so meanly learned, but they may well laugh at your foolish and unlearned trifling.

MARTIN, 6. *Martin.* Now if they will say, though their translation of St Paul's words be not so exact and commodious, yet the sense and meaning is all one; (for if these present afflictions be not equal or comparable to the glory to come, then neither are they worthy of it, nor can deserve or merit it;) let the christian reader mark the difference. First, their Beza and Calvin telleth them, that the apostle speaketh of the one, and not of the other. Secondly, the passions and afflictions that Christ our Saviour suffered all his life, were not comparable to the eternal glory which he obtained thereby: yet did he thereby deserve and merit eternal glory, not only for himself, but for all the world; yea, by the least affliction he suffered did he deserve all this:—unless

How good works merit life everlasting, though one incomparably exceed the other.

you will deny also that he merited and deserved his glory, which your opinion a man might very well gather by some of your false translations, but that you would think us too suspicious, which, perhaps, we will examine hereafter. Thirdly, the present pleasure of advoutry during a man's life is not comparable to the eternal torments of hell fire; and yet it doth merit and deserve the same. Fourthly, the apostle by making an incomparable difference of the glory to come with the afflictions of this time, doth, as St Chrysostom saith, exhort them the more vehemently and move them to sustain all things the more willingly: but if he said, as they translate, "The afflictions are not worthy of heaven, you are never the nearer heaven for them, only believe;" this had not been to exhort them, but to discourage them. Fifthly, the apostle, when he will elsewhere encourage them to suffer, saith plainly, "Our tribulation which presently is for a moment and light, worketh above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory in us[1]."

Heb. ii. 9. in the New Testament of the year 1580. and Bib. 1579.

προτρέπει μειζόνως.

2 Cor. iv. 17. κατεργάζεται.

Fulke. We say our translation, both in word and sense, is the same in English that St Paul did write in Greek. As for the argument against "merit" or "desert," which doth follow thereof, we affirm that it is as necessarily gathered of the words "equal," or "comparable," or "correspondent," as of the word "worthy." But to overthrow this argument, you have five reasons. The first is of the authority of Beza and Calvin, which, you say, "telleth us, that the apostle speaketh of the one, and not of the other." To this I answer, that they both affirm the consequence against merits out of this text, although it be not the apostle's direct purpose to abase the merit of works by comparison of the excellency of the glory. To your second argument I answer, that though "the afflictions that Christ our Saviour suffered were not comparable" in respect of the length of time "with the eternal glory that he obtained thereby;" yet in respect of the excellency of his person, and the perfection of his obedience, they were comparable, and of equal value to deserve eternal glory, according to the justice of God, by which one man's disobedience was sufficient to eternal condemnation, Romans v. What the least of his afflictions, separated from all the rest, was in value, I have not learned out of the scripture: only I think,

FULKE, 6.

[1 Τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἐλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν, 2 Cor. iv. 17. Κατεργάζεται. "Operatur," Vulg. "Worketh," Wiclif's, Rhemish, Authorised version. "Prepareth," Tyndale's, Cranmer's, Bishops' bible. "Causeth," Geneva Test. 1557.]

he suffered nothing superfluously, nor less than was needful to answer the justice of God. Your other fond surmises I omit, until you express them. To your third argument I say, that one act of adultery is worthy of damnation, and deserveth eternal torment, not by comparison of the short pleasure with infinite pain, but because it is a sin committed against the majesty of the eternal God, and therefore is worthy of eternal punishment. For the sin is to be measured after the excellency of the person against whom it is committed. Therefore that word, which being spoken against a poor man is a light fault, as to say he is a knave, the same being spoken against a lord is an heinous offence and deserveth the pillory; but being spoken against a king, is high treason, and is worthy of death. Seeing therefore the eternal majesty of God is contemned in every sin, that sin doth justly deserve eternal torments. Fourthly, it is true that the apostle doth exhort us cheerfully to abide the small and momentary afflictions of this life, in respect that they shall be rewarded with incomparable glory. But hereof it followeth not, that the glory is deserved by short and small sufferings, but is given of the bountiful liberality of God to them that for his sake patiently suffer such small afflictions. Therefore, if it be an encouragement for a man to labour, to hear that he shall be paid his hire, as much as his work deserveth, it is a much greater encouragement for him to hear, that he shall receive a thousand times more than his labour deserveth. The words you add ("you are never the nearer heaven, only believe") are yours, and none of ours; for we say with the apostle, "we must suffer with Christ, if we will reign with him;" and the patient suffering of the faithful is nothing repugnant to the justification before God by faith only. To the last argument of the apostle's authority, I answer: our patient suffering worketh infinite weight of glory, not by the worthiness, merit, or desert of our suffering, but by the bountiful liberality of God, who hath promised so incomparable reward to small tribulation suffered for his sake. Wherefore, all your fine reasons notwithstanding, our translation is sound and true.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* See you not a comparison between short and eternal, light tribulation and exceeding weighty glory; and yet that one also "worketh"

the other, that is, causeth, purchaseth, and deserveth the other? For, like as the little seed, being not comparable to the great tree, yet causeth it and bringeth it forth; so our tribulations and good works, otherwise incomparable to eternal glory, by the virtue of God's grace working in us "worketh," "purchaseth," and "causeth" the said glory. For so they know very well the Greek word importeth; though here also they translate it most falsely. Bib. an. 1577.

See this Greek word, 2 Cor. vii. thrice. Where themselves translate it, "causeth," "worketh," v. 10, 11.

Fulke. We see the comparison well, but we see not that "worketh" or "causeth" is all one with "purchaseth" and "deserveth." Your comparison of "seed," and "tribulation," is not like. For in the seed is the formal cause of the great tree: so is not the formal cause of eternal glory in our tribulation. But as if an emperor for one day's valiant service in war do give unto his son one of his kingdoms, we may truly say, that day's service wrought him this great reward, or caused him to be advanced to this kingdom; but we cannot say truly, it purchased or deserved a kingdom; for then every one that served as well as he deserved the like reward: so is the reward of eternal life, which is the gift of God, incomparably greater than our tribulation, not by the desert of the sufferer, but by liberality of the giver. That translation that useth the word of "preparing," is not so proper, according to the word; but it differeth not much in sense, shewing how those afflictions do work, or cause, namely, by preparing and making us conformable to the sufferings of Christ. FULKE, 7.

Martin. Lastly, for most manifest evidence, that these present tribulations and other good works are meritorious and worthy of the joys to come, though not comparable to the same; you shall hear the holy doctors say both in one passage or sentence. St Cyprian thus: "O what manner of day shall come, my brethren, when our Lord shall recount the merits of every one, and pay us the reward or stipend of faith and devotion?"[1] Ep. lvi. Here are "merits" and "reward" for the MARTIN, 8.

Ep. 56. num. 3. Singulorum merita.

[1] O dies ille qualis et quantus adveniet, fratres dilectissimi, cum cœperit populum suum Dominus recensere, et divinæ cognitionis examine singulorum merita recognoscere, mittere in gehennam nocentes, et persecutores nostros flammæ pœnalis perpetuo ardore damnare, nobis vero mercedem fidei et devotionis exsolvere! Quæ erit gloria, et quanta lætitia, admitti, ut Deum videas; honorari, ut cum Christo Domino Deo tuo salutis ac lucis æternæ gaudium capias! Abraham, et Isaac, et Jacob, et Patriarchas omnes, et Prophetas, et Apostolos, et Martyres

same. It followeth in the said doctor: "What glory shall it be, and how great joy, to be admitted to see God, so to be honoured that thou receive the joy of eternal life with Christ thy Lord God, to receive there that which neither eye hath seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath ascended into the heart of man! for that we shall receive greater things than here either we do or suffer, the apostle pronounceth, saying, 'The passions of this time are not condign or comparable to the glory to come.'" Here we see, that the "stipend" or "reward" of the merits aforesaid are incomparably greater than the said merits.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* For lack of scriptures you fly to the doctors to find "merits;" in whom nevertheless, being catholic and sound doctors, you shall sooner find the word *meritum* than your meaning of it. The place of Cyprian I marvel why you geld, except it be to join the reward that he speaketh of with the word "merits;" which he useth, either generally for works, as it is often used in the ancient writers; or if he mean thereby "deserts," he speaketh but of examination only of all men's deserts, that he may give to the wicked that they have deserved, and to the godly that which he hath promised: therefore he calleth it the reward of their faith and devotion. His words are these: "*O dies ille qualis et quantus adveniet, fratres dilectissimi, cum cœperit populum suum Dominus recensere, et divinæ cognitionis examine singulorum meritum recognoscere, mittere in gehennam nocentes, et persecutores nostros flammæ pœnalis perpetuo ardore damnare, nobis vero mercedem fidei et devotionis exsolvere.*" "O that day, what manner a one, and how great shall it come, my dearest beloved brethren, when the Lord shall begin to recount his people, and by examination of his divine knowledge consider the merits of every one, to send into hell fire the guilty, and to condemn our persecutors with perpetual burning of penal flame; but unto us to pay the reward of faith and devotion!" The reward of faith is not that which belief deserveth, but which it looketh for according to God's

salutare; cum justis et Dei amicis in regno cœlorum datæ immortalitatis voluptate gaudere; sumere illic quod nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit! majora enim nos accipere, quam quod hic aut operamur aut patimur, Apostolus prædicat, dicens: Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad superventuram claritatem, quæ revelabitur in nobis. Cypriani Epist. lvi. p. 96. Opera, ed. Rigalt. 1656.]

promise, whereunto it leaneth. For in respect of desert of God's favour, he saith, and bringeth divers texts for proof: *Fidem tantum prodesse, et tantum nos posse quantum credimus*[1]; "That faith only doth profit, and that so much we can do, how much we believe." Wherefore we see not in Cyprian the incomparable glory to be a reward of deserts. Ad Quirin. lib. iii. c. 42.

Martin. Likewise St Augustine: "The exceeding goodness of God hath provided this, that the labours shall soon be ended, but the rewards of the merits should endure without end; the apostle testifying, 'the passions of this time are not comparable,' &c. For we shall receive greater bliss,' than are the afflictions of all passions whatsoever." Thus we see plainly, that short tribulations are true merits of endless glory, though not comparable to the same: which truth you impugn by your false and heretical translation. But let us see further your dealing in the selfsame controversy, to make it plainer, that you bend your translations against it, more than the text of the scripture doth permit you. MARTIN, 9. Ser. 37. de Sanctis. Præmia meritorum.

Fulke. A man may see you are driven to extreme shifts, when you will seek *præmia meritorum* in St Augustine, and can find it nowhere, but among the *sermones de sanctis*, which bear no credit of Augustine's works, but of some later gatherer. The true Augustine in Ps. lxx. Con. 1,[2] thus writeth: *Nihil es per te, Deum invoca; tua peccata sunt, merita Dei sunt; supplicium tibi debetur, et cum præmium venerit, sua dona coronabit, non merita tua.* "Thou art nothing by thyself, call upon God; thine are the sins, the merits are God's; to thee punishment is due, and when the reward shall come, he will crown his gifts, not thy merits." Finally, Augustine in nothing is more earnest than in denying the reward which is of grace, to be due in respect of merit or worthiness of works. FULKE, 9.

Martin. In the book of Wisdom, where there is honourable mention of the merits of saints and their rewards in heaven, you translate the holy scripture thus: "God hath proved them, and findeth them meet MARTIN, 10.

[1 Fidem *tantum* prodesse: for which reading Rigaltius, p. 273, has, fidem *in totum* prodesse, and says upon it, "pro eo quod corruptissime et suspectissime Erasmici omnes, *fidem tantum prodesse.*" It does not however appear, that the reading of Rigaltius rests upon any thing more authoritative than the reading of Manutius, *Fidem in totum.* Edit. Oxoniæ, 1682, p. 77.]

[2 Augustini Enarrat. in Psalm. lxx. Opera, Vol. iv. p. 1053.]

ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ. Dignos se. ἐπείρασεν. εὗρεν.

for himself." To omit here that you use the present tense, whereas in the Greek they are preter tenses, (God knoweth why; only this we know, that it is no true nor sincere translation,) but to wink at smaller faults, why say you here in all your bibles, that God findeth his saints and holy servants "meet for himself," and not "worthy of himself?" See your partiality, and be ashamed.

FULKE, 10.

Fulke. The book of Wisdom, written by Philo the Jew, as St Jerome thinketh[1], is no holy canonical scripture, to confirm the credit of any article of belief. Therefore, whether he thought that men's merits were worthy of the favour and grace of God, and the reward of eternal life, or no, it is not material. But somewhat it is that you say, that our translators for ἄξιος have not translated "worthy," but "meet." For my part, I wish they had retained the usual signification of that word, and said "worthy of himself," only to take away your cavil. For otherwise in the sense there is no difference: if that he saith be true, none is meet for God, but they that are worthy of him, which are not meet or worthy of themselves, but made such by grace, not for merit of their works, but by the righteousness of Christ imputed to them by faith. This if the wise man meaneth not, but that their virtues were such as deserved God's favour and eternal life, we may boldly reject him as going against the wisdom of God revealed in the canonical scriptures.

MARTIN, 11.

Martin. In the apostle's places before examined you said negatively, that the afflictions of this time were "not worthy of" the glory to come, the Greek not bearing that translation; but here, when you should say affirmatively, and that word for word after the Greek, that God found them "worthy of himself," there you say, "meet for himself," avoiding the term "worthy," because merit is included therein. So that when you will in your translation deny merits, then *condignæ ad* signifieth "worthy of:" when you should in your translation affirm "merits," then *dignus* with an ablative case doth not signify "worthy of." No marvel if such willfulness will not see the word "merit," or that which is equivalent thereto, in all the scripture. For when you do see it, and should translate it, you suppress it by another word. But this is a case worthy of examination, whether the scriptures have the word "merit," or the equivalent thereof. For we will force them, even by their own translations, to confess that it is found there, and that they should trans-

ἀξίους ἑαυτοῦ. Condignæ ad gloriam. Dignos se. Merit of good works plainly proved by the scriptures.

[1] Unde et in Sapientia, quæ Salomonis inscribitur, (si cui tamen placet librum recipere,) scriptum reperimus. Hieronymi Comment. in Zach. xii. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 1783, 1784.]

late it accordingly often when they do not; yea, that if we did not see it in the vulgar Latin translation, yet they must needs see it and find it in the Greek.

Fulke. In the canonical scripture, it seemeth, the translators had a religious care, to keep both the property of the words, and the true meaning of the Holy Ghost. In the apocryphal books they had a wise consideration, to translate them according to the best meaning that their words would bear. Now, whether you say "worthy of God," or "meet for God," you must understand this meetness or worthiness to be of grace, and not of merit; or else the saying is blasphemous against the grace of God. For merit is not necessarily included in worthiness. The king's son is worthy to succeed his father by right of inheritance, not by merit of virtue always. A stranger may be worthy of the king's service, which never deserved the king's entertainment, but for such good qualities as are in him. But after this tedious trifling, it would somewhat awake our spirits, if you could (as you threaten in the margin) prove the merit of good works plainly by the scriptures, either by the word "merit," which you can never do, or by anything that is equivalent unto it; and to "force us by our own translations to confess that it is found there, if not in the vulgar Latin, yet in the Greek." FULKE, 11.

Martin. First, when they translate the foresaid place thus, "The afflictions of this time are not worthy of the glory to come," they mean this, "deserve not the glory to come;" for to that purpose they do so translate it, as hath been declared. Again, when it is said, "The workman is worthy of his hire or wages," what is meant, but that he deserveth his wages? And more plainly, Tob. ix., they translate thus: "Brother Azarias, if I should give myself to be thy servant, I shall not deserve thy providence," and such like. If then in these places both the Greek and the Latin signify "to be worthy of," or "not to be worthy of," "to deserve," or "not to deserve;" then they must allow us the same signification and virtue of the same words in other like places. Namely, Apoc. v., of our Saviour's merits, thus: "The lamb that was killed is worthy to receive power, and riches," &c. What is that to say, but "deserveth to receive?" For so I trust they will allow us to say of our Saviour, that he indeed deserved. Again, of the damned, thus: "Thou hast given them blood to drink, for they are worthy," or, "they have deserved:" is it not all one? Lastly, of the elect, thus: "They shall walk MARTIN, 12.

οὐκ ἄξια.

ἄξιος τοῦ μισθοῦ. Dignus mercede sua.

Non ero condignus providentiæ.

ἄξιός ἐστιν.

Rev. xvi.

ἄξιοι γάρ εἰσι.

ὅτι ἄξιοί εἰσιν, Digni sunt. ἀξίους ἑαυτῶν, Dignos se.

with me in white, because they are worthy," Apoc. iii., that is, because "they deserve it." And so in the place before by them corrupted, "God found them worthy of him;" that is, such as "deserved" to be with him in eternal glory. Thus by their own translation of ἄξιος, and *dignus*, are plainly deduced, "worthiness," "desert," and "merit" of saints, out of the scriptures.

FULKE, 12.

Fulke. Your first foundation is false; therefore all your building falleth to the ground. For when we translate that text thus, "The afflictions of this time are not worthy of the glory to come," we mean not thus, "Deserve not the glory to come," but even as you do, they are not equal or comparable: but thereof it followeth, that they deserve not; for to deserve is to do a thing equal unto the reward: the afflictions be not equal, therefore they deserve not. But when it is said, "the workman is worthy of his hire," we acknowledge that he deserveth his wages; yet we should not do well to translate it, that he deserveth his hire, because worthiness may be where there is no desert. Gold is worthy to be esteemed before silver, and yet there is no merit or desert of gold, if we speak properly. That of Tob. ix. is not in the Greek, but in some bibles translated out of Latin according to the usual phrase of English, rather than to the property of the word. Where it is said, Apoc. v. "The Lamb that was killed is worthy to receive power and riches," though we will not contend of the deserts of Christ, yet we may be bold to say, that in respect of the Godhead he was worthy of all honour and glory from everlasting, before he had created anything: and therefore worthiness doth not alway import desert, as no worthiness doth no desert. Likewise, when it is said of the wicked, Apoc. xvi., "They are worthy to drink blood," it is true that they deserved that plague, because their cruel works were justly recompensed with that punishment; but yet some may be worthy of their punishment, that have not deserved it. The son of a traitor is worthy to bear the punishment of his father's attainder; yet he hath not always deserved it by his own deeds. Therefore it is not all one, "they are worthy," and "they have deserved." The infants of the reprobate, as soon as they have life, are worthy of eternal damnation; and yet they have not deserved the same by their own deeds. Therefore, where it is said of the elect, "They shall walk with me in

white, because they are worthy," it is not meant that they have deserved by their own works to walk with Christ; but because they are made worthy by Christ, who hath given them grace not to defile their garments, who also shall give them the reward of white garments, that is, of innocency, which no man can deserve, because no man is clear from sin, but only by forgiveness of sins in the blood of Christ. Therefore you have performed nothing less than your promise, which was to prove the equivalent of merit out of the scripture, and to force us, by our translation, to confess the same. For worthiness doth not always argue or enforce desert, as desert doth worthiness, worthiness being a more general word than merit or desert.

MARTIN, 13.

Martin. But, to proceed one step further, we prove it also to be in the scriptures, thus. Themselves translate thus, Heb. x. 29. "Of how much sorer punishment shall he be worthy, which treadeth under foot the Son of God?" though one of their bibles, of the year 1562, very falsely and corruptly leaveth out the words "worthy of," saying thus, "How much sorer shall he be punished," &c.[1] Fearing no doubt, by translating the Greek word sincerely, this consequence that now I shall infer, to wit, If the Greek word here, by their own translation, signify "to be worthy of," or, "to deserve," being spoken of pains and punishment deserved; then must they grant us the same word so to signify elsewhere in the new testament, when it is spoken of deserving heaven and the kingdom of God, as in these places, Luke xxi.,[2] "Watch therefore, all times praying, that you may be worthy to stand before the Son of man," and chap. xx.,[3] "They that are worthy to attain to that world, and

ἀξιωθῆναι, and καταξιωθῆναι, signify desert.

πόσῳ χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας.

ἵνα καταξιωθῆτε σταθῆναι.

οἱ καταξιωθέντες.

εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας.

[1 Πόσῳ δοκεῖτε χείρονος ἀξιωθήσεται τιμωρίας ὁ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατήσας, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγησάμενος ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσας; Heb. x. 29. "How much sorer (suppose ye) shall he be punished, which treadeth under foot the Son of God, and counteth the blood of the testament, wherewith he was sanctified, as an unholy thing, and doth dishonour to the Spirit of grace," Bible, 1562. "Shall he be counted worthy," Tyndale, Geneva. "Shall he be thought worthy," Authorised version.]

[2 ἵνα καταξιωθῆτε ἐκφυγεῖν ταῦτα πάντα τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, Luke xxi. 36. "That ye may obtain grace," Tyndale, Geneva. "Accounted worthy," Rheims, Bishops' bible, Authorised version.]

[3 Οἱ δὲ καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν οὔτε ἐκγαμίσκονται, Luke xx. 35. "Counted worthy," Cranmer, Geneva, Rheims. "Made worthy," Tyndale. "Accounted worthy," Authorised version.]

to the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are married," and 2 Thess. i.,[1] "That you may be worthy of the kingdom of God, for which also ye suffer."

FULKE, 13. *Fulke.* You think to have great advantage at our translation of the word ἀξιωθήσεται, Heb. x., "shall be worthy," which is true according to the sense, but not so proper for the word, which signifieth rather "to be judged" or "accounted worthy," whether he be worthy indeed or not. And so it should have been translated, if the nature of the word had been exactly weighed. But the translators looked rather to the purpose of the apostle, which is by all means to terrify such contemners and backsliders of whom he speaketh. The Greek word therefore doth not signify "to deserve," but "to be judged worthy;" although it is true that those of whom the apostle there speaketh, deserved extreme pains of damnation. And even so it signifieth in all other places; as Luke xx., καταξιωθέντες, "they that shall be counted worthy to attain to that world;" and Luke xxi. ἵνα καταξιωθῆτε, "that you may be counted worthy," and 2 Thess. i. καταξιωθῆναι, "that you may be counted worthy." And so the word doth signify in other places, without controversy; as Luke vii. the centurion said, οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἠξίωσα, "I accounted not myself worthy," and 1 Tim. v. "The elders that govern well," ἀξιούσθωσαν, "let them be counted worthy of double honour." For it is the imperative mood; therefore it is a fault in our translations to make it the indicative. For we cannot say, let them be worthy, or let them be made worthy; but, let them be judged, reputed, or accounted worthy.

Qui digni habebuntur. Ut digni habeamini.

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* Thus you should translate in all these places, according to your translation of the former place to the Hebrews; or at the leastwise you should have this sense and meaning, as the old vulgar Latin hath, translating in all these places, "counted worthy," but meaning "worthy in deed"; as when it is said, Abraham was reputed just, it is meant, he was just in deed. If you also have this meaning in your translations, which here follow the vulgar Latin; then we appeal to yourselves, whether, "to be counted worthy," and "to be worthy," and "to deserve," and "to merit," be not all one: and so here also "merit" is deduced.

[1] ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε, 2 Thess. i. 5.]

But if you mean, according to your heresy, to signify by translating "counted worthy," that they are not in deed worthy; then your purpose is heretical, and translation false, and repugnant to your translating the same word in other places; as is declared, and now further we will declare.

Fulke. I have shewed you how we should translate that word in any place, wheresoever it is read; even as the vulgar Latin hath in the places by you noted, and in those three texts, Luke xx., xxi., 2 Thess. i. We mean not falsely counted worthy, but worthy in deed; as when it is said that Abraham was reputed just, we acknowledge that he was truly so reputed, and that he was just in deed. But where you appeal to our consciences, "whether 'to be counted worthy,' and 'to be worthy,' and 'to deserve,' and 'to merit,' be not all one," I answer you plainly, and according to my conscience, they be not. But even as Abraham was reputed just, and was just in deed, not by desert, but by faith; so in those three texts the faithful are counted worthy, and are worthy in deed, not by their merit and desert, but for Jesus Christ's sake. For herein your heresy is greatly deceived, to imagine that he which is just by Christ, by faith, or by imputation, is not truly just, or not just in deed. For Christ, faith, and imputation are not contrary, or opposed to truth, but to merit or desert of the party that is just by Christ, by faith, or by imputation; and so we say of them that are accounted worthy for Christ's sake, and not for their own merits. FULKE, 14.

Martin. They whom God doth make worthy, they are truly and in deed worthy; are they not? But by your own translation of the same word in the active voice, God doth make them worthy. Therefore in the passive voice it must also signify "to be made," or "to be in deed worthy." For example, 2 Thess. i. 11, you translate thus, "We also pray for you, that our God may make you worthy of this calling."[2] According to which translation, why did you not also in the selfsame chapter, a little before, translate thus, "That you may be made worthy (and so be worthy) of the kingdom of God, for which also you suffer?" You know the case is like in both places, and in the Greek doctors you spe- MARTIN, 15.

ἀξιῶσαι, to make worthy.
ἀξιωθῆναι, to be made, or to be worthy.
ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως.
εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας.

[2 εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, 2 Thess. i. 11. "Make you worthy of this calling," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Geneva. "Count you worthy," Authorised version.]

cially should know (by your ostentation of reading them in Greek) that they, according to this use of holy scripture, very often use also this word, both actively and passively, "to make worthy," and "to be made," or "to be worthy." See the Greek Liturgies.

ἀξιῶσαι. ἀξιωθῆναι.

FULKE, 15.

Fulke. They must needs be worthy, whom God maketh worthy; but then are they not worthy by their merits or deserts, but by his grace in Jesus Christ: and so our translators mean when they say, 2 Thess. i. 11, "That our God may make you worthy of this calling"; although the clearer translation had been, "that God may account you worthy," as the vulgar Latin hath, *ut dignetur*. For *dignor* is not "to make worthy," but "to vouchsafe," or "to account worthy." Wherefore you do vainly here snatch at a word, contrary to the meaning both of the translator and of the text. For those whom God maketh worthy, are not worthy by their desert, but by his grace accepting them. How the Greek doctors use the word, it is not now the question, but how it signifieth in the scripture; although I see not how you prove that the doctors use it, "to make worthy", or "to be made worthy by desert."

MARTIN, 16.

ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἀξίους ἀπεργάσηται τῆς βασιλείας. ἀξιωθῆναι.

ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι.

Martin. Which St Chrysostom, to put all out of doubt, explaineth thus in other words, "That he make us worthy of the kingdom of heaven." Ser. i. *de orando Deo*[1]. And upon the epistle to Titus iii. in the same sense passively, "God grant we may all be made worthy (or be worthy) of the good things promised to them that love him[2]." And in another place of the said doctor it must needs signify, to be worthy, as when he saith, in Col. i., "No man liveth such a trade of life, that he is worthy of the kingdom, but all is his gift[3]." For to say thus, "No man so liveth that he can be counted worthy of the kingdom of heaven," is

[1 Ταῦτα δεῖ πάντα φοβουμένους ἡμᾶς, προσευχαῖς καὶ ὕμνοις ἀεὶ τειχίζειν ἑαυτοὺς, ἵνα πάντας ὁ Θεὸς ἐλεήσας ἀξίους ἀπεργάσηται τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείας διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ. Chrysost. de Oratione, Sermo i. Opera, edit. Saville, Vol. VI. p. 758.]

[2 Ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτο ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀξιωθῆναι τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἠγαπηκόσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. Chrysost. Homil. in Titum iii. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 405.]

[3 Διὰ τί κλῆρον καλεῖ; δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἀπὸ κατορθωμάτων οἰκείων βασιλείας τυγχάνει· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ κλῆρος ἐπιτυχίας μᾶλλόν ἐστιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τοιαύτην ἐπιδείκνυται πολιτείαν ὥστε βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ δωρεᾶς ἐστι τὸ πᾶν. Chrysost. Hom. in Epist. Coloss. i. 12. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 98.]

false, is against the Protestants' own opinion, which say they are counted worthy, that are not. Again, to say, "No man so liveth that he can be made worthy," is false, because God can make the worst man worthy. It remaineth then to say, "No man so liveth that he is worthy"; which a little before he declareth thus: "No man by his own proper merits obtaineth the kingdom of heaven," that is, as his own, and of himself, without the grace of God. And yet we must shew further out of the scriptures, that God maketh us worthy, and so we are in deed worthy; and here also we must convince you of false and partial interpretation.

ἀπὸ κατορθωμάτων οἰκείων.

Fulke. St Chrysostom putteth not the matter any whit out of doubt for your side. For he doth not expound this text of 2 Thess. i., but only in the latter end of his sermon prayeth, "that God, having mercy upon us all, will make us worthy of his kingdom." Where you might have seen, if you had not been blind with frowardness, that God maketh us worthy by his mercy, not by our merits. That ἀξιωθῆναι in his prayer upon the 3rd of Titus is taken "to be made worthy," rather than "to be accounted worthy," you have no proof but your own authority: although for God "to make worthy" by his mercy, and "to account worthy", is all one in effect. The third place, *in Epist. ad Col. cap.* I., is altogether against you. Where he saith, "No man liveth such a trade of life, that he may be judged or accounted worthy of that kingdom, but all is the gift of God;" is not his meaning plain, that no man can be accounted worthy by works or merits, but altogether by the grace and gift of God? FULKE, 16.

With this distinction therefore, which is plain, even by those words which you cite, that Chrysostom maketh, ἀξιωθῆναι without any inconvenience may signify in this place, "to be accounted worthy." No man by his own proper merits obtaineth the kingdom of heaven, saith he, but even as a lot is rather by hap and chance, so it is here: meaning, that God giveth his kingdom no more according to man's deserts than lots do fall to men by chance, which yet God disposeth as it pleaseth him. Finally, the whole discourse of the doctor being against man's merits, using the word in the same place so often of God's dignation, vouchsafing, or accounting worthy, you had great scarcity of examples out of the doctors, that bring this place to prove, that ἀξιωθῆναι signifieth "to be made worthy by merit," and not by mere mercy.

MARTIN, 17.

οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανός.

Martin. The Greek word ἱκανὸς, I pray you, what doth it signify? You must answer that it signifieth not only "meet," but also "worthy." For so Beza teacheth you, and so you translate, Matt. iii. 11, and viii. and 1 Cor. xv. 9.[1] "I am not worthy," in all three places. And why, I pray you, did you not likewise follow the old Latin interpreter one step further, saying, "Giving thanks to God the Father, that hath made us worthy," but translating rather thus, "Which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light?" Here was the place where you should have shewed your sincerity, and have said that God maketh us worthy of heavenly bliss; because you know, if ἱκανὸς be "worthy," then ἱκανῶσαι is "to make worthy." But you are like to Beza your master, who (as though all interpretation of words were at his commandment) saith, "Here and here, and so forth, I have followed the old Latin interpreter, translating it 'worthy;' but in such and such a place, (meaning this for one,) I choose rather to say, 'meet.'" But that both he and you should here also have translated "worthy," the Greek fathers shall teach you, if we be not worthy or able to control so mighty Grecians, as you pretend to be, when you crow upon your own dunghill, otherwise in your translations shewing small skill, or great malice.

τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα. Col. i. 12.

Annot. in 3. Matt. no. Test. 1556.

Idoneum dicere malui.

FULKE, 17.

Fulke. If you be not able to draw merit out of the word ἄξιος, which properly signifieth "worthy;" you shall have somewhat ado to wring it out of the word ἱκανὸς, which properly signifieth "apt," or "meet," and sometime "sufficient;" according to which later signification Beza in three places translateth *dignus*, because *sufficiens* is no Latin word in that sense to be used. But now you ask, why we went not a step further, to translate τῷ ἱκανώσαντι, Col. i. 12, "which hath made us worthy." I answer you, first, there is no reason that a word which hath diverse significations should always be translated after one. Secondly, when a word hath one most usual signification, and two or three other significations not so usual, by translating it once or twice according to the sense of the place after one of the least[2] usual significations, we are not bound to give over the most common and usual significa-

[1] οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι, Matt. iii. 11. Κύριε, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς ἵνα μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην εἰσέλθῃς, Matt. viii. 8. ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, 1 Cor. xv. 9. "That am not meet to be called an apostle," Geneva Testament, 1557, 1560, Authorised version.]

[2] Old editions, *best*.]

tion, when the sense of the place requireth it. Thirdly, when a verb is derived of a noun that hath divers significations, it signifieth most commonly after the most usual signification: as ἄξιος sometime signifieth "cheap," we must not thereof conclude, that ἀξιόω signifieth "to make cheap." So ἱκανὸς signifieth sometime "great," or "much:" you may as well say, that ἱκανόω signifieth "to magnify," "to make great," or "to multiply;" which none but a madman would say: and yet you think you have made a great argument, when you say, if ἱκανὸς be "worthy," then ἱκανῶσαι is "to make worthy." It remaineth therefore, that seeing the most usual signification of ἱκανὸς is "apt," or "meet," the true and best signification of ἱκανόω is "to make apt," or "meet;" which we have followed in our translation. But if you will still contend that ἱκανὸς is all one with ἄξιος, then you must tell us, as you require us often, whether ἱκανὸς πρὸς τὸν θάνατον be as good Greek as ἄξιος τοῦ θανάτου, if you would say, "worthy of death." Beza therefore followeth not his pleasure, where he chooseth to say for ἱκανὸν, *idoneum;* but the nature of the word, and the usual signification thereof, compared with the sense of the place. And if we should follow your vulgar Latin translation, and say, that "God hath made us worthy to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light," you are never the near for your "merits." For God maketh us worthy by his grace, and by the righteousness and holiness of Christ, which is imputed to us being incorporated to him, and made lively members of his mystical body. How vainly you charge the translators with bragging, unskilfulness, and malice, they that are learned can judge, and God will one day revenge it.

Martin. The Greek fathers, I say, interpret the apostle's word here thus, κατηξίωσεν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο ἡμᾶς ἱκανοὺς γενέσθαι, that is, "hath made us worthy, and given us the grace to be worthy[3]." And St Basil in *Orat. Liturg.* making both Greek words all one, saith, "Thou hast made us worthy to be ministers of thy holy altar[4]." And anon after, MARTIN, 18. Œcum. in Caten. κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς.

[3 ὅτι, φησὶ, κατηξίωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων παθημάτων τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς μερίδος τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐχαρίσατο ἱκανοὺς ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι εἴς τε τὸ πάσχειν, εἴς τε τῶν ἁγίων κλῆρον. Œcum. Comment. in Epist. ad Col. Vol. II. p. 119.]

[4 Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, εὐεργέτα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ παρούσῃ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπουρανίων

ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς. "Make us worthy for this ministry." And St Chrysostom upon the apostle's place: "God doth not only give us society with the saints, but maketh us also worthy to receive so great dignity[1]." And here is a goodly consideration of the goodness of God toward us, that doth indeed by his grace make us worthy of so great things, who otherwise are most unworthy, vile, and abject. Which making of us worthy is expressed by the said Greek words, more than by the Latin *mereri*, because it declareth whence our merit and worthiness proceedeth, to wit, of God.

Ho. de Cruce et latrone. Both which St Chrysostom expresseth excellently, thus[2]: "When he brought in publicans to the kingdom of heaven, he defamed not the kingdom of heaven, but magnified it also with great honours, shewing that there is such a Lord of the kingdom of heaven, which hath made even unworthy persons to be so much better, that they should deserve even the glory of that dignity." And Œcumenius saith, "that it is God's glory to make his servants worthy of such good things; and that it is their glory to have been made worthy of such things," in 2 Thess. i.

Ut etiam illius dignitatis gloriam mererentur.

ἀξιῶσαι.

ἀξιῶσθαι.

FULKE, 18. *Fulke.* If the Greek fathers did so interpret the apostle's words, yet your "merit" is to seek, as I have said. For I will not contend whether God make us worthy, but whether he make us worthy by desert of our good works, or by his mercy and grace in the redemption of his Son. But let us see what the fathers say to the matter. First, Œcumenius' words are flat against you, if they be truly translated: κατηξίωσεν, "he hath counted us worthy, and hath freely granted us to be meet." See you not, that all our worthiness and meetness dependeth of his grace and free acceptation? The liturgy intituled of Basil, although it have a much younger author, maketh never a whit more for you. The minister

σου καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρίων, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, ἕως εἰς τέλος. Liturgia Basilii Magni. Opera, Vol. II. p. 974, edit. Paris, 1839.]

[1 οὐκ εἶπε, δόντι, ἁπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἱκανώσαντι εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί· τουτέστι, τῷ κατατάξαντι ὑμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἶπε, κατατάξαντι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολαῦσαι παρεσχηκότι. Chrysost. Hom. in Epist. Coloss. c. i. v. 12. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 98.]

[2 Τιμὴ γὰρ παραδείσου, τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔχειν δεσπότην, ὡς καὶ ληστὴν ἄξιον ποιῆσαι τῆς τρυφῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τελώνας καὶ πόρνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὐκ ἀτιμάζων τοῦτο ἐποίει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐτίμα, δεικνὺς ὅτι τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ Κύριος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς καὶ πόρνας καὶ τελώνας οὕτως ἐργάσασθαι δοκίμους, ὡς ἀξίους φανῆναι τῆς ἐκεῖσε τιμῆς καὶ δωρεᾶς. Chrysost. Homil. in Crucem et Latronem. Opera, Vol. V. p. 570.]

prayeth that God would account him worthy, or make him meet for the ministry. And if you should in both places translate, "that God maketh worthy," you cannot prove merit thereby; but contrariwise it soundeth against merit, for God maketh us not worthy by our deserts, but by the worthiness of Christ. Chrysostom also, as I have shewed before upon this place, doth utterly condemn your opinion of merits; for he saith, "Such are the things that are given, that he hath not only given them, but also made us able to receive them. Again, he hath not only given us the honour, but also strength to embrace it. What is our strength? what is our ability to receive the gifts of God, but faith in the merits of Christ?" The place of Chrysostom, *Hom. de cruce et latrone,* is not to be understood of deserving by works, but by the grace of God, and remission of their sins, which maketh men meet and worthy of his glory; as the example of the publican, justified only by remission of his sins, and of the harlot saved by faith, which he useth, doth plainly declare. And yet sanctification, and the fruits of good life, are not excluded from the persons justified and saved, but only merit or desert of works; according to which, as the same Chrysostom saith, *in ep. Col.* I. "we must say we are unprofitable servants, when we have done all that is commanded us[3]." But this is no place to handle controversies of religion, but translations of the scripture. The word *ἀξιῶσαι,* except you bring us better evidence than yet we see any, in all places where we read it, we may translate it *dignari,* which is, "to vouchsafe," or "account worthy."

Luke xviii. Luke vii.

Martin. Thus we see, how the holy scripture useth equivalent words to signify "merit," which you suppress as much as you can. So

MARTIN, 19.

[3 Τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ δεδομένα, φησὶν, ὡς μὴ δοῦναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροὺς ποιῆσαι πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν. Chrysost. Homil. in 1. cap. Epist. ad Col. v. 12. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 98.

Τοῦτο οὖν καὶ ἐνταῦθά φησιν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν ἔδωκε τὴν τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰσχυροὺς πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ἐποίησε. Id. p. 98.

Πόθεν, φησὶν, ἅγιος γέγονας, εἰπέ μοι; πόθεν πιστὸς καλῇ; οὐχ ὅτι διὰ τοῦ θανάτου ἡγιάσθης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; οὐχ ὅτι εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύεις; πόθεν ἀδελφὸς γέγονας; οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἔργῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν λόγῳ, οὐδὲ ἐν κατορθώματι πιστὸς ἐφάνης. Id. p. 90.]

likewise we might tell you of other words and phrases that do plainly import and signify "merit." As when it is said, Eccles. xvi., "Every man shall find according to his works." Budee, both your master and ours in the Greek tongue, telleth us that the Greek word εὑρέσθαι, "to find," is properly "to receive for that which a man hath given or laboured." And to requite you with some profane authority, because you delight much in that kind, the whole oration of Demosthenes πρὸς Λεπτίνην will tell you the same. Now, "to receive for that which a man hath laboured or wrought," what doth it else presuppose, but "merit" and "desert"? It is a common phrase of the scripture, that "God will judge and reward or repay according to every man's works": doth not this include "merit" and "demerit" of works? But I wot not how, nor wherefore, in this case you translate sometime "deeds" for "works," saying, "Who will reward every man according to his deeds." And again, "You see then how that of deeds a man is justified, and not of faith only."

κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εὑρησει.
λαβεῖν αὐθ' ὧν τις ἔδωκεν ἢ ἐποίησε.
εὑρεῖν ἀτέλειαν.
Eccles. xvi. Psal. lxi. Rev. xxii.
κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτου.
ἐξ ἔργων.

FULKE, 19. *Fulke.* We do not yet see, that the holy scriptures used any word equivalent to "merit," whereby it might be gathered, that we are justified or saved by merit of good works. But you have other words and phrases, that do plainly import and signify merit, as in Ecclesiasticus xvi. "Every man shall find according to his works." Where you put us in mind, what our Master Budee writeth of the proper signification of εὑρέσθαι, that is, "to deserve," bringing example therefore out of Demosthenes' oration πρὸς Λεπτίνην. But I pray you, doth our said Master affirm this to be the only signification of that verb? Where he bringeth you the example out of Gregory, of Saul, which, seeking his father's asses, βασιλείαν εὕρατο, "found a kingdom," doth he mean that by seeking his father's asses he deserved a kingdom? Again, the example he bringeth out of St Luke, εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, "thou hast found favour," or "grace with God;" doth he understand that the virgin Mary deserved the grace of God? But you object, that "it is a common phrase of the scripture, that God will judge or reward, or repay to every man according to his works." It is true, but not to every one according to his merits; for then all should be damned, for all have deserved death; and no man should be saved, for no man meriteth salvation. But God rendereth to the faithful according to their works, when he freely giveth for Christ's sake eternal life to them, that by the perseve-

rance of good works (as the apostle saith) seek glory, honour, and incorruption. Their works therefore are the fruits of his grace, not the "merits" or "deserts" of his grace by which we are saved: Eph. ii. But here again you quarrel, that for "works" we say sometimes "deeds," as though they were not all one: or if they be not, why do you, 1 Cor. v. translate *Qui hoc opus fecit*, "that hath done this deed?"

Martin. I know you will tell us, that you use to say "deeds" or "works" indifferently; as also you may say, that you put no difference between "just" and "righteous," "meet" and "worthy," but use both indifferently. To the ignorant this is a fair answer, and shall soon persuade them; but they that see further must needs suspect you, till you give a good reason of your doing. For the controversy being of "faith" and "works," of "justice" and "justification" by works, of the "worthiness" or value of works; why do you not precisely keep these terms pertaining to the controversy, the Greek words being always pregnant in that signification? Why should you once translate the Greek ἔργα, "deeds," rather than "works"? You know it is properly "works," as πράξεις, "deeds." It were very good in matters of controversy to be precise. Beza maketh it a great fault in the old vulgar Latin translator, that he expresseth one Greek word in Latin divers ways: you chop and change significations here and there, as you list, and you think you satisfy the reader marvellous well, if sometime you say "idol," and not always "images;" sometime "just," and not always "righteous:" and if in other places you say "works," or if one bible hath "works," where another hath "deeds," you think this is very well, and will answer all the matter sufficiently. God and your conscience be judge herein, and let the wise reader consider it deeply. The least thing that we demand the reason of, rather than charge you withal, is, why your church bible saith in the places before alleged, "The righteous judgment of God, which will reward every man according to his deeds," and, "man is justified by deeds, and not by faith only." Whereas you know the Greek is more pregnant for us than so, and the matter of controversy would better appear on our side, if you said thus: "The just judgment of God, which will reward every man according to his works;" and, "man is justified by works, and not by faith only." MARTIN, 20. Prefat. in no. Test. 1556. δικαιοκρισία. ἔργα. ἐξ ἔργων.

Fulke. If you could tell us, what advantage our doctrine might have by translating "deeds" rather than "works," it might be suspected why some translations use the one, rather than the other: but seeing you cannot imagine, nor any man else, what it should avail us, to use the one rather than the other, it may be reasonably thought, that the translators meant no subtilty; especially when in places FULKE, 20.

of like appearance for our assertion they use the word "deeds" also: as Gal. ii. 16. "A man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by faith of Jesus Christ;" where the Greek word is ἔργων, as well as in St James. But where you say that πράξεις is proper for "deeds," you were best call the second book of St Luke, The "Deeds" of the Apostles. The fault that Beza findeth with the vulgar Latin translation is, that in diverse places he translateth one word diverse ways, and them differing. For otherwise to translate for ξίφος sometimes *gladius*, and sometimes *ensis*, it were no fault; no more than it is in us to use the words "justice" and "righteousness," "works" and "deeds," "faith" and "belief," "trust" and "confidence," &c. And you yourselves in such words do often use the same liberty.

MARTIN, 21. 2. Epist. v. 8.

Martin. But will you not yet see "merit" and "meritorious works" in the scripture? I marvel your skill in the Greek teacheth you nothing in this point. St John saith, "Look to yourselves, that you lose not the things which you have wrought, but that you may receive a full reward." Methinketh in these words the equivalent of "merit" is easily seen of any man that is not wilfully blind: but you should see further than the common sort; for you know that the Greek here signifieth not only that which we work, but that which we work for: as in the Greek phrase of working for a man's living, and as you translate John vi. 27, "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto life everlasting." Such * labourers God hired to work in his vineyard, and "* the workman is worthy of his hire." So that the apostle in the former words exhorteth to perseverance, that we lose not the reward or pay for which we work, and which by working we merit and deserve.

ἃ εἰργάσασθε.

ἐργάσασθαι τὸν βίον.

ἐργάζεσθε τὴν βρῶσιν.

* ἐργάτας. Matt. xx.

* ἐργάτης. Luke x.

FULKE, 21.

Fulke. You fare with us, as a merry fellow did with his friends, of whom Erasmus telleth; who affirming that he saw in the sky a fiery dragon, with often asking them if they did not see it, he induced them at length every one to confess they saw it, lest they should have been thought to be purblind. But in good earnest, and in my conscience, I see no more "merit" in the scriptures, than I did before. Yea, I have this argument more to persuade me that it is not found in the scriptures, because the chiefest patrons thereof, having taken such pains to find it, are now as far from it as ever they were. But to the matter: I say there is no "merit" included in the saying of St John, although you rehearse it in

the second person, after the vulgar Latin translation, and not after the Greek, which is in the first person, and may be referred to the reward of the apostles, which shall be full, if they whom they have converted to the faith do persevere unto the end. But make it as strong for your part as you can; the full reward is given, according to the most bountiful promise of God, to our good works, of his mere mercy and grace, and not by desert of our works. And the parable of the labourers, whom God hired into his vineyard, declareth most evidently, that the reward is of grace, not of merit. For if it were of merit, they that came first early in the morning should have received more, as their labour was greater, than they which came at the last hour. Where our Saviour Christ saith, "The workman is worthy of his hire," he teacheth his disciples, that they may lawfully take meat and drink of them to whom they preach, according to that common saying or proverb. But thereof it followeth not, that every one which worketh in God's vineyard is worthy for his work's sake, and by desert of his labour, of eternal glory; for he promiseth greater reward to his workmen, a thousand fold and more, than their labour doth deserve. So that yet we see not that we merit and deserve by working, although we receive reward for our work, or according to our works. *Unde mihi tantum meriti*, saith a godly father, *cui indulgentia est pro corona?* "Whence should I have so great merit, when pardon or mercy is my crown?"

Matt. xx.

Luke x.

Ambros. ad virg. in exhor.

Martin. Again, Beza telleth us, that ἀντιμισθία signifieth *mercedem quæ meritis respondet*, that is, "a reward answerable to the merits." And we find many words in the scripture like unto this, μισθὸς, ἀπόδοσις, μισθαποδοσία, μισθαποδότης, which are on God's part, who is the rewarder and recompenser. And on our part we have, as the apostle saith, Heb. x. and iv., "great confidence, confidence (saith Photius, a notable Greek father) of our works, confidence of our faith, of our temptations, of our patience," &c. Yea, we have ἀνταπόδοσις and ἀνταμειψις in the scripture, which must needs signify as much as Beza's ἀντιμισθία. By the one is said, "In keeping thy commandments is great reward." Again, "You shall receive the retribution of inheritance," Col. iii. 24, and 2 Thess. i. 6; God's repaying just, and retribution of hell or heaven for good and evil deserts, is expressed by the same word. And by the other is said, "I have inclined my heart to keep thy justifications (or commandments) always for reward."

MARTIN, 22. Annot. in Rom. i. 27. ἀντιμισθία. Heb. x. xi. παῤῥησίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, &c. Phot. apud Œcum. in Heb. x. Ps. xviii. and cxviii. ἀνταπόδοσις πολλή. ἀνταποδοῦναι. δι' ἀνταμειψιν.

FULKE, 22. *Fulke.* If you can find ἀντιμισθία in the scripture, you convince us of "merit" by Beza's judgment. Therefore tell us, I pray you, in what book and chapter we shall find it. First you tell us, that you find many words like unto it. Yea, but neither the same, nor any that is equivalent. For rendering of "reward," which all your words do signify, may be according to promise, by grace; and not by desert. "The confidence of our works," that Photius speaketh of, must be understood as they are testimonies of God's sanctifying Spirit, or else it is contrary to the scripture.

Luke xviii. and xvii. The parable told against them that trusted in themselves that they are righteous; whereas we must confess, that we are unprofitable servants in all our obedience and best works that we do. Yea, but you have ἀνταπόδοσις and ἀντάμειψις in the scripture, which must needs signify as much as Beza's ἀντιμισθία. Who will yield to this necessity? If a man promise a labourer twenty shillings for every day's work, the rendering of this wages may be called ἀνταπόδοσις, or ἀντάμειψις, and yet no man will say, that a day's labour deserveth twenty shillings. That there is great reward promised for them that keep God's commandments, we confess: but this reward is either of merit, if they perfectly keep all God's commandments, which no man doth; or of mercy, if being justified by faith through remission of their sins, they endeavour according to the measure of God's grace given unto them to keep God's commandments in some part, as God giveth strength. In the testimony of St Paul, the word of "inheritance" following immediately after the word of "reward" or "retribution," excludeth merits: for the inheritance dependeth of God's free adoption, by which he maketh us his sons, that he may give us that inheritance which we can never deserve. In the other place the apostle promiseth reward of glory to them that suffer for Christ's name: which God having promised of his mere mercy to give us, and the same being purchased for us by the merits of our Saviour Christ, it is as just before God to render unto us, as to repay the wicked with eternal condemnation according to their merits. So that the merits of Christ, and his satisfaction, plead for us in all rewards; and not the merits of our good works, which yet are not ours, but God's gifts in

Col. iii.

us. That you allege out of the psalm, followeth afterward to be considered.

Martin. But all this will not suffice you; for wheresoever you can possibly, you will have an evasion. And therefore in this latter place you run to the ambiguity of the Hebrew word, and translate thus: "I have applied my heart to fulfil thy statutes always, even unto the end." Alas, my masters! are not the seventy Greek interpreters sufficient to determine the ambiguity of this word? is not St Jerome, in his translation according to the Hebrew? Are not all the ancient fathers, both Greek and Latin? "It is ambiguous," say you, "and therefore you take your liberty." You do so indeed, and that like princes. For in another place, where the Greek hath determined, you follow it with all your heart, saying, "Fall down before his footstool, because he is holy:" whereas the ambiguity of the Hebrew would have borne you to say, as in the vulgar Latin, "because it is holy," and so it maketh for holiness of places, which you cannot abide. MARTIN, 23. עֵקֶב ὅτι ἅγιός ἐστι· קָדוֹשׁ הוּא

Fulke. You need not be half so earnest for the word of "reward" in that verse of the psalm, which we translate "unto the end;" for if it were granted unto you, that for which you make so much of it, the merit of good works will never be established by it. For "reward," as I have often said, and plainly proved, doth not of necessity import the merit or desert of him that is rewarded; but oftentimes the liberality and bountifulness of the rewarder, which for small labour giveth wonderful great reward. Now concerning the translation of this word *yekebh*, the Seventy interpreters nor yet St Jerome are sufficient to determine the ambiguity in this place, more than in an hundred other places where our translations depart from their judgment. But it is still free for men of every age to use the gift of knowledge, and interpretation of tongues, unto the exact finding out of the true meaning of the Holy Ghost in the scriptures. Neither do we join with them only for advantage, as you fondly charge us; but as I have shewed you reason in the example you bring, so is there reason also to be shewed wheresoever we either join with them or depart from them. Where you say, "we cannot abide holiness of places," it is false; for we do acknowledge the holiness of all places which you can prove that God hath sanctified, as he did the ark, the temple, the tabernacle, &c. FULKE, 23. עֵקֶב

MARTIN, 24. *Martin.* But you use, you say, the ambiguity of the Hebrew. Take heed that your liberty in taking all advantages against the common and approved interpretation of the whole church, be not very suspicious. For if it do signify also "reward," as you know it doth very commonly, and yourself so translate it, Psalm xviii. 11, when you cannot choose; and if the Septuaginta do here so translate it in Greek, and St Jerome, in his Latin translation according to the Hebrew, and the ancient fathers in their commentaries; what upstart new masters are you, that set all these to school again, and teach the world a new translation? If you will say you follow our own great Hebrician, Sanctes Pagninus, why did you follow him in his translation, rather than in his lexicon called Thesaurus, where he interpreteth it as the whole church did before him? Why did you follow him, or Benedictus Arias either, in this place, and do not follow them in the selfsame case a little before, translating that very Hebrew word which is in this place, *propter retributionem*, for "reward"? So that you follow nothing, neither judgment nor learning in Hebrew or Greek, but only your own error and heresy, which is, that we may not do well in respect "of reward," or "for reward;" and therefore, because the holy prophet David said of himself the contrary, "that he did bend his whole heart to keep God's commandments for reward," you make him say another thing.

Propter æternam retributionem scl. vitæ æternæ, ut eam merear percipere. In comment.

Ps. cxix. 112. עֵקֶב

FULKE, 24. *Fulke.* If Sanctes Pagninus, Benedictus Arias, and Isidorus Clarius, be "upstart new masters" in your judgment, because they depart here from the Septuaginta and St Jerome, we poor men must look for small favour at your hands. But because you say we "follow nothing, neither judgment nor learning in Hebrew or Greek, but only our own error and heresy," I will set down the judgment of Isidorus Clarius upon this place, who translateth it as all the Hebricians of this age do, and yieldeth his reasons in these words: "*Inclinavi cor meum. Accommodavi animum meum, ut opere præstem præcepta tua, &c.* "I have inclined my heart. I have applied my mind, that in work or deed I might perform thy commandments, even unto the end of my life." For that word, *proper retributionem*, "for reward," the Hebrew words have not: and truly it is to be taken away; for it is too servile a thing, and not worthy of so great a prophet, to give diligence to God's commandments for reward and hope of retribution. For that is the part of an hireling, and of him which is unworthy the name of a son; neither can he be worthily called a christian man, that serveth Christ with this mind. For what if God should say so, that he would not reward us with any other

retribution, seeing for this one thing, that we are created by him, we can never satisfy this debt, shall we refuse to serve him? Therefore we are bound to serve him with our whole mind, although he had decreed to thrust us into hell fire, both for that which we owe him, and for that we live only that time which we bestow in well doing; for they which give over themselves to all wicked works, by no means can be said to live. Yet there may be an interpretation of the Hebrew words without such offence; so that it may be said, 'for ever is the reward,' as elsewhere we read, 'In keeping of them is great reward.' For by this means it is signified, that the fruit indeed of keeping God's law is very great, but yet that retribution is not the end and scope, but the love of God." Let all indifferent readers judge by this, what just cause you have thus to rail, not only upon our translators, but also upon all learned papists that have translated even so. And let the ignorant judge what knowledge you have in the Hebrew tongue, which urge the false translation of the Seventy against the opinion and translation of all the learned Hebricians of this age, both papists and protestants; although it were no hard thing to prove that the Greek text of the Psalms, which now we have, is none of the Seventy translation, as even Lindanus might teach you, *de Opt. gen.* Lib. III. c. vi.

Martin. And to this purpose perhaps it is, (for other cause I cannot guess,) that you make such a marvellous transposition of words in your translation, Matt. xix., saying thus: "When the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his majesty, ye that have followed me in the regeneration shall sit also upon twelve seats." Whereas the order of these words, both in Greek and Latin, is this: "You that have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in his majesty, you also shall sit upon twelve seats." To follow Christ in the regeneration is not easily understood what it should mean: but to sit with Christ in the regeneration, that is, in the resurrection, upon twelve seats, that is familiar, and every man's interpretation, and concerneth the great reward that they shall then have which here follow Christ, as the apostles did. MARTIN, 25.

Fulke. You look for faults very narrowly, that can espy but a comma wanting, although it be no impious sense to follow Christ in the regeneration; for the world by Christ was after a sort renewed, when the cause of the restoration thereof was performed: as for the "reward," of which you FULKE, 25.

have such a servile care, [it] is expressed in sitting upon twelve seats to judge the tribes of Israel. Wherefore there was no need that you should fear the loss of your "reward" by this transposition.

MARTIN, 26. No. Test. 1580.

Martin. The like transposition of words is in some of your bibles, Heb. ii. 9, thus: "We see Jesus crowned with glory and honour, which was a little inferior to the angels, through the suffering of death[1]." Whereas both in Greek and Latin the order of the words is thus: "Him that was made a little inferior to angels, we see Jesus, through the passion of death, crowned with honour and glory." In this latter the apostle saith, that Christ was crowned for his suffering death, and so by his death merited his glory. But by your translation he saith, that Christ was made inferior to angels by his suffering death, that is, saith Beza, "for to suffer death;" and taking it so, that he was made inferior to angels that he might die: then the other sense is clean excluded, that for suffering death he was crowned with glory; and this is one place among other, whereby it may very well be gathered that some of you think, that Christ himself did not merit his own glory and exaltation. So obstinately are you set against merits and meritorious works. To the which purpose also you take away man's free will, as having no ability to work toward his own salvation.

Ut inori posset.

See Calvin in epist. ad Philip.

FULKE, 26.

Fulke. Whether we say, "Christ was crowned for his suffering," or "Christ was made inferior to the angels through his suffering," the sense of either of both is good and godly, and may stand with the place; neither doth the one of them exclude the other, although but one only can be the sense of the place. And if this be the "place by which you may gather, that some of us think that Christ merited not his own glory," it is not worth a straw. We hold that Christ for himself needed not to merit, because he was the Lord of glory: but that he merited for us, to be exalted in our nature, for our salvation, it is so far off that we deny, that our whole comfort resteth in his merits; and in his glory, which he hath deserved for us, we hope to be glorified for ever. When you make your transition to the next chapter, you say, we "take away man's free will, as having none ability to work:" by which it seemeth that you do not only allow to man the freedom of his will, but also power to work whatsoever he will; so that he shall not only have a free will, but also a strength by the same to work towards his own salvation.

[1 This is not quite correctly given, the word "made" being omitted after "was"; as the cavil is taken at the later Genevan version.]

CHAPTER X.

Heretical Translation against Free Will.

Martin. AGAINST free will your corruptions be these: John i. 12[2], where it is said, "As many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God." Some of your translations say, he gave them "prerogative" to be the sons of God: Beza, "dignity;" who protesteth that whereas in other places often he translateth this Greek word "power" and "authority," here he refused both, indeed against free will, which, he saith, the sophists would prove out of this place, reprehending Erasmus for following them in his translation. But whereas the Greek word is indifferent to signify "dignity" or "liberty," he that will translate either of these, restraineth the sense of the Holy Ghost, and determineth it to his own fancy. If you may translate "dignity," may not we as well translate it "liberty"? Yes, surely. For you know it signifieth the one as well as the other, both in profane and divine writers. And you can well call to mind αὐτεξούσιος and τὸ αὐτεξούσιον, whence they are derived, and that the apostle calleth a man's liberty of his own will ἐξουσίαν περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος. Now then, if "*potestas*" in Latin, and "power" in English, be words also indifferent to signify both "dignity" and "liberty," translate so, in the name of God, and leave the text of the scripture indifferent as we do: and for the sense, whether of the two it doth here rather signify, or whether it doth not signify both, as no doubt it doth, and the fathers so expound it, let that be examined otherwise. It is a common fault with you, and intolerable, by your translation to abridge the sense of the Holy Ghost to one particular understanding, and to defeat the exposition of so many fathers, that expound it in another sense and signification: as is plain in this example also following.

MARTIN, 1. ἐξουσίαν. No. Test. 1580.

Ut liceret filios Dei fieri.

1 Cor. vii. 17.

Fulke. Seeing you confess that the Greek word signifieth not only "power,"[1] but also "dignity," and that in this place it signifieth both, it can be no corruption, but the best and truest interpretation, to translate ἐξουσίαν "dignity;" for that includeth "power," whereas power may be severed from

FULKE, 1.

[[2] Ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτὸν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι, John i. 12. "Quotquot autem receperunt eum, dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri," Vulg. "Quotquot autem eum acceperunt, dedit eis *hanc* dignitatem ut filii Dei fierent," Beza. "To them gave he power," Cranmer, 1539, Authorised version, 1611. ἐξουσία is rendered "power" in the Genevan, Rhemish, Tyndale's, and Wiclif's versions.]

dignity. Where you would have us use a word that is ambiguous, when the sense is clear by your own confession, you bewray your own corrupt affection, which desire to have the scriptures so ambiguously or doubtfully translated, that the ignorant might receive no benefit of certain understanding by them. When a word hath diverse significations, a wise translator must weigh which of them agreeth with the text in hand, and that to use: but not to seek ambiguous words, that may bring the matter in doubt, when the meaning to him is certain. As here you say, "there is no doubt but it signifieth both," and yet you quarrel at our translation which comprehendeth both; and urge the word of "power," from which dignity may be severed, whereas from "dignity" power, or ability, or license, cannot be divided.

MARTIN, 2. ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

Martin. The apostle, 1 Cor. xv. 10, saith thus, "I laboured more abundantly than all they, yet not I, but the grace of God with me[1]." Which may have this sense, "not I, but the grace of God which is with me," as S. Jerome sometime expoundeth it; or this, "not I, but the grace of God which laboured with me." And by this latter is most evidently signified, that the grace of God and the apostle both laboured together, and not only grace, as though the apostle had done nothing, like unto a block, forced only: but that the grace of God did so concur as the principal agent with all his labours, that his free will wrought withal. Against which truth and most approved interpretation of this place, you translate according to the former sense only, making it the very text, and so excluding all other senses and commentaries, as your masters Calvin and Beza taught you; who should not have taught you, if you were wise, to do that which neither they, nor you, can justify. They reprehend first the vulgar Latin interpreter for neglecting the Greek article, and secondly, them that by occasion thereof would by this place prove free will. By which their commentary they do plainly declare their intent and purpose in their translation, to be directly against free will.

FULKE, 2.

Fulke. St Jerome favouring this translation of ours, as he doth in divers places, lib. II. *advers. Jovi. Gratia Dei quæ in me est;* and lib. II. *adver. Pelag. et ad Principem Gratia Dei quæ mecum est,* "The grace of God which is in me," or "which is with me;" I marvel why you count

[1 ἀλλὰ περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί, 1 Cor. xv. 10.]

it among heretical corruptions, except you take St Jerome for an heretic. By the latter you say it "is signified, that the grace of God and the apostle both laboured together:" although it be no proper speech to say, the grace of God laboureth, yet that you would have is expressed before, where St Paul saith, "I have laboured more than they all;" which none but a block would understand, that he was forced like a block. The grace of God useth no violence, but frameth the will of man to obedience and service of God. But that St Paul had of himself no free will to perform this labour, but that it was altogether of the grace of God which gave him this will, he confesseth more plainly than that it can be denied, where he saith, "Not I." Whereby he meaneth, not that he was only helped by the grace of God, and did it not alone; but that he did nothing by his own strength, but altogether by the grace of God, which made him willing, which of nature was unwilling, to set forth the gospel, yea, by froward zeal became a blasphemer and a persecutor thereof. Which grace gave him not only a will to promote the gospel, but inspired him also with divine knowledge, by revelation, without study or hearing of other men: which gave him also strength to overcome so many difficulties, that no labour, nor travail, nor persecution, nor continuance of time, did make him weary or faint in his labour. All this, I say, he doth ascribe wholly unto the grace of God. And this sense doth not make Paul a block, nor enforced by violence; but a willing, prompt, and painful labourer. But if you mean that St Paul had a free will and strength of himself, which only was holpen by the grace of God; then is your sense abominable Pelagianism, heresy, worthy to be trodden under feet by all Christians, and of Calvin and Beza most justly reprehended, who are utter enemies to free will, that derogateth any thing from the grace of Christ, "without whom we can do nothing:" which text always choked the Pelagians, and so doth it their half-faced brethren, the papists.

John xv. 5.

Martin. But concerning the Greek article omitted in translation, if they were but grammarians in both tongues, they might know that the Greek article many times cannot be expressed in Latin, and that this is one felicity and prerogative of the Greek phrase

Martin, 3. ἡ χάρις ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

above the Latin, to speak more briefly, commodiously, and significantly by the article. What need we go to Terence and Homer, as they art wont? Is not the scripture full of such speeches; *Jacobus Zebedæi, Jacobus Alphæi, Judas Jacobi, Maria Cleophæ*, and the like? Are not all these sincerely translated into Latin, though the Greek article be not expressed? Can you express the article, but you must add more than the article, and so add to the text? as you do very boldly in such speeches throughout the New Testament; yea, you do it when there is no article in the Greek: as John v. 36, and 1 John ii. 2. Yea, sometime of an heretical purpose: as Eph. iii.[1]: "By whom we have boldness and entrance with the confidence which is by the faith of him," or "in him," as it is in other your bibles. You say, "confidence which is by faith," as though there were no confidence by works: you know the Greek beareth not that translation, unless there were an article after "confidence," which is not; but you add it to the text heretically: as also Beza doth the like, Rom. viii. 2, and your Geneva English testaments after him, for the heresy of imputative justice; as in his annotations he plainly deduceth, saying confidently, "I doubt not but a Greek article must be understood," and therefore (forsooth) put into the text also. He doth the same in St James ii. 20, still debating the case in his annotations why he doth so; and when he hath concluded in his fancy that this or that is the sense, he putteth it so in the text, and translateth accordingly. No marvel now, if they reprehend the vulgar Latin interpreter for not translating the Greek article in the place which we began to treat of, when they find articles lacking in the Greek text itself, and boldly add them for their purpose in their translation: whereas the vulgar Latin interpretation is in all these places so sincere, that it neither addeth nor diminisheth, nor groeth one iota from the Greek.

(witness.)
(sins.)
Bib. 1562.
Nov. Test. 1580. ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως.
τοῦ πνεύματος (τοῦ) ἡ πίστις (ἡ).

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Concerning the omission of the Greek article, which Calvin and Beza reprove in the old translator, you make many words to no purpose: for they reprove him not for omitting it, where either it cannot or it need not be expressed, but in this place, where both it may, and meet it is that it should be expressed. But we, you say, to express the article, do add more than is in the text: yet in truth we add nothing but that which is necessarily to be understood; as when we say, "James the son of Zebedee," where you had rather say, James of Zebedee, as though you were so precise, that for necessary understanding you would

[1 Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παῤῥησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ, Ephes. iii. 12. "In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him," Authorised version.]

not add a word to the text; and yet you do very often, yea, sometimes where no need is: as Acts viii.[2] where the Latin is *curaverunt Stephanum*, you translate it, "they took order for Stephen's funeral." Doth *curare* signify to take order for a funeral? So likewise Luke x., *pœniterent*, "they had done penance." But to answer for our own doings. John v. 36[3], where Christ saith, "I have a greater witness than John's witness," why may not the article τοῦ be referred rather to μαρτυρίου, that is of necessity to be understood, than to Ἰωάννου? In the other place, 1 John ii. 2[4], the word "sins," must needs be understood in the pronoun adjective "ours." In the third text, where you accuse the translators of heretical purpose, the sense is all one whether you add the article or no. For when the apostle saith, "by Christ we have boldness and entrance with confidence by faith," how can you understand "confidence by works?" and whether there be confidence by works or no, there can none be proved by this place. Where Beza understandeth an article, Rom. viii., whom our English translation doth follow, it is only to make that plain, which otherwise is necessarily to be understood. For there is no difference between these sayings: "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," and this, "The law of the spirit of life, which is in Christ Jesus, hath delivered me from the law of sin and death." The article or relative therefore declareth no more but, "the law of the spirit of life is in Christ Jesus, which delivereth us." For both the text saith, "in Christ Jesus," and it cannot be in any other to deliver us. For he saith not, the law of the spirit of life in us, but in Christ Jesus; and the next verse following doth manifestly confirm the same, as every man may see that will consider it. Likewise James the second: "Wilt thou know, O thou vain

[2 Συνεκόμισαν δὲ τὸν Στέφανον ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Acts viii. 2. "Curaverunt autem Stephanum viri timorati, et fecerunt planctum magnum super eum," Vulg. "And devout men took order for Steven's funeral, and made great mourning upon him," Rhemish Test. 1582.]

[3 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὴν μαρτυρίαν μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου· τὰ γὰρ ἔργα ἃ ἔδωκέ μοι ὁ πατὴρ ἵνα τελειώσω αὐτὰ, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ὁ πατήρ με ἀπέσταλκε, John v. 36.]

[4 Καὶ αὐτὸς ἱλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν· οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, 1 John ii. 2.]

man, that faith without works is dead?" If you say, "the faith which is without good works is dead," is not that the meaning of the apostle? where he addeth immediately, that "Abraham was justified by" such a faith as was fruitful of good "works." And when he bringeth example of devils' faith, is it not manifest he speaketh of such a faith as is utterly void of all good works? Where you say that Beza putteth the article into the text, and translateth it accordingly, you do most shamefully belie him. For to the original text he addeth none of his own collection, but in his translation only, where he judgeth that according to the sense of the place it must of necessity be understood: which if it be a fault in articles, it must be so in other words also, for like cause added. Then answer to your own translations, where beside those that I have noted before, which seem to proceed of some popish purpose, you have added to your Latin authentical text. As in these examples, Matt. viii. *Quid nobis et tibi?* "What is between us?" Chap. ix. *confide,* "have a good heart." Chap. xxii. *male perdet,* "he will bring to nought." Mark ii. *post dies,* "after some days." *Accumberet,* "he sat at meat." Luke xvii. *ab illo,* "more than he." John xii. *discumbentibus,* "them that sat at the table." *Non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum,* "not because he cared for thepoor." Acts ix. *Ecce ego, Domine,* "Lo, here I am, Lord." Chap. x. *gustare,* "to take somewhat." Chap. xvii. *colentibus,* "that serveth God." *Nobiliores eorum qui sunt Thessalonicæ,* "more noble than they that are at Thessalonica." Rom. i. *vocatis sanctis,* "called to be saints," &c.

MARTIN, 4. Non ego, sed gratia Dei mecum.

Martin. But you will say, in the place to the Corinthians there is a Greek article, and therefore there you do well to express it. I answer, first, the article may then be expressed in translation, when there can be but one sense of the same: secondly, that not only it may, but it must be expressed, when we cannot otherwise give the sense of the place; as Matt. i. 6. *Ex ea quæ fuit Uriæ:* where you see the vulgar interpreter omitteth it not, but knoweth the force and signification thereof very well. Marry! in the place of St Paul which we now speak of, where the sense is doubtful, and the Latin expresseth the Greek sufficiently otherwise, he leaveth it also doubtful and indifferent, not abridging it as you do, saying, "the grace of God which is with me;" nor as Calvin, *gratia quæ mihi aderat;* nor as Illyricus, *gratia quæ mihi adest.* Which two latter are more absurd than yours, because they omit and neglect alto-

ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου,

ἡ χάρις ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

gether the force of the preposition *cum*, which you express, saying, "*with me.*" But because you say, "*which is with me,*" you mean heretically, as they do, to take away the apostle's co-operation and labouring together with the grace of God by his free will: which is by the article and the preposition most evidently signified. σὺν ἐμοί.

Fulke. You take upon you to prescribe rules of translation, as though you were prince of the *Critici* or *Areopagitæ.* But all reasonable men will confess, that the article is so often to be expressed as it may, and maketh any thing to the sense and understanding of the place. But as for your rule, that it is not to be expressed in translation when there may be more senses than one of the same, [it] is so good a rule, that by the same reason and by equity thereof, whensoever any word cometh in the text that may have more senses than one, we must skip it over, and not translate it at all; and so we shall leave out five hundred words in the New Testament. A better rule I take it to be, in all such cases, to examine what is most agreeable to the common phrase of the tongue, and the scope of the text in hand: according to which I say, the verb substantive is both more usual, and also more probable to be understood in this text, 1 Cor. xv., than the participle συγκοπιάσασα. FULKE, 4.

Martin. And here I appeal to all that have skill in Greek speeches and phrases, whether the apostle's words in Greek sound not thus: "I laboured more abundantly than all they: yet not I, but the grace of God (that laboured) with me." Understanding not the participle of *sum*, but of the verb going before, as in the like case when our Saviour saith, "It is not you that speak, but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in you." If he had spoken short thus, "but the Holy Ghost in you," you perhaps would translate as you do here, "the Holy Ghost, which is in you." But you see the verb going before is rather repeated, "Not you speak, but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in you." Even so, "Not I laboured, but the grace of God labouring with me," or, "which laboured with me." So prayeth the wise man, Sap. ix. 10, "Send wisdom out of thy holy heavens, that she may be with me, and labour with me," as yourselves translate. Bib. 1577. MARTIN, 5. ἐκοπίασα: οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοὶ (συγκοπίασα σα, συνεργουμένη, &c.) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν. Et mecum laboret.

Fulke. And I likewise appeal, not only "to all that have skill in Greek speeches and phrases," but to all them whose ears are accustomed to reasonable speeches, whether it be like that the apostle would understand that participle, whereof (perhaps) there is no verb; for where shall we read συγ- FULKE, 5.

κοπιάω? Secondly, whether he would understand the participle of another verb adjective than went before; for before he said ἐκοπίασα. Thirdly, whether he were so desirous to set forth his own co-operation with the grace of God, that he would express it with two prepositions, one in apposition, the other in composition. Fourthly, whether he meant to attribute any thing to himself, when, as it were correcting that which he said of "labouring," he saith, "yet not I, but the grace of God." Fifthly, whether he purposed to challenge any merit of the labour to himself, or make his labour any thing separate or separable from the grace of God, when he said before, "by the grace of God I am that I am." Last of all, whether, his words being resolved, if this participle be added, they contain not a ridiculous tautology or vain repetition, "I have laboured more than they all, yet not I, but the grace of God which laboured together with me hath laboured." To conclude in your example which you feign, because you can find none to answer your fancy: if the words were as you suppose, οὐχ ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν, we would, and must, if we did well, translate it thus: "It is not you that speak, but the Holy Ghost, which is in you," and so understand "speaketh." The saying of Philo, or whatsoever eloquent Jew that was which gathered that book of Wisdom, is not of such importance that we need to seek any interpretation thereof; although it is certain, that by "wisdom" he meaneth not the Son of God, the Wisdom of the Father; but divine knowledge and understanding, which is a gift of his Spirit, whereof he speaketh by a rhetorical *prosopopœia*, or fiction of person.

MARTIN, 6. *Martin.* And so the apostle calleth himself and his fellow preachers "God's coadjutors," "co-labourers," or such as labour and work with God; which also you falsely translate "God's labourers," to take away all co-operation; and in some of your bibles most foolishly and peevishly, as though you had sworn not to translate the Greck, "We together are God's labourers:" as well might you translate Rom. viii. 17, that "we together be Christ's heirs," for that which the apostle saith "co-heirs," or "joint-heirs with him;" the phrase and speech, as you know, in Greek being all one. So doth Beza most falsely translate, *Una vivificavit nos per Christum*, for that which is plain in the Greek, "He hath quickened us together with Christ." Where the English Bezites leave also the Greek, and follow our vulgar Latin translation rather than

Θεοῦ συνεργοί.

S. Augustine, *Imperarii.* et 2 Cor. vi. 1.

συνεργοῦντες δὲ.

συγκληρονόμοι Χριστοῦ.

Eph. ii. 5.

The English translators are ashamed

Beza, who goeth so wide from the Greek, that for shame they dare not follow him. Fie upon such hypocrisy and pretensed honour of God, that you will not speak in the same terms that the holy scripture speaketh, but rather will teach the Holy Ghost how to speak, in not translating as he speaketh! As though these phrases of scripture, "men are God's co-adjutors," "co-workers with his grace," "raised with Christ," "co-heirs with him," "co-partakers of glory with him," were all spoken to the dishonour of God and Christ; and as though these, being the speeches of the Holy Ghost himself, needed your reformation in your English translations. Otherwise, if you mean well, and would say as we say, that whatsoever good we do, we do it by God's grace, and yet work the same by our free will together with God's grace, as the mover and helper and directer of our will; why do you not translate in the foresaid place of St Paul accordingly? of their master.

Fulke. St Paul saith, 1 Cor. iii. 9[1], that he and Apollos are Θεοῦ συνεργοί, "joined together in the work and business of God:" he saith not that they are "helpers of God," for God needeth no help. A helper is of him that lacketh strength, which is blasphemous to say of God. Therefore even Faber Stapulensis, as Beza telleth you, reproveth that term *adjutores*, which your vulgar translator useth, and you yourself in favour of your heresy of free will do not translate, but fly to the Greek word συνεργοί, and say "coadjutors," which if you would express in English, signifieth "fellow-helpers of God." The word *cooperarii*, which St Augustine useth, as Beza also telleth you, may be referred to the joint labour of the ministers in several offices of planting and watering. And although it be referred to God, that he, as the Lord FULKE, 6.

[1 Θεοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί, 1 Cor. iii. 9. "Dei enim sumus adjutores," Vulg. "Etenim Dei sumus administri," Beza. "For we are God's labourers," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "For we are God's coadjutors," Rhemish. "For we are labourers together with God," Authorised version.

Administri, συνεργοί, Augustinus et Erasmus, cooperarii. Ambrosius, operis participes, Vulg. adjutores; vocabulo, fateor, Latino, sed quod recte, ut opinor, reprehendit Stapulensis. Dicimur enim eum adjuvare cui vires non sufficiunt: quis autem hoc de Deo dicat? Ei autem subservire nihil prohibet, cui opera nostra uti placeat in eo quod ipse solus, si velit, possit efficere. Sed in hoc opere, de quo hic disseritur, amplius etiam aliquid considerandum est. Primum scilicet, istos qui Dei sunt administri, viribus uti non a natura insitis, sed a gratia collatis, ut apta et idonea fierent instrumenta; sicut significat apostolus infra xv. 10. et 2 Cor. iii. 6. ut nihil habeant συνεργοί de quo in sese glorientur. Beza in locum, p. 205.]

and Master, and they, as the servants, altogether by his grace and strength do work together, the sense is not evil, yet not proper for this place. Because the apostle doth not here set out the dignity of the ministers, but abaseth their labour, and submitteth all to God. For he had to do with them, that did attribute too much unto the ministers' work; with whom it was unseasonable to extol their labours, and make them "coadjutors" or "fellow-helpers of God." But contrariwise, he ascribeth the fruit of all their labours to God; and to take away the schisms that were among them, by depending of one minister more than another, declareth that they altogether are "God's labourers," "God's husbandmen," &c. In the other place 2 Cor. vi. 1, *συνεργοῦντες*, it is more proper to say, that the apostles joined their labours unto Christ offering his grace, that it should not be received in vain: where, nevertheless, the strength of man's free will is not avouched; but the grace of God, who worketh by his ministers, giving them strength to labour, and fruit to their labours.

Next followeth an open outcry against Beza for false translation, and our translators for being ashamed to follow him. If we mislike Beza's translation, are we by and by ashamed to follow him? And if his translation be false, as you affirm, and we ashamed to follow him in falsehood, do we deserve to be defied as hypocrites, because we prefer the truth before the credit of our master, as you call him? O how glad you are, when you have never so small an occasion, to set abroad the sails of your railing and reviling oration! But let us see whether Beza deserve so much blame as you charge him withal. Beza having translated, as he thought, most near to the apostle's meaning, Eph. ii. 5[1], in his annotation upon the place thus writeth: "*Convivificavit*, &c. The Vulgar and Erasmus translate, 'he hath quick-

[1 *συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ*, Ephes. ii. 5. "Convivificavit nos Christo," Vulg. "Una vivificavit nos per Christum," Beza. "Quickened us together in Christ," all the versions, except the Authorised, which has "with Christ." "Convivificavit nos una cum Christo," Erasmus. Quam sententiam minime reprehendo. Sed nihil tamen rei ipsi detrahetur; et magis fortassis apposite dici possit præpositionem *σὺν* adhibitam esse, ut gentium ac Judæorum in uno Christo coagmentationem declaret, quo modo etiam accipitur *τὸ συνοικοδομεῖσθαι*, infra vers. 21. Nov. Test. Edit. Bezæ, p. 249.]

ened us together with Christ,' which sense I do in no wise reprehend. But yet nothing shall be detracted from the self-same matter, and perhaps it may be said more aptly, that the preposition *σὺν*, in this place, is used rather to declare the uniting together of the gentiles and Jews in one Christ; after which manner the word *συνοικοδομεῖσθαι*, which signifieth 'to be builded together,' is afterward used, verse 22." This is Beza's judgment, not contrary to the common translation and ours, but agreeing in the sense thereof, and comprehending a further matter, whereof the apostle in that chapter speaketh. But our translators thought best to follow the plain and common understanding, not for shame of Beza, or his translation, but for desire of sincerity and plainness. Contrariwise, where your vulgar translator is sometimes so barbarous, that his phrase hath no sense according to the text, it may well be thought you were ashamed to follow him, lest you should have been ridiculous to all men. As you translate *timoratus* "religious" oftentimes. *Non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum*, which in English is, John xii. "not because of the poor it pertained to him;" but you have translated, "not because he cared for the poor." *Una Sabbati*, John xxi. "the first of the sabbath." *Sabbati habens iter*, Acts i. "having the journey of a sabbath," you translate, "distant Acts xiv. a sabbath's journey." Yea, you are bold to correct your text, and for *Italia* to say *Attalia*. *Ad abluenda crimina*, which Acts xxv. is, "to wash away the crimes," you say, "to clear himself of the crime." *Cum multa ambitione*, which is, "with much Ibid. ambition," you say, "with great pomp." *Exhortentur*, 1 Cor. xiv. which is a deponent, you translate, "may be exhorted:" *ad reverentiam vobis*, which is, "for reverence to you," 1 Cor. xv. you say, "to your shame:" and such like. I do not blame you, that you are ashamed to follow your vulgar Latin text in these phrases; but that you are not ashamed to allow that translation, as the only authentical text, which no man for shame will follow in many places. To conclude, our meaning for free will is, that we confess it at all times to be free from constraint, but never free to embrace that which is good indeed, but only when it is reformed by the grace of God: who also, in all good things that we take in hand, doth not only make us willing, but also giveth all the strength we have to perform them. If this be your meaning, as I

am afraid it is not, by your terms of "working, and helping, and directing," "as though it could go alone with a little help and direction," we join with you; but if you think you can do anything that good is, without the grace of God, like to Pelagius, Celestius, and other like heretics of the devil's black guard, we leave you.

MARTIN. 7. *Martin.* You say moreover in some of your bibles, thus: "So lieth it not then in a man's will or running, but in the mercy of God[1]." Whatsoever you mean, you know this translation is very dissolute, and wide from the apostle's words, and not true in sense; for salvation is in willing and running, according to that famous saying of St Augustine, "He that made thee without thee will not justify thee without thee;" that is, against thy will, or, unless thou be willing. And the apostle saith, "No man is crowned, unless he fight lawfully." And again, "So run that you may obtain." And again, "The doers of the law shall be justified." And our Saviour, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." We see then, that it is in willing, and running, and doing: but to will, or run, or do, are not of man, but of God's mercy. And so the apostle speaketh: "It is not of the willer, nor runner, but of God that hath mercy." And it is much to be marvelled, why you said not, "It lieth not in the willer, nor in the runner," which is near to the apostle's words; but so far off, "in a man's will and running."

Bib. 1562. οὐ θέλοντος, τρέχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐλεοῦντος.

Aug. Serm. 15. de verb. Apostoli.

2 Tim. ii.

1 Cor. ix.

Rom. ii.

Matt. xix.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* The translation you reprehend, I grant, is not proper for the words, and therefore is reformed in the later translations: yet in sense it is all one; for salvation lieth not in the will, or running of man, but in the mercy of God; even as St John saith: "The children of God are not made of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but they are born of God." But thus you reason against it. We are not saved, except we will, and run; *ergo*, salvation lieth in willing and running. I deny your argument, which is as good as this: we are not saved from sin, except we have committed sin; *ergo*, salvation from sin lieth in committing sin. The "famous place of Augustine" is a famous corruption of papists, to establish the strength of free will, clean contrary to St Augustine's mind, where a point interrogative is changed into a period; for in ancient written copies, it is read with interrogation: *Qui ergo fecit te sine te, non te justificat sine te?* "He therefore that made thee

[1 ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος, οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος Θεοῦ, Rom. ix. 16. "So then [election] is not of the willer, nor of

without thee, doth he not justify thee without thee?" And the whole discourse of that father, both before and after, requireth that reading. For thus he writeth: *Si hominem te fecit Deus, et justum tu te facis; melius aliquid facis, quam fecit Deus. Sed sine te fecit te Deus. Non enim adhibuisti aliquem consensum, ut te faceret Deus. Quo modo consentiebas qui non eras? Qui ergo fecit te sine te, non te justificat sine te? Ergo fecit nescientem, justificat volentem. Tamen ipse justificat, ne sit justitia tua*[2]. "If God have made thee a man, and thou makest thyself a just man, thou makest some better thing than God hath made: but God made thee without thee, for thou gavest no consent that God should make thee: how didst thou consent, which wast not? He therefore that made thee without thee, doth he not justify thee without thee? Therefore he hath made thee not knowing; but he justifieth thee, being willing: yet it is he that doth justify thee, that it should not be thy justice."

The meaning of St Augustine is, that we have no more free will to be justified, before we be prevented by the grace of God, than we had will to be created. For it is God's grace that maketh us willing to be justified and saved, not the strength of man's free will; as he proveth at large throughout the whole homily. Now to the texts of scripture which you cite, I answer, there is not one that proveth any strength or sway of man's free will toward the true goodness, before, of an ungodly man and enemy of God, he be reconciled by the grace and mercy of God, and made an obedient child in some part, willing to do the will of his Father. First, those texts of "fighting and running" prove that fighting and running is necessary for them that are exhorted thereto; but not that fighting or running are in the free will of man, or that salvation lieth in them. Eating and drinking are necessary for the life of man; yet the life of man lieth not in eating and drinking. Where the apostle saith, "the doers of the law shall be justified," he meaneth them that fulfil the law; and doth our Saviour Christ, an-

the runner; but of God that taketh mercy," Bishops' bible, 1584. "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy," Authorised version, 1611.]

[2 Augustin. Sermo. CLXIX. Opera, Vol. v. p. 1178.]

swering to the question of him that asked, "what he should do to obtain life?" declare, "that there is no way to enter into life by doing, but only by doing of God's commandments: for the man that doth them shall live by them." But if he were asked, "which is the way to eternal life?" as he was by Thomas, he will answer, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." Those texts therefore declare not, how a man that is a transgressor of the law may be saved; but that to obtain salvation by works, it is necessary for a man to keep the whole law and commandments of God, or else he is accursed.

Joh. xiv.

MARTIN, 8.

οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι. Marvellous strange translation. De grat. et lib. arb. c. 4. ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν, χωρείτω.

Martin. Again, touching continency and the chaste single life, you translate: "All men cannot receive this saying," Matt. xix. 11. Now you wot well, that our Saviour saith not, "All men cannot," but, "all men do not receive it:" and that therefore, as St Augustine saith, "because all will not." But when our Saviour afterward saith, "He that can receive it, let him receive it;" he addeth another Greek word to express that sense[1]: whereas by your fond translation he might have said, ὁ χωρῶν χωρείτω. And again, by your translation, you should translate these his latter words thus: "He that can or is able to receive it, let him be able to receive it." For so you translate χωρεῖν before, as though it were all one with δύνασθαι χωρεῖν. Do you not see your folly, and falsehood, and boldness, to make the reader believe that our Saviour should say, "Every man cannot live chaste, it is impossible for them, and therefore no man should vow chastity, because he knoweth not whether he can live so or no?"

FULKE, 8.

Fulke. The Greek word χωρεῖν doth signify "to be able to hold, or contain;" and so it is used, Mark ii., ὥστε μηκέτι χωρεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν θύραν: which you translate, "so that there was no place, no, not at the door." Do you not mean, that the place about the door was not able to hold that multitude? Your vulgar Latin is, *Ita ut non caperet neque ad januam*, in barbarous words, but in sense as I have said before. So John ii., the six pots,

[1 Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται, Matt. xix. 11. Ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρείτω, v. 12. "He said unto them, All men cannot away with that saying, save they to whom it is given," Tyndale. "He said unto them, All men cannot comprehend this saying, save they to whom it is given," Cranmer, Bishops' bible. "Cannot receive," Authorised version. "And he said unto them, All men receive not this speech, save they to whom it is given," Geneva Bible, 1557.]

when they were empty, are said χωροῦσαι, "able to receive every one of them two or three measures." Likewise, John xxi., where the word is χωρῆσαι, you yourselves translate "not able to contain." Seeing the word therefore signifieth not only "to receive," but also "to be able to receive," it is rightly translated, Matth. xix.; and according to the meaning of our Saviour Christ, "all men cannot receive this saying, but they to whom it is given;" which he doth after evidently confirm, when he addeth the participle ὁ δυνάμενος, "he that is able to receive it, let him receive it:" which were vainly said, if all men were able that would, and if it were given to all that would; for then he should say, "all men do not receive this saying, but they that will, let them receive it." Where you call Augustine to witness of your foolish gloss, you do him shameful injury: for he saith not, "all men do not, because all will not;" but these are his words in the place by you quoted: *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, sed quibus datum est:* quibus enim non est datum, aut nolunt, aut non implent quod volunt; quibus autem datum est, sic volunt ut impleant quod volunt[2]. "All men receive not this word, but they to whom it is given: for they to whom it is not given, either they will not, or else they fulfil not that which they will; but they to whom it is given, do so will, that they fulfil that which they will." Augustine is plain to the contrary, that it is not in every man that will to be continent, but it is the special gift of God that any both will, and be able to perform it; for which he citeth also the saying of the wise man, Sap. viii., which with you is canonical scripture: "When I knew that otherwise I could not be continent, except God should give it, and this same was wisdom to know whose gift it is, I went unto the Lord and prayed to him[3]." These things considered, our translation is justified, both according to the word, which signifieth sometime "to be able to receive;" and according to the sense, which here must needs require that it should be so translated. Wherefore it is impossible for any man to

[2 Augustin. de Gratia et Lib. Arb. c. 4. Opera, Vol. I. 1236.]

[3 Eruit enim et eximit in se sperantes, non suis viribus quod acceperint tribuentes. *Et hoc ipsum enim est sapientiæ, scire cujus est donum.* Augustin. Sermo CLX. Opera. v. 1118.]

live chaste, except he have the gift of God; whereof unless a man be certain, he doeth foolishly and presumptuously, to vow that which he knoweth not whether he shall be able to perform.

MARTIN, 9. Bib. 1579. *Martin.* Again, in some of your bibles, Gen. iv. 7, where God saith plainly, "that Cain should receive according as he did, well or evil, because sin was subject unto him, and he had the rule and dominion thereof," evidently declaring his free will; you translate it thus: "If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou dost not well, sin lieth at the door: and also unto thee his desire shall be subject, and thou shalt rule over him." By which relatives, falsely put in the masculine gender, you exclude the true antecedent, sin, and refer them to Abel, Cain's brother; as though God had said, not that sin should be in his dominion, or subject unto him, but his brother Abel. But that this is most false and absurd, we prove many ways. First, St Augustine saith directly the contrary: *Tu dominaberis illius: nunquid fratris? absit; cujus igitur nisi peccati?* "Thou shalt rule," saith he, "over what? over thy brother? Not so; over what then, but sin?"[1] St Jerome also explicateth this place thus: "Because thou hast free will, I warn thee that sin have not dominion over thee, but thou over sin[2]." Moreover, the text itself, if nothing else, is sufficient to convince this absurdity. For where this word, "sin," goeth immediately before in the same sentence, and not one word of Abel his brother in that speech of God to Cain; how is it possible, or what coherence can there be in saying, as you translate, "Sin lieth at the door, and thou shalt have dominion over him," that is, "thy brother?" But if we say thus, "Sin lieth at the door, and thou shalt have dominion thereof;" it hath this direct and plain sense: "If thou dost ill, sin lieth at the door ready to condemn thee, because it is in thee to overrule it."

Lib. 15. c. 7. de civit. Dei. Quæst. Heb. in Genes.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* The relatives be the masculine gender in the Hebrew tongue, and therefore referred to Abel, and not to sin, which is of the feminine gender. Again, sin hath no appetite to Cain, but rather Cain to it: therefore, even as it was said to Eve, Thy appetite shall be to thy husband; so it is said of Abel, His appetite shall be to thee. St Augustine followeth the corrupt translation of the Septuaginta, which for

[1 Augustin. Opera, Vol. VII. p. 615.]

[2 Ait enim Dominus ad Cain: *Quare irasceris?* et quare concidit vultus tuus? Nonne si bene egeris, dimittetur tibi; et si non bene egeris, ante fores peccatum tuum sedebit? et ad te societas ejus: sed tu magis dominare ejus. Hieronymi, Liber Quæst. Hebraic. in Genesim. Opera. Vol. II. p. 511.]

"appetite" read "conversion;" and therefore there is the less account to be made of his authority, being also ignorant in the Hebrew tongue, and not regarding the Greek relative to be also of the masculine gender. Jerome also in that place interpreteth not "appetite," but "society," and fantasieth that *chataoth* is the masculine gender, and not the feminine; whereas it is never read but in the feminine gender, out of this place of controversy. But "the text itself," you say, "is sufficient to convince this absurdity, because in this speech of God to Cain there is no word of Abel." It is somewhat that you say, if this that Moses reporteth were all that God said to Cain; but seeing it is certain that God at large discoursed with him of the cause of his envy against his brother, we may easily understand in this speech two arguments to reprove Cain's envy, the one of the person of God, the other of the person of Abel. For God doth reprove his envy by his own justice, and by Abel's innocency: which latter argument your false translation doth utterly suppress. But that a relative is referred to an antecedent, which in the same verse is not expressed, it is no strange thing to them that read the scripture. Examples I will give you, Job xxvi., v. 6, 11, and 12, and cap. xxvii. v. 9 and 10. Yea, it is very usual, when the antecedent may be easily understood, as here, both by the gender, and also by manner of speech, which, being the same that was spoken of Eve's infirmity and subjection to her husband, must needs here have the same sense of Abel toward Cain, his elder brother.

חַטָּאת

Martin. Now if against the coherence of the text, and exposition of the holy doctors and of the whole church of God, you pretend the Hebrew grammar forsooth, as not bearing such construction: not to trouble the common reader that cannot judge of these things, and yet fully to satisfy every man, even of common understanding, we request here the adversaries themselves to tell us truly according to their knowledge and skill, whether the Hebrew construction or point of grammar be not all one in these words, "Sin lieth at the door;" and in these, "the desire thereof shall be subject to thee, and thou shalt rule over it." If they say, as they must needs, that the Hebrew construction or syntax is all one, then will it follow, that the Hebrew beareth the one as well as the other: and therefore, when the selfsame translation of theirs maketh no scruple of grammar in the former, but translate as we do, "Sin lieth at the door;" a blind man may see, that

MARTIN, 10.

חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ׃ אֵלֶיךָ תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ וְאַתָּה תִּמְשָׁל־בּוֹ

in the latter words also the Hebrew is but a foolish pretence, and that the true cause of translating them otherwise proceedeth of an heretical humour, to obscure and deface this so plain and evident scripture for man's free will.

FULKE, 10. Cap. 1. Sect. 28. רֹבֵץ

Fulke. I have shewed before the cause of the change of the gender in the word *robets* to be, for that by sin is meant the punishment of sin. Sanctes Pagninus taketh the word "sin" for "an oblation for sin:" and for the punishment of sin it is taken, Zach. xiv. 19. The Septuaginta also do plainly refer these relatives unto Abel; and therefore they are in the masculine gender, *αὐτοῦ*, "the conversion of him pertaineth to thee, and thou shalt rule over him."

MARTIN, 11. Q. Hebr. in Genes. Quinquarboreus.

Martin. And as for the Hebrew grammar in this point, were it not for troubling the reader, we could tell them that the word "sin" in Hebrew is not here of the feminine gender, as they suppose, but of the masculine: so saith St Jerome expressly upon this place[1], who had as much knowledge in the Hebrew tongue, as all these new doctors. Aben Ezra also, the great rabbin, in his Hebrew commentaries upon this text saith, "It is a mere forgery and fiction to refer the masculine relative otherwise than to the word 'sin:' which, though elsewhere it be the feminine gender, yet here it is a masculine, according to that rule of the grammarians, that the doubtful gender must be discerned by the verb, adjective, pronoun, or participle, joined with the same:" as the said Hebrew doctor doth in the word "paradise," Gen. ii., which there by the pronouns he pronounceth to be a feminine, though elsewhere a masculine. Lastly, if the word "sin" were here, and always, only a feminine, and never a masculine; yet they have little skill in the Hebrew tongue, that think it strange to match masculines and feminines together in very good and grammatical construction: whereof they may see a whole chapter in Sanctes Pagninus with this title, *Fœminea masculeis juncta*, that is, "Feminines joined with masculines."

FULKE, 11.

Fulke. Not only the Hebrew grammar, but the same phrase used before, maketh plainly for our translation. That St Jerome saith, the Hebrew is of the masculine gender; as great an Hebrician as he was, he may not carry the matter away with his authority, except he bring an instance, where

[[1] Quod autem in septuaginta interpretibus fecit errorem, illud est: quia *peccatum*, id est, ATTATH, in Hebræo generis masculini est, in Græco feminini. Et qui interpretati sunt, masculino illud (ut erat in Hebræo) genere transtulerunt. Hieronymi, Liber Quæst. Hebraic. in Genesim. Opera. Vol. II. p. 511.]

it is of the masculine gender. The Jewish rabbins, patrons of free will, as ignorant of the grace of God, err in this place, as they do in a thousand more, and are forced to invent strange applications of the word "appetite" to make their sense probable. How the gender of Hebrew words may be found out, we are not now to learn; which because you have but lately learned, you think all men ignorant thereof, but yourself. By the chapter of Pagninus, where he sheweth that feminines are joined to masculines, you might learn that *chataoth* is the feminine gender, although it be joined with a participle of the masculine gender. Who also might have taught you the difference of nouns ending in *he, præcedente camets,* to be this, that feminines have the accent in the last syllable, masculines in the last save one; and therefore *chataoth* in this place, having the accent in the last syllable, notwithstanding the participle, which is masculine, must needs be of the feminine gender. חַטָּאוֹת Milra et milel. חַטָּאוֹת

Martin. Now for the last refuge, if they will say all this needed not, because in other their bibles it is as we would have it: we tell them, they must justify and make good all their translations, because the people readeth all, and is abused by all, and all come forth with privilege, printed by the Queen's printer, &c. If they will not, let them, confess the faults, and call them in, and tell us which translation or translations they will stand unto. In the meantime they must be content to hear of all indifferently, as there shall be cause and occasion to touch them. MARTIN, 12.

Fulke. We tell you that we may not justify any fault committed in our translations, but we have reformed them, if any were espied, in the later. Nevertheless those faults are not so great, that we need call in all the bibles in which is any fault: it is sufficient that we admonish the reader in our later editions of such faults as are escaped in the former; especially when the faults are such, about which men are not agreed, as in this place you should rather commend our equity, that suffer such translations to be in the people's hands, in which is some colour of maintaining your errors against us. But if you be so rigorous, that a book of scripture may not be read in which there is any fault, I charge you call in your translation of the new testament; for therein are shameful faults, and such as you cannot de- FULKE, 12.

fend or excuse, except it be by the fault of the printer, whereof yet you have not admonished the reader. I will give you a taste of some, and let all men judge whether they be not intolerable faults; for they are no less than detracting and taking away from the word of God. As 1 Cor. xiv. 38, where both the Greek and the Latin is, "If they will learn:" your translation is, "If they learn any thing." Likewise Acts v. 4, where both the Greek and Latin is, "Festus answered that Paul is kept at Cæsarea:" you translate, "Festus answered that Paul is in Cæsarea;" leaving out the word "kept," as before you left out the word "will" or "desire," which altereth the sense very much. But in a place of greater moment, and in a matter of some controversy, of God's particular preordination and fore-appointment, you leave out a whole clause, Acts x. 41. For where it is both in the Greek and in the Latin, "that God made the resurrection of his Son manifest, not to all the people, but to the witnesses chosen before of God, to us which did eat and drink with him," &c. your English translation hath no more but thus: "Not to all the people, but to us, who did eat and drink with him," &c.—leaving clean out that which is in your Latin text, *Testibus præordinatis a Deo.* Also in the epistle to the Hebrews, cap. vii. 28, where both the Greek and your vulgar Latin hath, "The law appointeth priests, men that have infirmity," leaving out *homines*, a word very material in this place, to observe the opposition between the priesthood of men and the priesthood of the Son of God. These faults in the New Testament being some of them which I by no diligent reading have observed, now you be admonished of them, we shall see whether you will call in your translation, or command your disciples to burn their books. If you will not, I pray you be good master to us, and let our bibles go abroad still, for any faults we have ourselves amended, and admonished all diligent readers thereof by our later translations.

And because you crack so much of "the exposition of the doctors and of the whole church of God" against us, I must let the reader understand, that the whole Greek church, which for the most part knew none other text but the Septuagint, must needs expound the place of Abel as we do, because the Greek text is manifestly in the masculine gender. And so doth

Chrysostom, in Gen. Hom. xviii[1]. expound the place in these words: "*Ne putes, inquit, licet tuum aversatus sim sacrificium ob pravam mentem, fratrisque oblationem acceptam habuerim ob sanam intentionem, quod ideo primatu te destituam, et primogenituræ dignitatem a te auferam. Nam licet honore ego illum prosecutus fuerim, acceptaque fuerint illius dona, etc.* "Think not, saith he, that although I have refused thy sacrifice for thy naughty mind, and have received thy brother's oblation for his good and sound meaning, that therefore I will deprive thee of the primacy, and take away from thee the dignity of the birthright. For although I have vouchsafed him of honour, and that his gifts have been received; yet unto thee belongeth his conversion, and thou shalt rule over him. And this I permit after thy sin, that thou mayest enjoy the privileges of thy birthright, and I command him to be under thy power and dominion." You were best now to rail upon Chrysostom, and charge him with heresy and schismatical exposition, "contrary to the holy doctors and the whole church of God," against free will of man. Which because it is your quarrel, you have St Ambrose also your enemy, *De Caine et Abel*, Lib. II. cap. 7[2]: who although, as he read it in Latin, did think it must be referred to him, and not to his brother; yet he expoundeth it not of the strength of free will, but chargeth Cain to be author of his own error: *Culpæ ipsius ad te conversio est.* "The conversion of the

[1 Μὴ νομίσῃς, φησὶν, εἰ καὶ ἀπεστράφην σου τὴν θυσίαν διὰ τὴν οὐκ ὀρθὴν γνώμην, καὶ εἰ τὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δῶρον προσεδεξάμην διὰ τὴν ὑγιῆ προαίρεσιν, ὅτι τῶν πρωτείων σε ἀποστερῶ, καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῶν πρωτοτόκων σε ἐκβάλλω· ἥμαρτες· ἡσύχασον. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς περὶ ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ἠξίωται, καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτα αὐτοῦ γέγονε τὰ δῶρα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. ὥστε καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην ἔχειν σε συγχωρῶ τὰ προτερήματα τῆς πρωτοτοκίας, κἀκεῖνον ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι κελεύω. Chrysost. Homil. in Genes. xviii. Opera, edit. Savill. Vol. I. pp. 126, 127.]

[2 Culpæ ipsius ad te conversio est. Non enim frater ei addicitur, sed error adscribitur, cujus ipse sibi auctor est. In te, inquit, revertitur crimen, quod a te cœpit. Non habes in quo necessitatem magis quam mentem tuam arguas. In te retorquetur improbitas tua; *tu princeps es illius.* Bene ait, *Tu princeps es illius:* etenim impietas mater quædam est delictorum. Ambrosii de Cain. et Abel. Lib. II. c. 7. Opera, Vol. I. p. 217. edit. Bened. 1686.]

fault itself is unto thee. For his brother is not added to him, but error is ascribed, whereof he himself is author to himself. The crime, saith he, will return upon thee, which began of thee. Thou hast not whereby to accuse necessity more than thine own mind. The wickedness is retorted back upon thee, thou art prince of it. He saith well, thou art prince of it; for impiety is the mother of sins, &c." You see therefore, that if you could obtain that these relatives were referred to him, yet your free will were not by and by to be builded upon the place, and that all be not hereticks which draw that text to another exposition than standeth with your good liking.

MARTIN, 13. *Martin.* Again, they translate in some of their bibles against free will, thus: "Christ, when we were yet of no strength, died for the ungodly[1]." Rom. v. 6. The apostle's word doth not signify that we had no strength, but that we were weak, feeble, infirm. Man was wounded in free will by the sin of Adam, (as he that in the gospel went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, which is a parable of this thing;) he was not slain altogether. But I stand not here, or in any place, to dispute the controversy: that is done elsewhere. This only I say, because they falsely hold, that free will was altogether lost by Adam's sin: therefore they translate accordingly, "When we had no strength." But the Greek word is well known, both in profane authors and ecclesiastical, and specially in the New Testament itself throughout, to signify nothing else but weak, feeble, sick, infirm. Look me through the New Testament; wheresoever infirmity, feebleness, languishing, and the like are spoken of, there is found this Greek word to express it. What Grecian knoweth not, be he but simply acquainted with phrases and nature of words, what ἀσθενεῖν, and ἀσθενῶς ἔχειν, do signify? When the apostle saith, *Quis infirmatur, et ego non uror?* "Who is weak and infirm, and I am not much grieved?"—shall we translate, "who is of no strength," &c.? Or let them give us an instance, where it is certain that this word must needs signify, "of no strength." Will they pretend the etymology of the word? A ridiculous and absurd evasion! We ask them of ῥώμη, a word of the very same signification, which being compounded in like manner as the other, what doth it signify? any thing else but infirmity and feebleness? Yea, it is so far from signifying "no strength," that the greatest Grecians say, it is not spoken properly of him that for weakness keepeth his bed, which is νοσεῖν,

Nov. Test. 1580. ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν. Luke x.

Whitaker's, p. 18.

Multi inter vos infirmi sunt, &c. 1 Cor. xi. 30.

Cum infirmor, tum potens sum. 2 Cor. xii. 10. et alibi.

2 Cor. xi. 29.

σθένος and ἀ privativum. ἀῤῥωστος. ἀῤῥωστεῖν. ἀῤῥωστία. Lexicon magnum Basileæ. περὶ τοῦ

[1 Ἔτι γὰρ Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν ἀσθενῶν, κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε, Rom. v. 6. ἀσθενῶν, "yet weak," Tyndale's, Cranmer's, Bishops' bible. "Yet of no strength," Geneva. "Yet without strength," Authorised version.]

but of him that is ill disposed and distempered in body. Yet the etymology is all one with that word, which these men will have to signify "him that hath no strength." And if they will needs urge the etymology, we tell them, that *σθένος* and *ῥώμη* signify *robur*, that is, "great strength," such as is in the strongest and stoutest champions; and so the etymology may take place to signify "a man of no great strength," not, "of no strength." But M. Whitaker putteth us in good hope they will not stand upon etymologies. κακεκτοῦν. τος τῷ σώ. ματι. p. 209.

Fulke. This cavil is fully answered, cap. I. sect. 26: therefore I will not spend many words here about it. The word *ἀσθενὴς*, we know, signifieth "weak," that is, of small strength, and sometimes, so weak that there is no strength; as Gal. iv. where St Paul calleth the ceremonies of Moses' law, now expired, "the weak and beggarly elements," that is, void of all strength and riches. Likewise the apostle to the Hebrews, cap. vii. saith, the commandment of the Aaronical priesthood is abolished, *διὰ τὸ ἀσθενὲς*, because it was weak and unprofitable without Christ: as unprofitable is void of profit, so is weak void of strength. St Paul, 1 Cor. xv., saith: "Our dead body is sowed in weakness:" is there any strength of a dead body? Moreover, Rom. viii., "that which was unpossible by the law," *ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει*, "by means it was weak:" is not that void of strength to save us, which hath no possibility to do any thing? These instances may serve to prove, that *ἀσθενὴς* may signify "that which is so weak that it hath no strength." Upon the etymology alone we stand not. But where you say, that man was wounded in free will by the sin of Adam, not slain altogether, (grounding your assertion upon a fond and false allegory of him that fell among thieves, which is no parable of a man in this case, but of man in necessity to be helped by right of neighbourhood,) I pray you, how came man to be dead altogether in sins? Eph. ii., Col. ii., and in many other places of the scripture. Beside, is there any freedom of will to godliness remaining in them that are altogether dead in sin? But we are not now to handle controversies, but translations, as you do well admonish us. FULKE, 13.

Martin. When they have bereaved and spoiled a man of his free will, and left him without all strength, they go so far in this point, MARTIN, 14.

Beza in annot. Rom. ii. 27.

that they say, the regenerate themselves have not free will and ability, no not by and with the grace of God, to keep the commandments. To this purpose they translate, 1 John v. 3, thus, "His commandments are not grievous," rather than thus, "His commandments are not heavy;" for in saying "they are not heavy," it would follow, they might be kept and observed: but in saying "they are not grievous," that may be true, were they never so heavy or impossible, through patience. As when a man cannot do as he would, yet it grieveth him not, being patient and wise, because he is content to do as he can and is able. Therefore do they choose to translate, that the commandments are not grievous, where the apostle saith rather, they are not heavy, much more agreeably to our Saviour's words, "My burthen is light," and to the words of God by Moses, Deut. xxx. "This commandment which I command thee this day is not above thee," that is, beyond thy reach, "but the word is very near thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it;" and to the common signification of the Greek word, which is "heavy." Beza would say somewhat in his commentary, how the commandments are heavy or light; but his conclusion is against free will, and that there can be no perfection in this life, inveighing against them that would prove it out of this place: which is as much to say, (but he is ashamed to speak plainly,) that we cannot keep the commandments: which the holy doctors have long since condemned and abhorred, as most absurd, that God should command that, under pain of damnation, which is impossible to be done[1].

Mandata ejus gravia non sunt.

αἱ ἐντολαὶ βαρεῖαι οὐκ εἰσί.

οὐχ ὑπέρογκός ἐστι.

לֹא נִפְלֵאת הִוא

βαρύς.

FULKE, 14.

Fulke. Seeing our English word "grievous" cometh of the Latin word "*grave*," which is not only "weighty," but also "troublesome;" it better answereth both the Greek and the Latin, than "heavy," which is properly, "that which is of great weight;" and the same word being both in Greek and Latin, 2 Cor. x., you yourselves translate "sore," "his epistles are sore and vehement:" but in effect there is no great difference. We acknowledge that his commandments are not

βαρεῖαι.

[1 Nam multo vehementius est quod dicit Apostolus, Judæos scilicet non modo non justificari circumcisione externa, eo quod transgressores essent legis; sed etiam per eam ipsam circumcisionem transgredi legem, ut qui hoc ipso profanarent sacrosanctum Domini symbolum: velut si hodie dicamus contra sophistas, non modo non conferri gratiam ex opere operato baptismi iis qui sordes conscientiæ non abluerunt, sed quotidie magis ac magis se polluunt, ut etiam per hoc ipsum quod baptizati sunt, magis sint iræ Dei obnoxii, ipsorum tamen vitio, non baptismi. Bezæ, Nov. Test. in Rom. ii. 27, p. 177.

Αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὐτοῦ βαρεῖαι οὐκ εἰσίν, 1 John v. 3. "Mandata ejus gravia non sunt," Vulg. Beza. "His commandments are not heavy," Wiclif, Rheims. "His commandments are not grievous," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised version.]

heavy to him that is born of God, which overcometh the world by faith: otherwise the yoke of the law, as the apostle confesseth, "is such a burthen, as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear," but believe to be saved by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who having taken away the curse of the law, and satisfied for our transgressions of the law, hath also given us grace to love the law and commandments of God, and in some weak measure to observe them: so that, the curse being taken away, our transgressions answered in Christ, and our hearts framed by his grace to love his commandments, and some strength given us to keep them, they are not heavy, they are not burdenous, or grievous. That which God speaketh, Deut. xxx., is of the knowledge of the law, which was plainly revealed, and not of the strength that men have to keep it; and therefore is by the apostle referred unto faith, for the observation thereof, Rom. x.: for by faith in Christ, which hath fulfilled the law for us, we are accounted to have fulfilled it in him. Beza[2] speaketh plainly enough, if you had grace to understand him; and therefore is nothing ashamed to say, that we cannot keep the commandments of God, not only without the grace of God, but neither having the

[2 Lex per se considerata nec gravis nec levis dici potest, sed comparate duntaxat, pro varia eorum conditione quorum respectus habetur. Gravis est igitur eorum respectu qui in carne sunt. Sunt autem in carne omnes homines qui non sunt renati ex Spiritu; adeo quidem ut eos non modo nihil allevet, sed etiam opprimat legis pondus, non suo tamen, sed illorum vitio, ut declaratum est copiose septimo epistolæ ad Romanos capite. E contrario vero levis est illis qui novas vires cœlitus acceperunt, qui Spiritu Dei aguntur, quia filii Dei sunt; qui denique peccato mortui sunt: adeo quidem ut nulla re æque ac lege Dei delectentur; nedum ut illis sit gravis et onerosa. Superest tamen, fateor, difficillimum et asperrimum certamen Spiritus cum carne: sed ne hac quidem ratione ullum legis pondus sentiunt, tum quia Spiritus tandem victor evadit; tum vero quia quicunque credit, liberatus est ab illo longe gravissimo legis pondere, id est, ab ejus execratione.....Itaque stupidam esse oportet eorum conscientiam, et valde ineptum judicium, qui hunc locum citant ut liberum (quod vocant) arbitrium statuant, ut et eorum qui perfectionem aliquam putant fidelibus in hac vita contingere. Eos vero meminisse oportuerat, quod scriptum sit Rom. vii. 22. et deinceps, Philipp. iii. 9. et supra i. 8., denique saltem conscientiam suam diligenter scrutari, nisi jampridem illius sensum amisissent. Bezæ, Nov. Test. in 1 John v. 3. p. 317.]

grace of God in such measure, as God giveth it to no man but that he sinneth. Otherwise, what grace God is able to give, we doubt not; but what he doth, and will give to any man in this life, we speak. That God should command, under pain of damnation, that which is impossible to be done, is no absurdity; seeing for them whom God will have to be saved, he provided another way of their salvation, than by keeping the law, namely, the redemption of Christ. As for the reprobate, void of God's grace, say you (if you dare) that they are able to keep the law without grace, or without grace have so much as any will to desire to have grace.

MARTIN, 15. *Martin.* Thus having taken away free will to do good, and possibility to keep the commandments, and all merit or value and efficacy of good works, their next conclusion is, that we have no true justice or righteousness in us, but an imputative justice, that is, Christ's justice imputed to us, be we never so foul and filthy in our souls, so that we believe only, and by faith apprehend Christ's justice. For this purpose they corrupt the scriptures in their English bibles, thus.

FULKE, 15. *Fulke.* The justice whereby we are accounted just in the sight of God, is not inherent in us, but in Christ, which is "the Lord our Righteousness," Jerem. xxiii. Notwithstanding, it is the only true justice, and we are truly just by it. And yet we are not void of the Spirit of sanctification, which is a fruit and consequent of justification, by which we have grace to withstand sin, and to work righteousness, not whereby we should be made righteous before God, but whereby we are declared to be righteous in part, until, the body of sin being abolished, we shall be wholly renewed according to the image of God.

CHAPTER XI.

Heretical Translation for Imputative Justice against True Inherent Justice.

Martin. ONE place might suffice instead of many, where Beza doth protest, that his adding or alteration of the text is specially against "the execrable error of inherent justice[1]," which, he saith, is to be avoided as nothing more. His false translation thus our English Bezites and Calvinists follow in their bibles: "Likewise then, as by the offence of one" the fault came "on all men to condemnation; so by the justifying of one" the benefit abounded "toward all men to the justifi- MARTIN, l. Annot. in Rom. v. 18. Rom. v.

[1 Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἑνὸς παραπτώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς κατάκριμα· οὕτω καὶ δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς, Rom. v. 18. "Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem; sic et per unius justitiam in omnes homines in justificationem vitæ," Vulg. "Nempe igitur sicut per unam offensam *reatus venit* in omnes homines ad condemnationem; ita etiam per unam justificationem *beneficium redundavit* in omnes homines in justificationem vitæ." Bezæ versio.

Beneficium redundavit in omnes homines, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Quia præcisa est oratio, supplevimus quod deerat, ex vers. 15. et 16. Nam quod Erasmus adjecit, *propagatum est bonum*, multis de causis mihi displicuit. Primum quia, quamvis de plenitudine Christi accipere nos oporteat, tamen inter naturæ propagationem et gratuitam imputationem discrimen aliquod constitui par est. Deinde quia nusquam (quod sciam) ita loquitur apostolus. Præterea vetustus ille sophistarum error, qui pro imputata justitia inhærentem qualitatem substituunt, tantus est tamque execrandus bonis omnibus, ut nihil æque fugiendum putem. Bezæ Nov. Test. p. 179. "Likewise then as by the sinn of one condemnation came on all men: even so by the justifying of one cometh the righteousness that bringeth life upon all men," Tyndale, 1534. "Likewise then as by the sin of one there sprang up evil on all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one springeth good upon all men to the righteousness of life," Cranmer, 1539. "Likewise then as by the offence of one giltship came on all men to condemnation: even so by the justifying of one the benefit abounded upon all men to the justification of life," Geneva, 1557. "Therefore as by the offence of one, unto all men to condemnation: so also by the justice of one unto all men to justification of life," Rheims, 1582. "Therefore as by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life," Authorised version.]

cation of life." Where there are added to the text of the apostle six words, and the same so wilfully and voluntarily, that by the three first they make the apostle say, sin came on all men by Adam, and they were made sinners indeed; by the three latter they make him say, not that justice or righteousness came likewise on all men by Christ, to make them just indeed, but that the benefit of Christ's justice abounded towards them, as being imputed forsooth unto them. Whereas, if they would needs add to the text, (which yet is intolerable,) so much and in so doubtful a case, they should at the least have made the case equal, as the apostle himself teacheth them to do in the very next sentence, saying thus: "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many also be made righteous." So they translate, rather than, "be made just." For they are the lothest men in the world to say that we are made just, for fear of justice inherent in us, though the scripture be never so plain: as here we see the apostle maketh the case like that we are made just by Christ, as we were made sinners by Adam.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* This one place is delivered from your vain cavillation, cap. i. sect. 23. When the sentence is ecliptical or defective, they that will translate to have it understood, must needs supply the words that are wanting. And where shall they find what words are lacking, but in the same place, and in the treaty of the same matter? It appeareth you had rather the text had no sense, than that it might seem to make against your blasphemy of "justice inherent." As for that fond quarrel of yours, that they be not just in deed, to whom the justice of Christ (which you like an hell-hound do scorn at) is imputed, [it] deserveth no answer. For who is such a block to say or think, that those whom God doth justify, are not made just in deed? Was not Abraham just in deed, when God imputed his faith unto justice? Is not he made rich in deed, which is made rich by another man's gift? Christ is given unto us of God to be justice, wisdom, sanctification, and in him we are just, wise, and holy; not in our own righteousness, wisdom, or holiness. As for adding to the text, God knoweth how we abhor it: but adding of words which do explicate the sense of the Holy Ghost, is no addition forbidden; for then all preaching were accursed, which is, or ought to be, nothing else but an explaining and setting forth of the word of God in more words, the matter whereof, though in fewer words, is contained in the scripture. And if we speak of adding of words

in translation, have I not shewed before that you have added many? some indeed upon necessary cause, and some without necessity. What needed you to say for *pœniterent*, "they had done penance," Luc. x.; for *in omnibus bonis*, "in all his goods," Gen. vi.; for *separamini*, "separate yourselves," 2 Cor. vi., &c. To say we are "justified," and to say we are made "just," is all one; and therefore I marvel, why you think us loth to say the one rather than the other. Is any man so senseless to think we can say a man is made righteous, and dare not say he is made just? I tell you plainly, we defy the heresy of "righteousness inherent," as much as of "justice inherent." We are just, we are righteous in the sight of God, not by the justice or righteousness of our works, but by the justice or righteousness of Christ imputed to us through faith. And we are made just by Christ, as we were made sinners by Adam, in some respect, but not in every respect; for the apostle maketh a broad difference between the transgression and the benefit, Rom. v. 15; and other differences there be which none but a Pelagian will deny. Nay, Pelagius will not say, that we are just by Christ according to propagation, but according to faith.

Martin. And it is a world to see, how Beza shifteth from one signification of the word "justified," or "made just," to another. Sometime to be justified, is to be pronounced quit from all sin, or declared just before God's judgment-seat; and so he translateth it in the text[1], Acts xiii. 39; and as though his guilty conscience were afraid of a blow, he saith he fleeth not the term of "justifying" or "justification," because he useth it in other places. He doth so indeed, but then his commentary supplieth the turn, as Rom. ii. 13. "Not the hearers of

MARTIN, 2. δικαιωθῆναι. absolvi. δικαιοῦται. absolvitur.

[1 Καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως δικαιωθῆναι, ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιοῦται, Acts xiii. 39. "Et ab omnibus quibus non potuistis in lege Moysi justificari, in hoc omnis qui credit justificatur," Vulg. v. 38, 39. "Et quod ab omnibus a quibus non potuistis per legem Mosis absolvi, per hunc omnis qui credit absolvitur," Bezæ Nov. Test.

Οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. Rom. ii. 13. "For before God they are not righteous which hear the law: but the doers of the law shall be justified," Tyndale, Geneva. "For in the sight of God they are not righteous," &c. Cranmer. "For not the hearers of the law are just with God: but the doers of the law shall be justified," Rhemish Version, 1582, Authorised, 1611.]

the law are righteous before God;" (so they delight to translate, rather than, "just before God";) "but the doers of the law shall be justified," that is, saith Beza, "shall be pronounced just." The apostle must needs say by the coherence and consequence of his words, Not the hearers are just, but the doers shall be just or justified. Beza will in no case have it so, but either in text or commentary make the apostle say as himself imagineth. Yet in another place he protesteth very solemnly, that to be "justified" is not to be pronounced or accounted just, but rather to be just in deed; and that he proveth out of St Paul, Rom. v. 19, who maketh it all one "to be justified," and "to be made just:" and again by this reason, that it should be manifestly repugnant to God's justice to account him for just that is not just, and therefore that man in deed is made just. Thus Beza. Would you not think he were come to be of our opinion? But he revolteth again, and interpreteth all these goodly words in his old sense, saying, "Not that any quality is inwardly given unto us, of which we are named just; but because the justice of Christ is imputed to us by faith freely." By faith then at the least we are truly justified. Not so neither; but "faith," saith he, "is an instrument wherewith we apprehend Christ our justice." So that we have no more justice in us than we have glory; for glory also we apprehend by faith.

Justi pronuntiabuntur.

Annot. in Rom. iii. 20.

δικαιοῦσθαι. δίκαιον καθίστασθαι.

Non quasi nobis indatur qualitas.

Annot. in Rom. iv. 2.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* All learned men, I hope, do see, that you have no regard how vainly you cavil, so you may seem to the ignorant to say something against them that be godly and learned. Acts xiii. v. 39, Beza translateth δικαιωθῆναι "*absolvi*," that is, saith he, "to be declared just," or "absolved;" and giveth this reason why he useth not the word *justificari* in that place, which he useth elsewhere: *Ne quis illud "ab omnibus" perinde acciperet, ac si casus esset modi aut instrumenti, per quod justificemur, id est, justi fiamus ac pronunciemur, aut pro justis habeamur; hoc quidem loco malui absolvendi verbum usurpare, ut magis perspicua esset oratio*[1]: "Lest any man should take this word of the text '*ab omnibus*,' as though it were the case of the mean or instrument by which we are 'justified,' that is, 'made and pronounced just,' or 'accounted for just;' in this place I choose rather to use the word of 'absolving,' that the sentence might be more clear." The Latin *ab omnibus* may signify "by all things," or "from all things." Therefore, lest any man should mistake the apostle, as though he said we are "justified by all those things," where he

[1 Novum Testamentum, edit. Bezæ, p. 154.]

meaneth "we are justified from all things," Beza in this place useth the word of "absolving," or "acquitting," in the same sense that he doth "justifying" in other places, where he speaketh of the same matter; and saith as plainly as a man can speak, that to be "justified" and to be made "just," or pronounced or accounted "just before God," is all one. Yet our Momus findeth fault with him, for expounding "to be justified," Rom. ii. 13, "to be pronounced just;" as though God will pronounce any man just which is not just in deed. But Beza, he saith, elsewhere protesteth that "to be justified," is not "to be pronounced or accounted just," but rather "to be just in deed." If Martin had not belied Beza, we should have had Beza's words set down, both in Latin and English. But in truth Beza hath no such words: yet in sense he hath thus much, that to be justified before God is "to be just in deed," and not "to be only pronounced or accounted just," when he is not so in deed; but that we are "made truly just in deed by the justice of Christ," which is imputed unto us freely by faith. And as for that new life or "justice," which is called "inherent in us," it is not the cause but the witness of that "justice" by imputation of which we are saved, following him that is "justified," and not going before "justification:" and faith indeed is the instrument by which we apprehend Christ our "justice." Neither doth Beza say, that we are not truly "justified by faith:" but that faith is not the principal efficient cause, which is the mercy of God, but the instrumental cause, by which we take hold of the mercy of God in Christ. In all this Beza hath said nothing contrary to himself, nor to the truth. And it is no absurdity to say, that the "justice of Christ," by which we are "justified," is no more inherent in us than his glory; and yet both assured unto us by faith. As for that "justice," which is an effect of God's sanctifying Spirit, and a fruit of our "justification before God," by which also we are "justified," or "declared just," before men, as St James teacheth, [it] is inherent in us; as also the first-fruits of glorification, by that peace of conscience and joy that we have in God being reconciled to us by Christ.

Martin. For this purpose both he and the English bibles trans- MARTIN, 3

Pro justitia. εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Vice et loco.

late thus: "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him for justice,"[1] Rom. iv. 3. and 9. Where he interpreteth, "for justice," to be nothing else but "in the stead and place of justice;" so also taking away true inherent justice even from Abraham himself. But to admit their translation, which notwithstanding in their sense is most false, must it needs signify, not true inherent justice, because the scripture saith it was "reputed for justice?" Do such speeches import that it is not so in deed, but is only reputed so? Then if we say, this shall be reputed to thee for sin, for a great benefit, and so forth; it should signify, it is no sin in deed, nor great benefit. But let them call to mind, that the scripture useth to speak of sin and of justice alike. "It shall be sin in thee," or, "unto thee," as they translate, bible 1577: or as St Jerome translateth, "It shall be reputed to thee for sin," Deut. xxiii. and xxiv., and, as themselves translate, "it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God." And again, Deut. vi.: "This shall be our righteousness before the Lord our God, if we keep all the commandments, as he hath commanded us." If then justice only be reputed, sin also is only reputed: if sin be in us in deed, justice is in us in deed.

Reputabitur tibi in peccatum.

חַטָּאת

ἔσται ἐν σοι ἁμαρτία.

צְדָקָה תִּהְיֶה לָּנוּ

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Our translation taketh not from Abraham true justice, nor yet justice inherent; but declareth that he was not justified before God by works, that is, by justice inherent, but by faith, which apprehendeth the justice of Christ, which is altogether without us. And therefore you cavil in your old rotten quarrel, when you go about to make "reputed" to be contrary to "truth," or "in deed." Faith was reputed by God

[1 Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Rom. iv. 3. "Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum est illi ad justitiam," Vulg. "Credidit autem Abraham Deo, et imputatum est ei pro justitia," Bezæ Vers.

λέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Rom. iv. 9. "Dicimus enim quia reputata est Abrahæ fides ad justitiam," Vulg. "Dicimus enim quod imputata fuerit Abrahæ fides pro justitia," Bezæ Vers.

Pro justitia, εἰς δικαιοσύνην. Vulg. et Erasmus ad verbum, ad justitiam, quod est obscurius dictum. Est enim hic quoque (ut supra ii. 26) Hebraismus in præpositione εἰς: id ל est quæ significat vice et loco, ut Psal. xxx. 3, et alibi sæpe. Bezæ, Nov. Test. p. 180.

"Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised versions, v. 3. "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him unto justice," Rhemish version. v. 3. "We say verily that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised, v. 9. "For we say that unto Abraham faith was reputed to justice," Rhemish.]

to Abraham for justice in deed, but not as justice inherent. And Abraham was truly justified by faith as by an instrumental cause: not that faith was the justice by which he was just in the sight of God, excluding all other causes; but there was nothing in Abraham but faith, which God accounted for justice. But Abraham's faith embraced the mercy of God in the promised seed, in which as well he, as all the tribes of the earth, should be blessed. The places of scripture that you cite, speaking of sin and justice alike, be not contrary to the imputation of justice unto them in which it is not inherent. For in neither of both places the Holy Ghost useth the word of imputation, howsoever St Jerome translateth it, but the verb substantive; and the meaning is plain. "It shall be sin in thee:" for sin is indeed inherent, as perfect justice also should be, if we could observe all the commandments of God, as Moses saith, Deut. vi., and we should be justified thereby. But by one just act, whereof Moses speaketh, Deut. xxiv., though it proceed of justice that is in us, the scripture never saith that we shall be "justified." To conclude, we confess that both sin and justice are in the children of God; but not that justice, whereby they are reputed "just" or "justified," or made "just" before God, but an effect or fruit thereof.

Martin. Again, the Greek fathers make it plain, "that to be reputed unto justice" is to be true justice indeed, interpreting St Paul's word in Greek thus: "Abraham obtained justice, Abraham was justified." For that is, say they, "It was reputed him to justice." Doth not St James say the like, cap. ii. 23, testifying, that in that Abraham was justified by faith and works, the scripture was fulfilled, that saith, "it was reputed him to justice?" Gen. xv. 6. In which words of Genesis, where these words were first written by Moses, in the Hebrew there is not, "for justice," or, "instead of justice," which Beza pleadeth upon by the Hebrew phrase; but thus: "He, God, reputed it unto him justice;" though here also the English bibles add "for:" which precisely translating the Hebrew they should not do, especially when they mean it was so counted or reputed for justice, that it was not justice in deed. MARTIN, 4. Œcum. in caten. Photini. δικαιοσύνην εὗρε. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ, ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην, τουτέστιν, ὅτι ἐδικαιώθη. יַחְשְׁבֶהָ לּוֹ צְדָקָה

Fulke. I know not against whom you fight, but against your own shadow. For we say, that to be justified, and be reputed just, and to obtain justice, is all one in this case. But where St James saith that Abraham was "justified by works," he meaneth, that he was declared just before men; even as he saith, "Shew me thy faith by thy works; for FULKE, 4.

Abraham was not justified by a dead faith, but by a working faith;" and yet he was not justified before God by works: but the scripture was fulfilled which said, "Abraham believed God, and it was reputed to him for justice;" which is, as St Paul expoundeth it, "Abraham was justified before God by faith, and not by works." But in Gen. xv. 6 there is not the preposition "for" or "instead," but simply "justice:" therefore it should be translated, "he reputed it to him justice." And will you then control both the apostles, Paul and James, for adding the preposition εἰς, which signifieth "unto," or "for?" Or will not common sense enforce the same understanding that both the apostles do give it? He reputed it to him as "justice," or "for justice." Must not such particles in translation be always expressed to make the sense plain, which in English without the particle hath no sense or understanding? To translate precisely out of the Hebrew is not to observe the number of words, but the perfect sense and meaning of them, in fewer or more words, as the phrase of our tongue will serve to be understood: or else 2 Cor. viii., *qui multum*, why do you translate "he that had much?" and, *qui modicum non minoravit*, "he that had little wanted not?" You should have said "which much," and "which little not lessed," if you would have given word for word, and not added any word for explication. Again, 2 Cor. i., *supra virtutem*, "above our power," why add you "our," which is not in the text, and indeed not necessary to be added in the translation? Again, 1 Cor. xiii., *Evacuavi quæ erant parvuli*, "I did away the things that belonged to a little one." Here for four Latin words you have given ten or eleven English words; which no reasonable man can greatly mislike, if you were not such a quarreller at other men's doing, without all cause or wise colour, but only to blear the eyes of the ignorant.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* But as for either the Hebrew or Greek word that is here used, to "repute" or "account," they are then used when it must needs signify that the thing is so in deed, and not only so reputed, as Psal. cxviii. *octonario samec:* "I have reputed or accounted all the sinners of the earth prevaricators," or "transgressors;" *prævaricantes reputavi.* So did the Septuaginta take the Hebrew word, and read it. And St Paul, "So let a man repute" or "account us as the ministers of Christ." Let them go now and say, that neither they were sinners in deed, nor

[Ps. cxix. 119.] ἐλογισάμην. חָשַׁבְתִּי

ἡμᾶς λογίζέσθω. 1 Cor. iv.

these Christ's ministers in deed, because they were reputed for such: let them say, the children of the promise were not the seed of Abraham, because the apostle saith, Rom. ix. 8, "they are reputed for the seed." But howsoever it be, the protestants will have it so to be taken, at the least in the matter of justification. λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα.

Fulke. Silence were the best answer to these tedious repetitions. It were sufficient once to say among reasonable men, When faith is reputed by God, or accounted for justice, faith is truly and in deed the instrumental cause of justification, or apprehending the justice of Christ, by which we are accounted and made just in the sight of God. It is therefore a most ridiculous cavil of the difference between "reputing just," and being "just in deed." For God, when he justifieth the ungodly, doth both repute him and make him just in deed by the justice of Christ, of his own mere mercy, and not of the man's merits, or by justice inherent. For what justice can be in an ungodly man? and such is every one of us whom God doth justify, and then give us his holy Spirit, to sanctify us in newness of life, to set forth his glory in our holy and blameless conversation. FULKE, 5.

Martin. Again, where St Paul saith, 2 Cor. v.[1] "That we might be made the justice of God in him;" they in their first translations intolerably corrupt it thus: "That we by his means should be that righteousness, which before God is allowed." Who taught them to translate so dissolutely, *justitia Dei*, "the righteousness which before God is allowed?" Did not their error and heresy, which is, that God reputeth and accounteth us for just, though we be indeed most foul sinners; and that our justice being none at all in us, yet is allowed and accepted before him for justice and righteousness? MARTIN, 6. Bib. 1562. δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ.

Fulke. There is no text in all the bible more clear against justification by justice inherent, than this 2 Cor. v., wherein not altogether causeless you reprove our first interpreters to translate dissolutely. There it is certain they FULKE, 6.

[1] ἵνα ἡμεῖς γινώμεθα δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ, 2 Cor. v. 21. "Ut nos efficeremur justitia Dei in ipso," Vulg. "That we by his means should be that righteousness which before God is allowed," Tyndale, Cranmer, 1539, 1562. "That we should (might, version 1611) be made the righteousness of God in him," Bishops' bible, 1584, Geneva, 1557. "That we might be made the justice of God in him," Rheims.

had no such purpose as you ascribe unto them: for their translation doth rather obscure than set out our justification by the justice which is not in us, but in Christ. The text is therefore plain: "Him that knew no sin, he made sin for us, that we might become the justice of God in him," that is, in Christ, and not in ourselves. For though we be indeed most foul sinners, and all our justice be, as the prophet saith, as a menstruous cloth; yet in Christ he washeth and cleanseth us from our sins, and reputing his justice as ours, he maketh us truly just before him; "not having our own justice which is of the law, but the justice which is by faith of Jesus Christ, the justice which is of God through faith." Where you charge us to affirm, "that our justice being none at all in us, yet is allowed and accepted before him for justice and righteousness," it is no assertion of ours, but a dogged slander of your own.

Phil. iii.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* Again to this purpose: they make St Paul[1] say that God
Eph. i. 6. "hath made us accepted," or, "freely accepted" in his beloved Son, as
ἐχαρίτωσε. they make the angel in St Luke say to our lady, "Hail, freely beloved;" to take away all grace inherent and resident in the blessed virgin, or in us; whereas the apostle's word signifieth, that we are truly made gracious or grateful and acceptable; that is to say, that our soul is inwardly endued and beautified with grace and the virtues proceeding thereof, and consequently is holy indeed before the sight of God, and not only so accepted and reputed, as they imagine. If they know not the true signification of the Greek word, and if their heresy will suffer them to learn it, let them hear St Chrysostom, not only a famous Greek doctor, but an excellent interpreter of all St Paul's epistles; who in this place putteth such force and significancy in the Greek,
χαρίσασθαι. χαριτῶσαι. that he saith thus by an allusion and distinction of words: "He said not, which he freely gave us, but, wherein he made us grateful; that is, not only delivered us from sin, but also made us beloved and amiable, made our soul beautiful, grateful, such as the angels and archangels are desirous to see, and such as himself is in love withal, according to that in the psalm, 'The king shall desire,' or, 'be in love with thy beauty[2].'" So St Chrysostom, and after him Theophylact, who with many more words and similitudes explicate this Greek word, and this

[Εἰς ἔπαινον δόξης τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾗ ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ. Ephes. i. 6.]

[2 Οὐκ εἶπεν, ἧς ἐχαρίσατο, ἀλλ', ἐχαρίτωσεν ἡμᾶς· τουτέστιν, οὐ μόνον ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπήλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεράστους ἐποίησε. Ἐπιθυ-

making of the soul gracious and beautiful inwardly, truly, and inherently.

Fulke. We make St Paul say no otherwise than he saith indeed, ἐχαρίτωσε, "he hath made us accepted," or "he hath freely accepted us in his beloved Son." And so we truly say, "the blessed virgin Mary was freely accepted," or, "freely beloved." But this taketh not away the gracious gifts of God, [with] which the blessed virgin in most plentiful manner was, and we in some measure are, endued by his grace and favour; which also God loveth in us, because they be his gifts, and because he loveth us freely in his beloved Son, whom always you forget, when you speak of justice, or acceptation before God. For that, being sanctified by his Spirit, we are holy in deed, though not perfectly, as sanctification is begun, and not consummate in this life, (for if it were, we should be void of sin and death,) we do thankfully acknowledge: yet those virtues wherewith our soul is inwardly endued and beautified, are not the cause that justifieth us, or maketh us acceptable in God's sight; but only his mercy in Jesus Christ, for whose sake also he accepteth this unperfect holiness and righteousness, which is in us by his grace and gift, rewarding the same for his sake also with everlasting glory. And nothing else doth Chrysostom say or mean in the place by you cited, about whom you make so many words, that you might be thought, by giving him his due praise, to have him (as it were) bound to you to maintain your unrighteous cause. But Chrysostom careth not for your commendation, and that which he saith maketh nothing for "justice inherent," by which we should be justified; for he saith not so much as that our soul is made amiable and beautiful by virtues and good qualities infused by his grace, much less, that for such qualities inherent in us God should justify us; but he hath made us acceptable in Christ, amiable, and beautiful, and lovely to the angels; some effect of which grace also appeareth in our life and conversation, to the praise of God, and good example of men. FULKE, 7.

μοῦσι γὰρ ἄγγελοι παρακύψαι πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ψυχήν, ἀρχάγγελοι, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις. Οὕτως ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπιχάριτας ἐποίησε, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ποθεινούς. Ἐπιθυμήσει γάρ, φησιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους σου. Chrysost. Homil. in Ephes. Opera, Vol. III. p. 767. Edit. Savill.]

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* And I would gladly know of the adversaries, if the like Greek words be not of that form and nature to signify so much as "to make worthy, to make meet;" and whether he whom God maketh worthy, or meet, or grateful, just, and holy, be not so in very deed, but by acceptation only: if not in deed, then God maketh him no better than he was before, but only accepteth him for better; if he be so in deed, then the apostle's word signifieth not to make accepted, but to make such an one as, being by God's grace sanctified and justified, is worthy to be accepted for such purity, virtue, and justice as is in him.

ἀξιῶσαι. ἱκανῶσαι. χαριτῶσαι.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* I have told you before, that ἀξιῶσαι signifieth not to "make worthy," but to "account worthy;" for many a man may desire (using this verb) to be accounted worthy of him, which cannot make him worthy, but in his own judgment and account. But where you demand further, "whether he whom God maketh meet, worthy, grateful, just, holy, be not so in deed, but by acceptation only;" I answer, those whom he accepteth for worthy, meet, just, holy, grateful, are so in deed; but then it is further to be known, whether they be such in themselves, or in Christ. We say they are not such in themselves, but in Christ. Then are they made nothing better, say you, in themselves. Yes, verily, as soon as they are accepted to be God's children, and the justice of Christ is imputed to them through faith, they receive the Spirit of adoption, which reneweth them in the inward man, and beginneth in them holiness, and justice, purity, virtue: but because all these qualities are imperfect, they are not worthy in God's justice to be accepted for them; but the cause of their acceptation is still the mercy of God in Christ, in whom both they and their imperfect good qualities are accepted to reward.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* Again, for this purpose, Dan. vi. 22, they will not translate according to Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, "Justice was found in me;" but they alter thus: "My justice was found out;" and other of them: "My unguiltiness was found out," to draw it from inherent justice, which was in Daniel.

εὐθύτης εὑρέθη ἐν ἐμοί.

זָכוּ הִשְׁ־תְּכַחַת לִי

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* I can but wonder at your impudence and malice, which say so confidently, that for this purpose they translated thus. Would any man by the justice or innocency that was in Daniel, or in any just man, fear lest any thing should

be detracted from the justice of Christ, whereby Daniel, and all just men, are justified in God's sight? Well, let that purpose rest in God's judgment, as Daniel's justice did, when he was shamefully slandered. But what is the fault of the translation? According to the Chaldee, Greek, and Latin, it should be, "justice is found in me." For Greek and Latin we will not contend, because we translate not Daniel out of Greek and Latin, but out of the Chaldee. But in good sadness, are you so deeply seen in Chaldee, that you will avouch the proper signification of לי to be "in me?" A hundred boys in Cambridge know that it signifieth as well in Chaldee, as in Hebrew, "to me," rather than "in me." But most properly have our translators expressed the phrase in English, saying, "my justice" or "unguiltiness was found out;" for of a virtue inherent Daniel speaketh otherwise, Dan. ii. 30, to the king, לא בחכמה די איתי בי, "not by wisdom, which is in me." So that here your quarrel bewrayeth more spite than wit, more malice than learning.

לָא
בְחָכְמָה
דִי־אִיתַי
בִּי

Martin. Again, it must needs be a spot of the same infection, that they translate thus: "As David describeth the blessedness of the man, unto whom God imputeth righteousness," Rom. iv. 6; as though imputed righteousness were the "description" of blessedness. They know the Greek doth not signify "to describe." I would once see them precise in following the Greek and the Hebrew: if not, we must look to their fingers. MARTIN, 10. λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Fulke. It must needs come of an high wit, to have such deep insight into other men's intents and purposes. But why, I pray you, is not "righteousness imputed by God," &c., and so forth, as Paul saith, "a description of man's blessedness?" If they had said "defineth," where they say, "describeth," you would have made much ado. But can you not allow this that the prophet saith, to be a "description" of man's blessedness? Howsoever it is, λέγω signifieth not "to describe," but "to speak," "to say," "to pronounce;" and in effect there is nothing else meant by the word "describeth" here used, but that David pronounceth or setteth forth the blessedness of man in such words. You in your translation say "termeth," as "David termeth;" which, if you mean it not scornfully, cometh as near a definition as "describeth," the word which we use; FULKE, 10.

and our "describeth" is as near the Greek λέγει, as your "termeth" is to the Latin *dicit*. But "look to our fingers," and spare not to tell us where you see us go wide from the Greek or Hebrew: but if you do nothing but trifle and quarrel, as you have done hitherto, be sure we will be bold to beshrew your fingers, and hit you on the thumbs now and then also to your discredit.

CHAPTER XII.

Heretical Translation for Special Faith, Vain Security, and Only Faith.

Martin. ALL other means of salvation being thus taken away, their only and extreme refuge is, "only faith;" and the same not the christian faith of the articles of the creed and such like, but a special faith and confidence, whereby every man must assuredly believe, that himself is the son of God, and one of the elect and predestinate to salvation. If he be not by faith as sure of this as of Christ's incarnation, he shall never be saved. MARTIN, 1.

Fulke. "All other means of salvation being taken away," and only faith apprehending the mercy of God in the redemption of Jesus Christ being left, we have great and sufficient cause to account ourselves happy, and assured of eternal life, because he that hath promised is faithful also to perform. But where you say, that our "only faith is not the christian faith of the articles of the creed," you lie without measure impudently; for that faith, and none other, do we believe, teach, and profess. And that faith is a special faith and confidence in the mercy of God, whereof every man that believeth doth make a singular confession for himself, saying, "I believe in God," &c. And of all things contained in that profession of faith, (that is, of forgiveness of sins, resurrection of our bodies, and life everlasting, by belief and trust in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, conceived, born, suffered, crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell, risen again, and ascended into heaven, and in God the Holy Ghost, by whose gracious and mighty working we are incorporate into the body of Christ, and made members of his holy catholic church, which is the communion of saints,) every christian man ought to be as certainly persuaded, as the things are most true, being inwardly taught by the Spirit of truth, that he is the child of God, and consequently elect, and predestinate unto eternal salvation. But that a man shall never be saved, except he have such certainty of this faith, as the truth of God's promises FULKE, 1.

doth deserve, none of us doth teach, none of us doth think. For we know our own infirmity, we know the temptation of Satan: nevertheless we acknowledge in ourselves, and so seek to persuade all men, that these things standing upon the immoveable pillars of God's promises, who can neither deceive nor be deceived, ought to be most certain unto us; and for daily confirmation and increase of this faith, all those means are of us diligently to be used, that God for this purpose in his holy scripture hath appointed.

MARTIN, 2. *Martin* For this heresy, they force the Greek to express the very word of assurance and certainty, thus: "Let us draw nigh with a true heart, in assurance of faith," Heb. x. 22; and Beza, *certa persuasione fidei*, that is, "with a certain and assured persuasion of faith;" interpreting himself more at large in another place, that he meaneth thereby such a persuasion and so effectual, as by which we know assuredly without all doubt, that nothing can separate us from God. Which their heretical meaning maketh their translation the less tolerable, because they neither express the Greek precisely, nor intend the true sense of the apostle. They express not the Greek, which signifieth properly the fulness and complement of any thing, and therefore the apostle joineth it sometime with faith; elsewhere, Heb. vi. 11, with hope; with knowledge, or (Col. ii. 2) understanding; to signify the fulness of all three, as the vulgar Latin interpreter most sincerely (Rom. iv. 21.) always translateth it: and to Timothy, 2. Tim. iv.[1], he useth it to signify the full accomplishment and execution of his ministry in every point. Where a man may wonder that Beza, to maintain his conceived signification of this word, translateth here also accordingly, thus, *ministerii tui plenam fidem facito:* but their more current church English bibles are content to say with the vulgar Latin interpreter, "fulfil thy ministry," or, "fulfil thine office to the utmost." And the Greek fathers do find no other interpretation. Thus when the Greek signifieth "fulness of faith," rather than "assurance" or "certain persuasion," they translate not the Greek precisely. Again, in the sense they err much more, applying the aforesaid words to the certain and assured faith that every man ought to have, as they say, of his own salvation. Whereas the Greek fathers expound it of the full and assured faith that every faithful man must have of all such things in heaven as he seeth

ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως. Annot. in Luke i. 1.

πληροφορίαν τῆς ἐλπίδος. πληροφορίας τῆς συνέσεως. πληροφορηθείς. plenissime sciens. πληροφόρησον.

Ministerium tuum imple. An. 1577. An. 1562.

Ignat. Ep. Smyrn. Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ πατρὸς πεπληροφορημένη ἐν

[1 *τὴν διακονίαν σου πληροφόρησον*, 2 Tim. iv. 5. "Ministerium tuum imple," Vulg. "Fulfil thine office unto the utmost." Tyndale, Cranmer, 1539, 1562, Geneva, 1557. "Make thy ministry be fully known," Geneva, 1560. "Fulfil thy ministry," Bishops' bible, 1584, Rheims, 1582. "Make full proof of thy ministry," Authorised version, 1611.]

not, namely that Christ is ascended thither, &c., adding further and proving out of the apostle's words next following, that the protestants' only faith is not sufficient, be it never so special or assured.

πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ. ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως. Chrys. Theodor. Theophyl. upon Rom. x.

Fulke. Having nothing to impugn this clear interpretation of the Greek word πληροφορία, but the imperfect translation of your vulgar Latin interpreter, who was both an imperfect Grecian, and a very barbarous Latinist; you are not ashamed to say, we force the Greek to make it signify assurance; which all men that are but meanly learned in the Greek tongue may know, that it signifieth "assurance," or "full and certain persuasion:" although for the question in controversy, the "fulness of faith" will prove the certainty, as much in a manner as "the assurance." But that the Greek signifieth "a full and certain persuasion," I report me not only to the best Greek dictionaries of this time, but also to Budeus; who citeth Isocrates out of Trapezuntius for proof that it is so used, and also interpreteth that of St Paul, Rom. xiv. ἕκαστος ἰδίῳ νοὶ πληροφορείσθω, "Let every man be certain of his own mind." But you have a doughty argument, that it is not only joined with faith, but also with hope, knowledge, and understanding; as though there could not be a certain persuasion and assurance of hope, knowledge, and understanding: yea, the assurance of hope dependeth upon the assurance of faith, and the assurance of faith upon the certain persuasion of knowledge and understanding. Yea, your vulgar interpreter translating πληροφορηθεὶς, Rom. iv. 21, *plenissime sciens*, "knowing most fully," may teach you, that it signifieth more than "fulness;" for else he should have said, "being fulfilled." And better doth Beza express the word πληροφόρησον, 2 Tim. iv., than some of our English interpreters which say, "fulfil thy ministry;" whereas the apostle's meaning is, that he should approve the credit and dignity of his ministry unto other men.

FULKE, 2.

But the Greek fathers, you say, find none other interpretation of it, and for proof you cite *Ignatius ep. ad Smyrn.*, which although it be not authentical, yet I see no cause why we may not interpret πεπληροφορημένῃ, "being certainly persuaded in faith and love," and ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως, "in the assurance of faith." And so is it translated in *Bibliotheca sacra Margarini de la Bigne*,

Plene instructæ in fide et caritate, et cognovi vos absolute perfectos in fide stabili, "fully instructed in faith and charity," and "I have known you absolutely perfect in a stedfast faith." Chrysostom and Theodoret, because you vouch at large, I know not what you would shew out of them. In Theophylact[1], I find that he speaketh against all hesitation and doubtfulness of faith; but against the certain persuasion thereof never a word; *Ne aliquam inducas in animum tuum hæsitationem, neque pendeas animi, dubii quiddam cogitans,* "Bring not into thy mind any staggering, neither be uncertain of thy mind, thinking any doubtful thing." But for the signification of the word πληροφορία, St Basil[2] may be a sufficient witness, who commonly useth it for assured and certain persuasion. As Ἠθικ. 26, "Every word and deed must be proved by the testimony of the holy scripture," εἰς πληροφορίαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, "to the full and certain persuasion of the good, and to the shame of the wicked." Again, *defin.* 80[3], "what is the property of a faithful man?" τὸ ἐν τοιαύτῃ πληροφορίᾳ, &c. "By such assured persuasion to be disposed," &c. Even so ἐν Ὁρ. κατ' ἐρ. Ἐρωτ. στ'. εἰς πληροφορίαν τῆς θεοσεβείας, "to the certain persuasion of godliness," &c.; and so in other places. And you yourself confess as much, where you say, "the Greek fathers expound it of the full assured faith," &c., which is enough to justify our translation. Now, if the fathers understood this "full assured faith" only of an historical faith, as you say, and not of trust and confidence in God, it is another controversy. Our translation is not false, although we had a false meaning, if it be answerable to the words. Neither doth Chrysostom[4] speak of an his-

[1 Μὴ εἴπῃς γάρ, φησιν, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τάδε καὶ τάδε, τουτέστι, μὴ ἐννοήσῃς ὅλως ἀμφιβολίας τι νόημα. Theophylact. Comment. in Epist. ad Roman. c. x. Opera. Vol. II. p. 76, ed. Venet. 1755.]

[2 Ὅτι δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἰς πληροφορίαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐντροπὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν. Basilii Moralia, Regula xxvi. Opera, Vol. II. p. 358, edit. Paris, 1839.]

[3 Basilii Moralia, c. xxii. Opera, Vol. III. p. 444. Ὁρ. lxxx. cap. xxii. The reference that follows to the *sixth* of the Ὅροι κατ' ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν does not appear to be accurate.]

[4 ἐνταῦθα δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐ πίστις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίος ἐνάρετος ζητεῖται, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἑαυτοῖς συνειδέναι πονηρόν. οὐ γὰρ δέχεται τὰ

torical faith only, by certainty whereof we have access unto God; but also of confidence, which remission of our sins doth cause, and that we are made coheirs with Christ, and that we enjoy so great love: neither doth he prove that "the protestants' only faith is not sufficient to justify." "But the apostle sheweth," saith he, "that not faith alone, but also a virtuous life is required, and that a man be not guilty to himself of maliciousness. For these holy places do not receive those men, with certain assurance, which are not made such." This judgment of Chrysostom the protestants do allow of better than the papists; for we know that a godly life is necessary in them that believe to justification, without which they can have no assurance of faith, no, nor faith in deed, but that which is by equivocation called "faith;" such faith as the devil and the reprobate may have.

Martin. Yet do these terms please them exceedingly, insomuch that for "the chosen gift of faith," Wisd. iii. 14, they translate, "the special gift of faith[5];" and Rom. viii. 38, "I am sure that nothing can separate us from the love of God[6];" as though the apostle were certain and assured not only of his own salvation, but of other men's. For to this sense they do so translate here; whereas in other places, out of controversy, they translate the same word as they should do, "I am persuaded, they are persuaded, &c." For who knoweth not that *πείθομαι* importeth only a probable persuasion? They will say that "I am sure," and "I am persuaded," is all one. Being well meant, they may indeed signify alike, as the vulgar Latin interpreter doth commonly translate it: but in this place of controversy, whether the apostle were sure of his salvation or no, which you say he was, yea, without revelation, we say he was not; here why would you translate, "I am sure," and not, as in other places, "I am persuaded," but in favour of your error, by insinuating the terms of "sure," and "assurance," and such like? as elsewhere you neglect the terms of "just" and "justification." In which your "secret things of dishonesty and craftiness" (as the apostle calleth it) we

MARTIN, 3. *τῆς πίστεως χάριτος ἐκλεκτῆ.* Fidei donum electum. *πέπεισμαι,* Bib. 1577.

Luke xx. 6. Rom. xv. 4. Heb. vi. 9.

2 Cor. iv.

ἅγια τοὺς μὴ οὕτω διακειμένους μετὰ πληροφορίας· ἅγια γάρ ἐστι, καὶ ἅγια ἁγίων. οὐκοῦν ἐνταῦθα ἄνθρωπος οὐδεὶς βέβηλος εἴσεισιν. Chrysost. Hom. in Hebr. 18. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 530.]

[5 *Δοθήσεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτή*, Wisdom of Solomon iii. 14. "For unto him shall be given the special gift of faith," Bishops' bible, 1584, Geneva bible, 1560.]

[6 *πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωή*, &c., Rom. viii. 38. "Certus sum enim," Vulg. "For I am sure," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Rheims. "For I am persuaded," Geneva, Authorised.]

cannot always use demonstrations to convince you: but yet even in these things we talk with your conscience, and leave the consideration thereof to the wise reader.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Seeing they account the Book of Wisdom to be of no authority to establish the certainty of doctrine, it is not like they could have any such respect, as you maliciously surmise. And yet the translation [is] good and true. For what is the choice gift of faith, but a special gift? Or dare you say, that faith is not a special gift of God? They say not a "special faith," but a "special gift of faith." The other quarrel of the translation of πέπεισμαι, "I am sure," is so brutish, that when you confess the vulgar Latin interpreter commonly to translate it, *certus sum*, and that in the end you can use no demonstration to convince us, yet still nevertheless you charge "our conscience with the secret things of dishonesty." That the apostle was sure of his own salvation by the testimony of God's Spirit, which is given to all his children, we doubt not; and that he was sure of the salvation of all God's elect, of which it is impossible that any should perish. And seeing the same Spirit of adoption is given to all the children of God, which is the earnest of the heavenly inheritance, we cannot affirm without blasphemy against God's truth, that any man ought to discredit the promises of God, or the testimony of his Spirit.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* You hold also in this kind of controversy, that a man must assure himself that his sins be forgiven: but in the book of Eccl. v. 5, we read thus, "Of thy sin forgiven be not without fear;" or (as it is in the Greek), "Of forgiveness and propitiation be not without fear, to heap sin upon sins." Which you translate falsely, thus: "Because thy sin is forgiven thee, be not therefore without fear[1]." Is that περὶ ἐξιλασμοῦ, "because thy sin is forgiven thee"? You know it is not: but that we should be afraid of the very forgiveness thereof, whether our sin be forgiven or no, or rather whether our sin shall be forgiven, or no, if we heap one sin upon another: which seemeth to be the truest sense of the place, by the words following; as though he should say, Be not bold upon forgiveness to heap sin upon sin, as though God will easily forgive, &c.

περὶ ἐξιλασμοῦ μὴ ἄφοβος γίνου, προσθεῖναι ἁμαρτίαν ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις.

[1 "Because thy sin is forgiven thee, be not therefore without fear," Cranmer, 1562, Bishops' bible, 1584. "Because thy sin is forgiven, be not without fear, to heap sin upon sin," Geneva bible, 1560. "Concerning propitiation, be not without fear to add sin unto sin," Authorised version.]

Fulke. We hold that a man, when he is truly penitent, ought to assure himself that his sins be forgiven him, because God hath so promised in an hundred places, without injury of whose credit we cannot doubt of the performance of his promise. But that which the son of Sirach speaketh of propitiation, is meant of the shadowy propitiation by the sacrifices of the law; which cannot assure any man of the forgiveness of his sins by themselves, much less them that "heap sin upon sin," which are never truly repentant. For unto true repentance is required an hatred of sin, and a desire and purpose of amendment. Our translation is, as your vulgar Latin, not precise to the words of the Greek, but just unto the meaning; for the words are, "concerning propitiation, be not without fear;" and your Latin is, *de propitiato peccato,* "of sin forgiven."' And if you will reprove your Latin as well as our English, and say we must be afraid of the very forgiveness; I have told you, that the forgiveness of God, testified by the sacrifices, pertained unto them that be truly penitent, and not to hypocrites. And where you make it a doubt, whether sin shall be forgiven or no in them that heap one sin upon another, we are out of doubt, that sin shall never be forgiven to such as so continue without true conversion unto God. FULKE, 4.

Martin. I touched before upon another occasion, how you add to the text, making the apostle say thus, Ephes. iii.[2] "By whom we have boldness and entrance with the confidence which is by the faith of him," or (as in another bible, which is alone) "in the confidence by faith of him." The learned and skilful among you in the Greek tongue know MARTIN, 5. Bib. 1562. Bib. 1577. ἐν πεποιθήσει, διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ.

[[2] Ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν παῤῥησίαν καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐν πεποιθήσει διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ, Ephes. iii. 12.

"In quo habemus fiduciam, et accessum in confidentia per fidem ejus," Vulg. "In whom we have trust and nigh coming, in trusting by the faith of him," Wiclif. "By whom we are bold to draw nigh in that trust which we have by faith on him," Tyndale. "By whom we have boldness and entrance, with the confidence which is by the faith of him." Cranmer. "By whom we have boldness and entrance with confidence, by the faith which we have in him," Geneva. "By whom we have boldness and entrance in the confidence by faith of him," Bishops' bible, 1584. "In whom we have affiance and access in confidence, by the faith of him," Rheims. "In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him," Authorised version, 1611.]

that this translation is false, for two causes: the one is, because the Greek in that case should be thus, ἐν τῇ πεποιθήσει τῇ διὰ τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ; another cause is, the point after πεποιθήσει, so that the very simple and sincere translation is this, "We have affiance and access with confidence by the faith of him:" even as elsewhere it is said, "We have confidence, if our heart reprehend us not;" we have confidence by keeping the commandments, by tribulations and afflictions, and all good works: hope also giveth us great confidence. Against all which your translation is prejudicial, limiting and defining our confidence toward God to be faith, as though we had no confidence by works, or otherwise.

1 John iii.
Heb. x.
2 Cor. iii.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* For understanding of the article, I have answered already, and mean not here to repeat it. The point you miss, in the bible 1577, is observed in that book which I have of Richard Jug's printing, "by whom we have boldness and entrance in the confidence, by faith of him." But it cannot be "the confidence," you think, but "confidence," because the article τῇ is not put before the word that signifieth confidence. But all Englishmen know that our English "the" may be put, and sometime must be put, before nouns without any article either in Greek or Latin. And in this place I would not give a rush to choose whether it be in or out, for any sense that it changeth. What confidence we have by a good conscience, by suffering tribulation, and by all good works, it skilleth not for this question, so it be determined that we have no confidence in the merits of a good conscience, of suffering, of all good works that we can do, to have boldness and entrance unto God. But of merits we have spoken before in their proper place.

MARTIN, 6. *Martin.* For this confidence by faith only, Beza translateth so wilfully and perversely, that either you were ashamed to follow him, or you lacked a commodious English word correspondent to his Latin. "If I have all faith," saith the apostle, "and have not charity, I am nothing[1]." *Totam fidem*, saith Beza, I had rather translate, than *omnem fidem*, "because the apostle meaneth not all kind of faith, to wit, the faith that justifieth;" but he meaneth, that if a man have the faith of Christ's omnipotency, or of any other article of the creed, or of all, wholly and entirely and perfectly, that is nothing without charity[2]. This is Beza's

πᾶσαν πίστιν.
1 Cor. xiii. Annot. in Nov. Test. 1556.

[1 Καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν. 1 Cor. xiii. 2. Et si habuero omnem fidem, Vulg. Et si habeam totam fidem, Beza.]

[2 Fidem hic accipi pro dono edendorum signorum, ut supra xii. 9, apparet ex ipsius effectis, quorum unum commemorat. Sed et pro fide historica, quam vocant, accipi potest, quum de Christi omnipotentia

tota fides, "whole faith," thinking by this translation to exempt from the apostle's words their special justifying faith, and wrestling to that purpose in his annotations against Pighius and other Catholic doctors. Whereas every man of small skill may see, that the apostle nameth all faith, as he doth all knowledge and all mysteries; comprehending all sorts of the one and of the other; all kind of knowledge, all kind of mysteries, all faith whatsoever, christian, catholic, historical or special; which two latter are heretical terms newly devised.

Fulke. When your spiteful and dogged malice cannot reprove our English translation, then we must answer for Beza's Latin, who hath sufficiently answered for himself to them that understand and list to read him. In the place mentioned by you, he chooseth to say *totam fidem*, rather than *omnem*, because it appeareth by the effects, that he speaketh of faith as it was a special gift of working of miracles; of which effects he nameth one, removing of mountains. And that πᾶσα is so taken, namely, for the perfection of one kind, not the universal comprehension of all kinds, he bringeth you example, Rom. vii. 8, and elsewhere oftentimes. But if it should be taken, as you say all knowledge and all mysteries is generally to be taken, yet he telleth you this separation is but upon an impossible supposition; for justifying faith can never be separated from charity; but if it might be separated, it should not profit to justify. The angels of heaven cannot preach another gospel; but if they did preach another gospel, they should be accursed. A great argument, I promise you, against justification by faith only, that a solitary, dead, or barren faith doth not justify! FULKE, 6.

Martin. And I would have any of the Bezites give me a sufficient reason, why he translated *totam fidem*, and not also *totam scientiam:* undoubtedly there is no cause but the heresy of special and only faith. And again, why he translateth James ii. 22[3], "Thou seest that faith MARTIN, 7.

persuasos esse oporteat qui in ipsius nomine credunt se posse quidvis efficere. Quum autem et illa improbis multis, ut Matt. vii. 22, et ista diabolis quoque tribuatur, ut Jac. ii. 19, non mirum est separata a caritate ex hypothesi. Beza in 1 Cor. xiii. 3. Nov. Test. p. 216.]

[3 Βλέπεις ὅτι ἡ πίστις συνήργει τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, James ii. 22. "Vides quoniam fides cooperabatur operibus illius," Vulg. "Vides quod fides administra fuerit operum ipsius," Bezæ Vers. Upon the four last words he says, "id est, efficax et fœcunda fuerit bonorum operum: unde enim illa tanta obedientia nisi ex fide?" Heb. xi. 17. Nov. Test. p. 302.]

was (*administra*) a helper of his works;" and expoundeth it thus: "Faith was an efficient cause and fruitful of good works." Whereas the apostle's words be plain, that "faith wrought together with his works," yea, and that his "faith was by works made perfect." This is impudent handling of scripture, to make works the fruit only and effect of faith; which is your heresy.

συνήργει. ἐτελειώθη.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* If you dare, draw forth your pen against Beza, and demand an answer of himself; although he hath already given you a sufficient reason to induce, that the apostle speaketh not of faith as generally as of knowledge, because by an example of removing mountains he restraineth it to one kind of faith. As for the other question, why he translateth *συνήργει*, James ii. 22, "was an helper," methink you should make best answer yourself; who not long since, by force of that word, would needs prove that men were helpers of God, chap. x. sect. 6. Have you so soon forgotten your own voice? and is this "impudent handling of the scripture," to translate as you yourself in another case, though impertinently, did contend the word to signify? But works you will not have to be "the fruit only and effect of faith," because the apostle saith that "faith wrought together with his works, and by works his faith was made perfect:" as though apples are not the fruit of the tree because the tree doth bear them, and by them, if they be good, the tree is made a good tree.

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* Which heresy also must needs be the cause, that, to suppress the excellency of charity (which the apostle giveth it above faith, or any other gift whatsoever, in these words, "And yet I shew you a more excellent way," 1 Cor. xii. 31[1]), he in one edition of the New Testament (in the year 1556) translateth thus, "Behold, moreover also I shew you a way most diligently." What cold stuff is this, and how impertinent! In another edition (anno 1565) he mended it thus: "And besides I shew you a way to excellency." In neither of both expressing

ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι.

[1 "Et insuper etiam quam diligentissime viam vobis indico," Nov. Test. Bezæ, edit. 1556. "Et porro iter ad excellentiam vobis indicabo," edit. 1582. "Et adhuc excellentiorem viam vobis demonstro," Vulg. "And yet shew I unto you a more excellent way," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, Bishops' bible, 1584, Authorised Version, 1611. "Even now then will I shew you a more excellent way," Geneva testament, 1557. "And I will yet shew you a more excellent way," Geneva bible, 1560. "And yet I shew you a more excellent way," Rheims, 1582.]

the comparison of preeminence and excellency, that charity hath in the apostle's words, and in all the chapter following. Wherein you did well, for your credit, not to follow him; no, not your Bezites themselves; but to translate after our vulgar Latin interpreter, as it hath always been read and understood in the church.

Fulke. The rareness of the phrase, καθ' ὑπερβολήν, &c., as all indifferent men will judge, rather than any mind to suppress the excellency of charity, caused Beza to give divers interpretations of that place; of which yet the latter more commendeth the excellency of charity than the vulgar Latin, or our English translation, which expoundeth it as the Latin doth; for if charity be the way to excellency, it is a greater commendation thereof, than to say, it is a more excellent way than other gifts, whereof he spake last, as of healing, of tongues, of interpretations, &c. FULKE, 8.

Martin. Luther was so impudent in this case, that, because the apostle spake not plainly enough for "only faith," he thrust "only" into the text of his translation, as himself witnesseth. You durst not hitherto presume so far in this question of only faith, though in other controversies you have done the like, as is shewed in their places. But I will ask you a smaller matter, which in words and shew you may perhaps easily answer, but in your conscience there will remain a gnawing worm. In so many places of the gospel, where our Saviour requireth the people's faith, when he healed them of all corporal diseases only, why do you so gladly translate thus, "Thy faith hath saved thee[2]," rather than thus, "thy faith hath healed thee," or "made thee whole?" Is it not, by joining these words together, to make it sound in English ears, that faith saveth or justifieth a man? insomuch that Beza noteth in the margin thus, *fides salvat*, that is, "faith saveth;" and your Geneva bibles, in that place where it cannot be taken for faith that justifieth, because it is not the party's faith, but her father's that Christ required, there also translate thus, "Believe only, and she shall be saved[3]." Which transla- MARTIN, 9. Luther. To. ii. fol. 405. edit. Wittenb. an. 1551. Acts ix. 22. Bib. 1577. 1 Pet. i. 25. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8. 2 Cor. v. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 13. In the Bib. 1562. Mark x. 52. Luke xviii. 42. and viii. 48. Luke viii. 50.

[2 ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέ σε, Mark x. 52. "Fides tua te salvum fecit," Vulgate. "Thy faith hath saved thee," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops' bible. "Thy faith hath made thee safe," Rheims. "Thy faith hath made thee whole," Authorised version.]

[3 Μὴ φοβοῦ· μόνον πίστευε, καὶ σωθήσεται, Luke viii. 50. "Noli timere; crede tantum, et salva erit," Vulg. "Fear not; believe only, and she shall be made whole," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, 1557, 1560, Bishops' bible, Authorised version.

At the 14th verse, chap. ii. of St James, these words occur: μὴ δύναται ἡ πίστις σῶσαι αὐτόν; which is rendered in the Rhemish version, 1582, "Shall faith be able to save him?"]

tion, though very false and impertinent for justifying faith, as you seem to acknowledge by translating it otherwise in your other bibles, yet indeed you must needs maintain and hold it for good, while you allege this place for only faith, as is evident in your writings.

See Gough's Sermon, and Tomson's answer to the lord Abbot of Westmins.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* That which Luther might well do as an interpreter or expounder, it was much boldness for him to do as a translator: but seeing he himself hath redressed his own offence, we have less to say for him, and you against him. For our additions, except such as the necessity of our English phrase doth require for understanding, you slander us to say that we have in any controversies done the like. The question you ask is not worthy any answer, why we translate "thy faith hath saved thee," &c., seeing we use all these words indifferently, "healing," "making safe," and "making whole;" as in St James we say, "Can faith save him?" And it is all one to say, "thy faith hath saved thee," and "thy faith hath made thee whole." But you say, we "allege this place for only faith" justifying, citing the answers of Master Gough and M. Tomson against Feckenham. I think you lie, as in other places very commonly. And yet an argument, though not a plain testimony, may be taken out of these places for only faith justifying: seeing Christ was not a physician for the body, but to teach men that he was a physician for the soul, and as he healed the diseased in body only by faith, so he cureth the sickness of the soul by the same instrument of faith only, which by other places may be more directly proved, and here also is in some sort insinuated.

MARTIN, 10. *Martin.* This then you see is a fallacy, when faith only is required to the health of the body, as in many such places, though not in all, there by translation to make it sound a justifying faith, as though faith only were required to the health of the soul. Whereas that faith was of Christ's omnipotency only and power; which Beza confesseth may be in the devils themselves, and is far from the faith that justifieth. If you say, the Greek signifieth as you translate, it doth so indeed; but it signifieth also very commonly to be healed corporally, as, by your own translation, in these places, Mark v. 28, Mark vi. 36, Luke viii. 36, 51, where you translate, "I shall be whole," "They were healed," "He was healed," "She shall be made whole." And why do you here translate so? because you know "to be saved" importeth rather another thing, to wit, "salvation of the soul;" and therefore when faith

Ann. in 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

Bib. 1577.

is joined withal, you translate rather "saved," than "healed," though the place be meant of bodily health only, to insinuate by all means your justification by only faith.

Fulke. It is no fallacy, from the health of the body to ascend higher to the health of the soul; but that direct and plain way, by which Christ himself would be known to be Saviour of the world, not of the body only, but of the body and soul together. And commonly his bodily cures were joined with forgiveness of sins, which are causes of all maladies, and with health of their souls whose bodies were made safe. As for justification by faith only, we mean none otherwise to insinuate it in this place, than Christ himself doth, by doing miracles, in giving health of the body, to testify that he is the only author of the salvation of men's souls. FULKE, 10.

CHAPTER XIII.

Heretical Translation against Penance and Satisfaction.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* UPON the heresy of only faith justifying and saving a man, followeth the denial of all penance and satisfaction for sins; which Beza so abhorred, Annot. in Mat. iii. 2[1], that he maketh protestation that he avoideth these terms, *pœnitentia*, and *pœnitentiam agere*, of purpose; and that he will always use for them in translating the Greek words *resipiscentia* and *resipiscere*. Which he doth observe perhaps, but that sometimes he is worse than his promise, translating most falsely and heretically, for *resipiscentia, resipiscentes:*[2] so that your English Bezites themselves are ashamed to translate after him, who otherwise follow his rule for the most part, translating *resipiscentia* "amendment of life," and *resipiscite* "amend your lives;" and the other English bibles, when they translate best, say "repentance," and "repent;" but none of them all once have the words "penance," and "do penance," which in most places is the very true translation, according to the very circumstance of the text, and use of the Greek word in the Greek church, and the ancient Latin translation thereof, and all the fathers' reading thereof, and their expositions of the same. Which four points I think not amiss briefly to prove, that the reader may see the use and signification of these words, which they of purpose will not express, to avoid the terms of "penance," and "doing penance."

μετάνοια. μετανοεῖτε.

Acts xxvi. 20. in Nov. Test. an. 1556, and in his later translation, 1565. Matt. iii. 8. Luke iii. 8.

μετανοεῖν. Agere pœnitentiam.

[1 Μετανοεῖτε, Matt. iii. 2. "Pœnitentiam agite," Vulg. "Resipiscite," Beza. "Do ye penance," Wiclif. "Repent," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Authorised version. "Do penance," Rheims.]

[2 Ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν, καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας, Acts xxvi. 20. "Annuntiabam ut pœnitentiam agerent, et converterentur ad Deum, digna pœnitentiæ opera facientes," Vulg. "Annuntiavi ut resipiscerent, et converterent se ad Deum, opera facientes digna iis qui resipuissent," Beza.

"That they shulden do penance, and be converted to God, and do worthy works of penance," Wiclif's version.]

[3 ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας, Matt. iii. 8. "Facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentiæ," Vulg. "Ferte igitur fructum dignum resipiscentia," Beza. "Therefore do ye worthy fruits of penance," Wiclif.]

[4 ποιήσατε οὖν καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας, Luke iii. 8. "Facite ergo fructus dignos pœnitentiæ," Vulg. "Ferte igitur fructus dignos resipiscentia," Beza. "Therefore do ye worthy fruit of penance," Wiclif. "Bring forth due fruits of repentance," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "Yield therefore fruits worthy of penance," Rheims. "Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance," Authorised version.]

Fulke. If by penance you mean satisfaction for sins by any suffering of ours, we abhor your penance as an horrible blasphemy against the blood of Christ. And for that cause Beza, as hath been shewed before, useth the word *resipiscentia*, rather than *pœnitentia:* because the Greek word signifieth not only a sorrow for sin, but also a purpose of amendment of life. We in English use the word "repentance," or "amendment of life;" which word of "repentance" you use also sometimes, when it pleaseth you, or when you cannot for shame use your popish term of "doing penance." FULKE, 1.

The cause why we never use that word "penance," is, for that you mean not thereby that which the scripture calleth μετάνοιαν, but a certain punishment taken upon men for satisfaction of their sins unto God; which is abominable for all christian ears to hear, which acknowledge that "the blood of Christ" only "purgeth us from all sin." But in four points you will prove, if you can, that we should translate μετανοεῖν, "to do penance."

Martin. First, that the circumstance of the text doth give it so to signify, we read in St Matthew, chap. xi. 21: "If in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in you, they had done penance in haircloth, or sackcloth, and ashes long ago." And in St Luke, chap. x. 13, "they had done penance, sitting in sackcloth and ashes." I beseech you, these circumstances of sackcloth and ashes adjoined, do they signify penance and affliction of the body, or only amendment of life, as you would have the word to signify? St Basil saith, in Psal. xxix. "Sackcloth maketh for penance. For the fathers in old time, sitting in sackcloth and ashes, did penance." Unless you will translate St Basil also after your fashion, whom you cannot any way translate, but the sense must needs be "penance," and "doing penance." Again, St Paul saith, "You were made sorry to penance," or, "to repentance," say which you will: and, "The sorrow which is according to God worketh penance," or, "repentance unto salvation." Is not sorrow, and bitter mourning, and affliction, parts of penance? Did the incestuous man whom St Paul excommunicated, and afterward absolved him because of his exceeding sorrow and tears, for fear lest he might be overwhelmed with sorrow, did he, I say, change his mind only, or amend his life, as you translate the Greek word, and interpret repentance? Did he not penance also for his fault, enjoined of the apostle? When St John the Baptist saith, and St Paul exhorteth the like, "Do fruits worthy of penance," or, as you translate, "meet for repentance," do they not plainly signify penitential works, or the works MARTIN, 2. That μετανοεῖν, is to do penance. μετενόησαν ἂν, pœnitentiam egissent. εἰς μετάνοιαν. μετενόησαν. 2 Cor. vii. 9. 1 Cor. v. 2 Cor. ii. Matt. iii. Luke iii. Acts xxvi.

of penance? Which is the very cause why Beza rather translated in those places, "Do the fruits meet for them that amend their lives." Or give us some other good cause, O ye Bezites, why your master doth so foully falsify his translation.

Fructus dignos iis qui resipuerint. καρποὺς ἀξίους τῆς μετανοίας.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* Such is your malicious frowardness, that you will not understand *resipiscentia*, "repentance," or "amendment of life," a sorrow or grief of mind for the life past: which is testified sometimes by outward signs of sackcloth and ashes, fasting and humbling of men's bodies, as in the texts of Matt. xi. and Luke x., and divers other, is expressed. But shew us that the wearing of sackcloth and ashes is a satisfaction for the life past, or any part of amends to God's justice; or else you do but trifle and waste the time. But St Basil saith, that sackcloth maketh for "penance," &c. I marvel whether you read that saying in Basil, and durst for sin and shame allege it for your popish penance; where he plainly sheweth the use and end of sackcloth: Συνεργὸς εἰς μετανοίαν ὁ σάκκος, ταπεινώσεως ὑπάρχων σύμβολον· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ οἱ πατέρες καὶ σποδῷ καθήμενοι μετενόησαν[1]. "Sackcloth is an helper unto repentance, being a sign of humiliation; for of old time the fathers repented sitting in sackcloth and ashes." This sign of humbling, or of submission, you have clean omitted. Thus you use to geld the doctors' sayings, when you rehearse them. Sackcloth therefore serveth to repentance, as a testimony of sorrow, and humbling of ourselves before God, not as any satisfaction or amends for our sins. The rest of the places that you cite to prove that sorrow is a part of "repentance," are altogether needless; for we also do acknowledge the same. Our question is not of sorrow, but of satisfaction, to be a part of "repentance." Likewise the works "worthy" or "meet for repentance," do argue the repentance to be unfeigned and undissembled; but they prove not that by them a satisfaction is made for the sins committed before "repentance." For a new life, new manners, new fruits, must follow a mind that is truly turned unto God, and changed from delight in sin to hate and abhor sin, and to study unto "amendment of life."

[1 οἱ πατέρες is omitted in the edition of Garnier, and φησὶ inserted in its place. The text of this passage is unsettled, from the variety of readings. See edit. Paris, Vol. I. p. 186.]

Martin. Secondly, for the signification of this Greek word, in all the Greek church, and Greek fathers, even from St Denis the Areopagite, St Paul's scholar, who must needs deduce it from the scriptures, and learn it of the apostles, it is most evident that they use this word for that penance which was done in the primitive church, according to the penitential canons, whereof all antiquity of councils and fathers is full; insomuch that St Denis, reckoning up the three sorts of persons that were excluded from seeing and participating of the divine mysteries of Christ's body and blood, to wit, catechumens, penitents, and the possessed of ill spirits, for penitents he saith in the Greek, οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες, that is, such as were in their course of penance, or had not yet done their full penance. Which penance St Augustine declareth thus, Ho. xxvii., inter 50 ho. and ep. 108: *Est pœnitentia gravior*, &c.[2] "There is a more grievous and more mournful penance, whereby properly they are called in the church that are penitents; removed also from partaking the sacrament of the altar." And the Greek ecclesiastical history thus: "In the church of Rome there is a manifest and known place for the penitents; and in it they stand sorrowful, and as it were mourning, and when the sacrifice is ended, being not made partakers thereof, with weeping and lamentation they cast themselves flat on the ground: then the bishop, weeping also with compassion, lifteth them up, and after a certain time enjoined absolveth them from their penance. This the priests, or bishops of Rome, keep from the very beginning even until our time."

MARTIN, 3.

Ec. Hier. c. 3. in principio. Pœnitentes. οἱ μετανοοῦντες. οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ ὄντες.

Sozom. lib. 7. c. 16. τῶν μετανοούντων. See S. Hierome in epitap. Fabiolæ.

Fulke. Although Denis, whose books are now extant, were no more St Paul's disciple, than he was St Paul himself; yet I will grant, that the public testification of "repentance," in such as had openly fallen, was in the primitive church not only called μετανοία by a *metonymy*, but also that the word of "satisfaction" was used: not that they had any meaning to satisfy the justice of God by such external works, but that by those outward trials of their "repentance" the church was satisfied, which by their fall was offended, and the governors of the church by such signs of true sorrow and "amendment" were persuaded to receive them again into the congregation, from whence, until sufficient trial had of their "repentance," they were separated and excluded. But this proveth not, that the inward "repentance" which God giveth, when he turneth us unto him, hath in it any "satisfaction" for our sins; which no sacrifice was able to make, but only "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." The places you cite, as well out of Denis, as of St Augustine and Sozomen,

FULKE, 3.

[2 Sermo ccclii. Opera, Vol. v. p. 2031.]

do prove this that I say, to be understood of public signs of "repentance," without that any "satisfaction" unto God's justice in those times by such "penance" was intended.

MARTIN, 4. Lib. V. c. 19.

Martin. In these words and other in the same chapter, and in Socrates' Greek history likewise, when they speak of "penitents" that confessed and lamented their sins, that were enjoined penance for the same, and did it, I would demand of our English Grecians, in what Greek words they express all this. Do they it not in the words which we now speak of, and which therefore are proved most evidently to signify "penance," and "doing penance?" Again, when the most ancient council of Laodicea, can. ii., saith, "That the time of penance should be given to offenders according to the proportion of the fault;" and again, can. ix., "That such shall not communicate till a certain time, but after they have done penance, and confessed their fault, then to be received;" and again, can. xix., "After the catechumens are gone out, that prayer be made of the *pœnitentes*, or them that are in doing penance:" and when the first council of Nice saith, can. xii., about shortening or prolonging the days of penance, "that they must well examine their purpose and manner of doing penance;" that is, with what alacrity of mind, tears, patience, humility, good works, they accomplish the same; and accordingly to deal more mercifully with them, as is there expressed in the council: when St Basil, can. i. *ad Amphiloch.* speaketh after the same sort: when St Chrysostom calleth the sackcloth and fasting of the Ninevites for certain days, *tot dierum pœnitentiam*, "so many days' penance:" in all these places, I would gladly know of our English Grecians, whether these speeches of "penance," and "doing penance," are not expressed by the said Greek words, which they will in no case so to signify.

κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ πταίσματος.

καιροῦ μετανοίας δοθέντος.

τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.

τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς μετανοίας.

FULKE, 4.

Fulke. A matter of great weight, I promise you, to inquire of our English Grecians, in what Greek words they express all this! Verily, in the same Greek words which signify "repentance," or "repenting," and so may be expressed in English; neither is there any thing in any of the councils or doctors, by you cited or quoted, that hath any other intention than I have before expressed. The words of "penance" and "doing penance," if you meant the same by them that we and you do by "repenting" and "repentance," we would not strive with you for terms: but that you have another meaning in them, appeareth by this, that you translate the same word *pœnitentia* commonly "penance," as when it is *agere pœnitentiam;* but when it is said that God doth *dare pœnitentiam*, then you translate it "repentance." Whereby it appeareth, you mean the "penance" which you would have men to do, is not that

"repentance" which is the gift of God. Else why say you not, Acts v., that "God hath exalted Christ to be Prince and Saviour, to give penance to Israel and remission of sins," if "penance" and "repentance" were all one? But you say "repentance." Also, Acts xi., "God then to the gentiles hath given repentance to life;" where the word is *pœnitentia* in both places. As also, 2 Tim. ii., where you say, "least sometime God give them repentance to know the truth." Of this "repentance" which God giveth unto life, and remission of sins withal, satisfaction is no part: of public repentance, so called, when indeed it was a public testification that God had given inward repentance, we acknowledge satisfaction to the church, and to the judgment of the governors thereof, to be a part.

Martin. Or, I would also ask them, whether in these places they will translate "repentance," and "amendment of life," where there is mentioned a prescript time of satisfaction for their fault by such and such penal means? whether there be any prescript times of repentance or amendment of life, to continue so long, and no longer? If not, then must it needs be translated "penance," and "doing penance," which is longer or shorter according to the fault and the manner of doing the same. I may repent in a moment, and amend my life at one instant, and this repentance and amendment ought to continue for ever: but the holy councils and fathers speak of a thing to be done for certain years or days, and to be released at the bishop's discretion; this therefore is penance, and not repentance only or amendment of life, and is expressed by the aforesaid Greek words, as also by another equivalent thereunto. MARTIN, 5. ὑποπίπτειν.

Fulke. I have answered before, we may in all these places use the word of "repentance," as well as this word "repent," the noun as well as the verb. And if we would use the same figure which they do, that call such external testimonies "of repentance" μετάνοια, we might use the word of "amendment of life" also. The prescript time of satisfaction I have said was to the church, which was offended and slandered by their open offences, and to the judgment of the bishops and elders, which had the appointing or releasing of such time of repentance. The other Greek word, which you say is equivalent to μετανοεῖν, namely, ὑποπίπτω, signifieth to fall down under, or to kneel before one, as Tertullian expresseth the phrase *presby-* FULKE, 5. De pœnitentia.

Concil. Ancyr. can. 8. &c.

teris advolvi, aris Dei adgeniculari, for one "to be cast down in humble manner before the elders, to kneel before the altars of God." Hereof ὑπόπτωσις[1] is used for that submission which public penitents did shew to testify their inward humility; and by a metonymy of the sign, is taken for that which it doth signify, namely, humble and hearty repentance, which is approved before men by such outward gestures and tokens of inward grief and humility of mind. So is public fasting in token of repentance by Tertullian called ταπεινοφρόνησις, because it is a sign and token of humiliation and submission of mind, which must of necessity accompany true repentance. Wherefore it is untruly said, that ὑποπίπτω is equivalent with μετανοέω, which signifieth to change the mind from evil to good; whereas the other expresseth but an outward gesture, to signify inward repentance, and that in open repentance only.

De Jejunio.

MARTIN, 6.

Martin. I omit that this very phrase, "to do penance," is word for word expressed thus in Greek, ποιεῖν μετάνοιαν. And Ausonius the christian poet, (whom I may as well allege once, and use it not, as they do Virgil, Terence, and the like, very often,) useth this Greek word so evidently in this sense, that Beza[2] saith, he did it for his verse sake, because another word would not stand so well in the verse. But the reader, I trust, seeth the use and signification of these Greek words by the testimony of the Greek fathers themselves, most ancient and approved.

Litur. Chry. in rubricis. pp. 69. 104. *Melanæa.* Annot. in Matt. iii. 2.

FULKE, 6.

Fulke. You may well omit that which beareth no credit of antiquity. The liturgy is not so ancient as he whose name it beareth; the rubric much less. That Beza

[1 οἱ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας τεταετίαν ὑποπεσέτωσαν. Conc. Ancyr. Can. VIII. Edit. Gesneri 1559. p. 16.]

[2 Ceterum μετανοεῖν, quum est verbum absolutum, proprie significat post factum sapere, et de errore admisso ita dolere ut corrigas: quod (ut opinor) Latinis proprie significat resipiscere. Itaque nunquam ponitur nisi in bono: ut meo quidem judicio Ausonius in illo suo Epigrammate omnibus noto μεταμέλειαν potius quam μετάνοιαν dicturus fuerit, si versus pentametri ratio permisisset. Semper enim μετανοίᾳ cohæret ὁ σωφρονισμὸς, sicut hæc duo recte conjunguntur a Plutarcho in dialogo πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα. Μεταμέλεσθαι vero declarat post rem aliquam factam sollicitum esse et anxium, quod Latini dicunt pœnitere; atque etiam usurpari potest in vitio. Bezæ Nov. Test. p. 5.]

saith of Ausonius using μετάνοια in the sense you mean, it seemeth you do not understand him. For he saith, that μετάνοια is never used but in good part. So that in my judgment Ausonius[3] would have said rather μεταμέλεια than μετάνοια in that his known epigram, if the measure of his pentameter verse would have borne it.

Martin. Thirdly, that the ancient Latin interpreter doth commonly so translate these words throughout the new testament, that needeth no proof, neither will I stand upon it, though it be greater authority than they have any to the contrary, because the adversaries know it and mislike it; and for that and other like points it is belike, that one of them saith it is the worst translation of all, whereas Beza his master saith it is the best of all[4]. So well they agree in judgment, the master and the man.

MARTIN, 7. μετανοεῖν. Pœnitentiam agere.

Dis. of Sand. Rock. p. 147. Præfat. in Nov. Test. an. 1557.

Fulke. The Latin interpreter, as it appeareth in many places, had no perfect understanding of the Greek tongue; but in the Latin it is manifest that he was very rude, insomuch that Lindanus thinketh he was a Grecian rather than a Latinist. Yea, he hath a whole chapter thus intituled, "That the authors of the vulgar translation of the Psalter and the New Testament were Grecians," *nec Latine satis eruditos*, "and not sufficiently learned in the Latin tongue." By which testimony it may be gathered, what credit is to be given to the Latin terms that he useth, differing from the Latin phrase used by them that are learned in that tongue. I could bring example of many terms and phrases, that you yourself are ashamed to follow, which pretend so precise a translation out of the vulgar Latin. What my mislike is of that translation, and how contrary to that which Beza saith thereof, I have opened elsewhere, to your shame. Only here I must tell you, that albeit in respect of learning I disdain not to acknowledge myself Beza's scholar, (of whom, nevertheless, I have learned very little,) yet I would you should know I am no stranger's man, though you, and such traitors as you are, had rather be the pope's men than true servants to the queen of England.

FULKE, 7.

De opt. Gen. in scr. lib. iii. cap. 6.

[3 Sum dea, quæ facti non factique exigo pœnas:
Nempe ut pœniteat, sic Metanœa vocor.
Auson. Epig. in Simulacrum Occasionis et Pœnitentiæ.]

[4 See Beza's opinion of the Vulgate translation in note upon cap. ii. No. 8, p. 175.]

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* I come to the fourth proof, which is, that all the Latin church and the glorious doctors thereof have always read as the vulgar Latin interpreter translateth these words, and expound the same of penance and doing penance. To name one or two for an example. St Augustine's place is very notable, which therefore I set down, and may be translated thus: "Men do penance before baptism of their former sins, yet so that they be also baptized, Peter saying thus: 'Do ye penance, and let every one be baptized.' Men also do penance, if after baptism they do sin, that they deserve to be excommunicated and reconciled again; as in all churches they do which be called *pœnitentes.* For of such penance spake St Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 21, saying, 'That I lament not many of them which before have sinned, and have not done penance for their uncleanness.' We have also in the Acts, that Simon Magus, being baptized, was admonished by Peter to do penance for his grievous sin. There is also in manner a daily penance of the good and humble believers, in which we knock our breasts, saying, 'Forgive us our debts.' For these (venial and daily offences) fasts and alms and prayers are watchfully used, and humbling our souls we cease not after a sort to do daily penance[1]."

Ep. 108.

Agunt homines pœnitentiam. Act. ii.

Sicut agunt qui pœnitentes appellantur.

Act. viii. 18.

Ut ageret pœnitentiam.

Quotidianam agere pœnitentiam.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* That "all the Latin church and the glorious doctors thereof" have always read as the vulgar Latin interpreter translateth, you prove by an example of St Augustine. In which also it is manifest that St Augustine

[1 Agunt enim homines ante baptismum pœnitentiam de suis prioribus peccatis, ita tamen ut etiam baptizentur, sicut scriptum est in Actibus Apostolorum, loquente Petro ad Judæos et dicente: *Agite pœnitentiam et baptizetur unusquisque vestrum in nomine Domini Jesu Christi; et dimittentur vobis peccata vestra.* Agunt etiam homines pœnitentiam, si post baptismum ita peccaverint, ut excommunicari et postea reconciliari mereantur; sicut in omnibus ecclesiis illi qui proprie pœnitentes appellantur. De tali enim pœnitentia locutus est Apostolus Paulus, ubi ait; *Ne iterum cum venero humiliet me Deus apud vos; et lugeam multos ex iis qui ante peccaverunt, et non egerunt pœnitentiam super immunditia, et luxuria, et fornicatione quam egerint:* neque enim scribebat ista, nisi eis qui jam baptizati fuerant. Habemus etiam in Actibus Apostolorum, Simonem jam baptizatum, cum pecunia vellet emere ut per impositionem manus ejus daretur Spiritus Sanctus, admonitum a Petro ut de hoc gravi peccato ageret pœnitentiam. Est etiam pœnitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pœne quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus dicentes: *Dimitte nobis debita nostra,* &c..... Propter hæc jejunia et eleemosynæ et orationes invigilant; in quibus cum dicimus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus,* manifestamus habere nos quod nobis dimittatur: atque in iis verbis humiliantes animas nostras, quotidianam quodammodo agere pœnitentiam non cessamus.—Augustin. Epist. CCLXV. Opera, Vol. II. pp. 1362-1363.]

understandeth the phrase, not only for the exercise of public *pœnitentes*, but also for the inward repentance of the heart. But because you challenge all the doctors of the Latin church for the use of this word *pœnitentia*, I pray you consider what Tertullian writeth against Marcion, who cavilled about the repenting ascribed in scripture to God. *In Græco sono*[2], *&c.* "In the Greek sound the name of 'repentance' is made not of confession of an offence, but of changing of the mind." And in his book *De Pœnitentia*, where he treateth even of public repentance, citing the testimony of John Baptist, he saith, *Non tacet Johannes, Pœnitentiam initote, dicens.* "John holdeth not his peace, saying, 'Begin repentance.'" Hilarius also sheweth what *pœnitentia* doth signify, when he saith, *Peccati pœnitentia est ab eo quod pœnitendum intellexeris destitisse*[3]: "Repentance of sin is to have ceased from that which you have understood that it must be repented of." Likewise against the Novatians that deny repentance, *Cum ad pœnitentiam per quam a peccatis desistitur*[4]: "When unto repentance, by which men cease from sins, the doctrine of the law, prophets, gospels, apostles, exhorteth them that have sinned." And even your vulgar interpreter in Saint Mark saith, *pœnitemini*, for that he saith in Matthew, *Agite pœnitentiam;* by which it is certain that he meaneth one thing in both, namely repentance of heart, and no satisfaction of work.

In Ps. cxviii. Phe [cxix. 136.]

In Psal. cxxxvii.

Mart. In these words of St Augustine it is plain that he speaketh of painful or penitential works for satisfaction of sins, that is, penance; again, that there are three kinds of the same, one before baptism, another after baptism for great offences, greater and longer, the other daily for common and little venial faults, which the best men also commit in this frail nature. Again, that the two former are signified and spoken of in the three places of scripture by him alleged. Where we see that he readeth altogether as the vulgar interpreter translateth, and expoundeth MARTIN, 9.

[2 Nam et in Græco sono pœnitentiæ nomen non ex delicti confessione, sed ex animi demutatione compositum est, quam apud Deum pro rerum variantium sese occursu fieri ostendimus. Tertullian. adv. Marcion. Lib. II. cap. 24. Opera, p. 472. edit. Rigalt. 1641.]

[3 Hilar. in Psalm. cxviii. p. 347. edit. Bened. Paris, 1693.]

[4 Cum ad pœnitentiam, per quam a peccatis desistitur, doctrina legis, prophetarum, evangeliorum, apostolorum eos qui peccaverint adhortetur. Hilar. Tract. in Psal. cxxxvii. p. 500.]

all three places of penance for sin, and so approveth the signification of the Greek word. Yea, in saying that for venial sins we knock our breast, fast, give alms, and pray, and so cease not *quotidianam agere pœnitentiam;* what doth he mean but daily penance and satisfaction? Read also St Cyprian (beside other places) Epist. lii. Num. 6: where his citations of scripture are according to the old Latin interpreter, and his exposition according, of "doing penance" and "making satisfaction" for sins committed. But I need not proceed further in alleging either St Cyprian or other ancient fathers for this purpose, because the adversaries grant it. Howbeit, in what terms they grant it, and how malapertly they accuse all the ancient fathers at once for the same, it shall not be amiss here to put down their words.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* St Augustine speaketh nothing of satisfaction for sins, but, as I have said, of such exercises as were appointed by the church, to testify their repentance. The occasion of all these words was of one that was a Novatian, who said that Peter was not baptized when he was received into repentance after his denial. And where he used this word, *Egisse pœnitentiam*, St Augustine denieth that he did open penance, as they that we properly called *pœnitentes: Quod autem dicitur Petrum egisse pœnitentiam*[1]; "But where it is said that Peter did penance, we must beware that he be not thought so to have done it as they do it in the church which are properly called *pœnitentes*. And who can abide this, that we should think that the chief of the apostles is to be numbered among such penitents? For it repented him that he denied Christ, which thing his tears do shew." These words declare that *agere pœnitentiam*, with Augustine, signifieth to be "inwardly repentant," as well as to do those external works which are tokens of repentance: also that tears, fastings, and such like, are arguments and signs of repentance before God, and not any part of that repentance in deed, and much less any satisfaction for sins. Of this penance, or repentance, of St Peter St Ambrose saith, *Lacrymas ejus lego, satisfac-*

In Luc. lib. x. cap. 22.

[1 Quod autem Petrus dicitur egisse pœnitentiam, cavendum est ne ita putetur egisse, quomodo agunt in ecclesia qui proprie pœnitentes vocantur. Et quis hoc ferat, ut primum apostolorum inter tales pœnitentes numerandum putemus? Pœnituit enim eum negasse Christum, quod ejus indicant lacrymæ. Augustin. Epist. CCLXV. Opera, Vol. II. pp. 1359, 1360.]

tionem non lego[2]; "I read of his tears, I read not of his satisfaction." In that Augustine useth the words of the old interpreter, it is no matter, for he useth also his meaning. But this usage of his proveth not the antiquity of the vulgar Latin translation, but contrariwise it is certain that St Augustine followed another translation; for in the text, 2 Cor. xii., where your vulgar Latin hath, *Super immunditia et fornicatione et impudicitia quam gesserunt*, St Augustine readeth, *Super immunditia et luxuria et fornicatione quam egerunt.* That St Cyprian useth the term *agere pœnitentiam*, and "satisfaction" also, speaking of public repentance, it shall be easily granted; but in none other sense than I have often declared. But where you say that his citations are according to the Latin interpreter, it is false. For Apoc. ii. your vulgar text is, *Memor ésto itaque unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac:* but Cyprian's citation is, *Memento unde cecideris, et age pœnitentiam, et fac priora opera*[3]. Likewise Psalm lxxxviii. you read in your vulgar Latin, *Visitabo in virga iniquitates eorum, et in verberibus peccata eorum:* but Cyprian citeth thus, *Visitabo in virga facinora eorum, et in flagellis delicta eorum.* But that his exposition is of any other penance than of open penance, or of any other satisfaction than of satisfaction to the church, your adversaries will not grant you, although they may grant you that he ascribed too much unto such external tokens of repentance.

Martin. Whereas the reverend, godly, and learned father, Edmund Campion, had objected in his book the protestants' accusation of St Cyprian, for the matter of penance; the good man that answereth for both universities saith thus to that point: "But whereas Magdeburgenses (Lutheran writers of that city) complain that he depraved the doctrine of repentance, they do not feign or forge this crime against him, but utter or disclose it. For all men understand that it was too true. Neither was this Cyprian's fault alone, that he wrote of repentance many things incommodiously and unwisely, but all the most holy fathers almost at that time were in the same error. For whiles they desired to restrain men's manners by severe laws, they made the greatest part of repentance to consist in certain external discipline of life, which themselves prescribed. In that they punished vice severely, they were to be borne

MARTIN, 10.

Whitaker, p 97. cont. ration. Edm. Camp. Doctrinam pœnitentiæ.

De pœnitentia. Imprudenter.

Pœnitentiæ.

[2 Ambros. Oper. Vol. I. p. 1523, edit. Bened.]

[3 Edit. Rigalt. p. 26. Epist. XIII. See Epist. LII. Operâ, p. 72.]

withal; but that by this means they thought to pay the pains due for sins, and to satisfy God's justice, and to procure to themselves assured impunity, remission, and justice; therein they derogated not a little from Christ's death, attributed too much to their own inventions, and finally depraved repentance." Thus far the answerer.

FULKE, 10. *Fulke.* If Campion were such a "reverend, godly, and learned father" among you, whose levity, treason[1], and ignorance in divinity, hath been so lately tried among us, we know how to esteem of the whole pack of you. Whose learning if it had been never so great, as by the time of his study in divinity, and the trade of his travailing life, since he gave himself thereto, no wise man can esteem that it was great; yet being so lately attainted of high treason against the prince and the state, none that is honest and dutiful would have bestowed upon him the commendation of godliness. As for that which M. Whitaker hath answered against him, although not "in the name of both the universities," by whom he was never authorised to be their advocate, yet so as neither of both the universities need be ashamed of his doing; forasmuch as I know he hath confuted your quarrels already, I will leave you in this matter wholly to contend against him; assuring you of my credit (which I know is but small with you) that he shall be found sufficient to match with as strong an adversary as the seminary of Rheims can make out against him.

MARTIN, 11. *Martin.* Mark how he accuseth the fathers in general of no less crime than taking away from Christ the merits of his passion, attributing it to their own penance and discipline. Which if they did, I marvel he should call them in this very place, where he beginneth to charge them with such a crime, *sanctissimos patres*, "most holy fathers." The truth is, he might as well charge St Paul with the same, when he saith we shall "be the heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, yet so if we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him." St Paul saith, our suffering also with Christ is necessary to salvation. Master Whitaker saith, it is a derogation to Christ's suffering. Christ fasted for us, therefore our fasting maketh nothing to salvation. He prayed for us, was

Rom. i.

[1 Campion with other Romish priests was found guilty of treason, according to the Act of 25 Edw. III., and of adhering to the bishop of Rome, the queen's enemy, and of coming into England to disturb the peace and quiet of the realm, and was executed at Tyburn, Dec. 1, 1581. A full account of the trial is given in MS. Harl. 6265. fol. 223.]

scourged, and died for us; therefore our prayer, scourging, and imprisonment, yea, and death itself, for his sake, make nothing to life everlasting; and if we should think it doth, we derogate from Christ's passion. Alas! is this the divinity of England now-a-days, to make the simple believe that the ancient fathers and holy men of the primitive church by their severe life and voluntary penance for their sins, and for the love of Christ, did therein derogate from Christ's merits and passions?

Fulke. If the fathers at some time, by attributing too much to external discipline, were carried somewhat too far, whereby not a little was derogated from the merits of Christ's death; yet they are not charged directly to have impugned the dignity thereof, which, when their eyes were attentively bent upon it, they did worthily magnify and extol. That we must be conformable to the suffering of Christ, if we will be made partakers of his glory, it is the divinity that is now taught in England: but that any sufferings, or any good works of ours whatsoever, do merit any part of eternal glory, the divinity preached in England doth most justly abhor. But that the holy men of the primitive church, by their severe life, and hearty repentance for their sins, testified by tears, fasting, and other chastising of their flesh, for the love of Christ, did derogate from Christ's merits and passion, it is a lewd slander out of France, from the traiterous seminary at Rheims; but no part of the divinity of England, allowed by the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, as you would make simple men believe that it is. FULKE, 11.

Martin. I may not stand upon this point, neither need I. The principal matter is proved by the adversary's confession, that the holy doctors spake, wrote, and thought of "penance," and "doing penance," as we do, in the same terms, both Greek and Latin; and with catholics it is always a good argument, and we desire no better proof than this. The protestants grant all the ancient fathers were of our opinion, and they say it was their error. For, the first part being true, it is madness to dispute whether all the ancient fathers erred, or rather the new protestants; as it is more than madness to think that Luther alone might see the truth more than a thousand Augustines, a thousand Cyprians, a thousand churches: which, notwithstanding the palpable absurdity thereof, yet M. Whitaker avoucheth it very solemnly. MARTIN, 12. p. 101. Ad Rationes decem Edmundi Campiani, 1581.

Fulke. The confession you charge the adversaries to make, is of your own forgery, not of their concession. But, for want of other proof, it was the best you could FULKE, 12.

do, to feign our grant; but you are not able to shew our deeds thereof in writing: as neither of the rest, that "the ancient fathers were all of our opinion, by the protestants' grant," that "Luther might see more of himself alone than," &c.; but whatsoever M. Whitaker hath advouched, I leave to himself to answer.

MARTIN, 13. *Martin.* And yet again, (that the reader may see how they play fast and loose at their pleasure,) this is the man, that when he hath given us all the fathers on our side, not only in the matter of penance, p. 109. p. 101. but also in invocation of saints, and in divers other errors, as he calleth them; the very same man, I say, in the very next leaves almost, pp. 114, 117. reneweth Master Jewel's old brag, that we "have not one clear sentence for us of any one father within six hundred years after Christ;" and again, that "the same faith reigneth now in England, which these fathers professed." What saith M. Whitaker? Not their faith concerning penance, or invocation of saints (as yourself confess), or other such like errors of theirs, as you term them. Why are you so forgetful, or rather so impudent, to speak contraries in so little a room? Such simple answering will not serve your adversary's learned book, which you in vain go about by foolish rhetoric to disgrace; when the world seeth you are driven to the wall, and either can say nothing, or do say that which confuteth itself with the evident absurdity thereof.

FULKE, 13. *Fulke.* Master Whitaker is not so inconsiderate to "play fast and loose," as you are intemperate and untrue in accusing him. Howbeit, there is no doubt but he will meet you, and handle you according to your virtues. But seeing you give such high commendation to Campion's pamphlet, as that you call it a learned book, (wherein, beside a little rank rhetoric, more meet for a boy that learneth to practise his figures, than for a grave divine to use in so serious a cause, there is nothing that any learned man may think worthy of any answer,) we may well perceive what you count learning, and what be the pillars of your popish religion. The books are both in print; let the world judge of both indifferently.

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* But to leave M. Whitaker (who is a simple companion to sit in judgment upon all the ancient doctors, and to condemn them of heinous errors in the matter of penance), I trust the reader seeth, by the former discourse, the usual ecclesiastical signification, and, consequently, both the true and false translation of the foresaid Greek words. μετάνοια. μετανοεῖν. Not that they must or may always be translated "penance," or "doing

penance." For in the scriptures God is said *pœnitentiam agere,* who cannot be said to do penance, no more than he can be said to amend his life, as the protestants commonly translate this word. Therefore I conclude, that this word being spoken of God in the scriptures, is no more prejudice against our translation of doing penance, than it is against theirs, of amendment of life. Likewise when it is spoken of the reprobate and damned in hell; who, as they cannot do penance properly, so much less amend their lives. μετανοεῖν. μετανοοῦντες. Sap. v. Pœnitentiam agentes.

Fulke. Master Whitaker taketh not upon him to "sit in judgment of all the doctors," although he may note some error or other in every one of them, whose writings of any substance do remain with us. But after all this brabbling[1] about *pœnitentiam agere,* you come home, and confess that it must not always be translated "doing of penance:" because God himself, after your vulgar translation, is said, *agere pœnitentiam,* which with the Septuaginta is μετανοεῖν. No man could better have confuted your vain quarrelling than you have done yourself: for by this it is manifest, that the vulgar interpreter did not mean by *agere pœnitentiam* any more than we do by repentance. And therefore the best and the most simple translation is, to use the words "repent" and "repentance." And the Greek word, as Tertullian telleth you, signifieth changing of mind, which may be without acknowledging of error: although it cannot yet be properly said of God that he changeth his mind, when he is said to repent. As likewise it is not necessary that they which be in hell should amend their lives, when it is said they repent. Neither do we translate the word simply "amendment of life," but shew that amendment of life must necessarily follow in them that truly repent, as the scripture teacheth us. FULKE, 14.

Martin. Moreover, it is purposely against penance, that they translate amiss both in Daniel and Esdras, whose voluntary mourning, fasting, afflicting of themselves for their own sins and the people's, is MARTIN, 15. Ezr. c. ix. Dan. x.[2]

[1 Brabbling. To brabble, to clamour, to contest noisily.—Johnson.]

[2 ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἧς ἔδωκας τὴν καρδίαν σου τοῦ συνεῖναι, καὶ κακωθῆναι ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ σου. "Ex die primo, quo posuisti cor tuum ad intelligendum, ut te affligeres in conspectu Dei tui," Vulg. "From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand and to humble thyself before thy God," Geneva Version, 1560.]

notoriously set forth in their books. There they make the angel say thus to Daniel: "From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to humble thyself." What is this humbling himself? can we gather any penance thereby? None at all; but if they had said, according to the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, "From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to afflict thyself," we should easily conceive works of "penance;" and it would include Daniel's mourning, fasting from flesh, wine, and other meats, abstaining from ointments, the space of the days mentioned in the beginning of the same chapter.

Bib. 1572.

κακωθῆναι, ut te affligeres. לְהִתְעַנּוֹת

FULKE, 15.

Fulke. The word "humbling" doth as well comprehend all those exercises of fasting and mourning, which the holy men did use to testify their repentance, and to provoke themselves to hearty repentance for their sins and the sins of the people, as the word "afflicting." Another translation calleth it "chastening." The Hebrew word signifieth "to bring low," or "cast down;" therefore it is spoken of women that are carnally known, which is without affliction. But when it is used of such godly exercises, it declareth for what end they serve, namely, to humble and bring low our proud rebellious nature, and to be signs of humiliation, as St Basil saith of sackcloth and ashes, "not to be by punishment satisfaction for our sins." Your own vulgar Latin interpreter translateth the same word, Gen. xvi. 9, *humiliare*[1], "humble thyself," or "submit thyself under thy mistress' hand," and oftentimes in that sense. And even in this sense of humbling, by signs of repentance, he useth the word *humiliatus*, speaking of Achab, 2 Kings xxi. 29, where the Hebrew word is otherwise. And Psalm xxxv. 13, the same word *ginnethi* he translateth *humiliabam*, "And in their sickness I put on sackcloth, and humbled my soul with fasting." So doth he oftentimes, when such bodily chastisement is signified thereby. Wherefore this, as all the rest, is a false and unreasonable quarrel against our translation, as though by it we meant to deny the use of afflicting or chastening the body with fasting, mourning, and other like exercises of repentance.

עִנִּיתִי

MARTIN; 16.

Martin. Again, in all their bibles of the years 1562, 1577, 1579, they make Esdras, ix. 5, after his exceeding great penance, say only

[1 Ἀποστράφηθι πρὸς τὴν κυρίαν σου, καὶ ταπεινώθητι ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῆς, Gen. xvi. 9. "Revertere ad dominam tuam, et humiliare sub manu illius," Vulg. "Return to thy dame, and humble thyself under her hands," Geneva Version, 1560.]

this, "About the evening sacrifice I arose up from my heaviness:" neither translating the Hebrew, which is the same word that in Daniel, nor the Greek, which signifieth affliction and humiliation. ἀπὸ τῆς ταπεινώσεώς μου. מִתַּעֲנִיתִי

Fulke. First, your Greek text of Esdras confirmeth our translation of Daniel. Secondly, I say, that by this "heaviness" they mean all that humiliation and affliction whereof he spake before; which is easy for every man to understand, that is not blinded with malice. And what other thing is affliction but heaviness, grief, and sorrow, whereof the holy man spake twice before, I think no wise man can tell. FULKE, 16.

Martin. Again, in the prophet Malachi, iii. 14[a], they translate thus, "Ye have said, It is but vain to serve God, and what profit is it that we have kept his commandments, and walked humbly before his face?" What is this same "humbly?" When we say in English, "he goeth humbly," we imagine or conceive no more but this, that he is an humble man, and behaveth himself humbly: but they know very well the prophet speaketh of another thing; and if it had pleased them to have translated the Hebrew word fully and significantly, in the sense of the Holy Ghost, they might have learned by conference of other places, where the same Hebrew word is used, that it signifieth such heaviness, sadness, sorrowfulness, and affliction, as men express by black mourning garments; the nature of the word importing blackness, darkness, lowering, and the like: which is far more than walking humbly, and which is wholly suppressed by so translating. See the psalms xxxiv. 14, xxxvii. 7, xli. 10; where the prophet useth many words and speeches to express sorrowful penance; and for that which in Latin is always *contristatus*, in Greek a word more significant, in Hebrew it is the same kind of word that they translate "humbly." Whereas indeed this word hath no signification of humility properly, no, not of that humility I mean, which is rather to be called humiliation, or affliction, as the Greek words imply. But it signifieth properly the very manner, countenance, gesture, habit of a pensive or forlorn man: and if they will say that they so translate it in other places, the more is their fault, that knowing the nature of the word, they will notwithstanding suppress the force and signification thereof in any one place, and so translate it that the reader must needs take it in another sense, and MARTIN, 17. קֹדֶר πενθῶν καὶ σκυθρωπάζων. קֹדֶר קַדְרֻנִּית κακωθῆναι, ταπεινωθῆναι.

[[a] Εἴπατε, *μάταιος ὁ δουλεύων Θεῷ, καὶ τί πλέον, ὅτι ἐφυλάξαμεν τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ διότι ἐπορεύθημεν ἱκέται πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου παντοκράτορος*, Mal. iii. 14. "Et quia ambulavimus tristes," Vulg. Cranmer's, the Genevan, and the Bishop's Bible render ἱκέται "humbly," and the two latter have the rest of the verse as given by Martin.]

cannot possibly conceive that which the word importeth; for "to walk humbly" soundeth in all English ears the virtue of humility which this word doth never signify, and not humility or humiliation by affliction, which it may signify, though secondarily, and by deduction only.

FULKE, 17.

Fulke. What a many of vain words are here spent, to make a vain cavil seem to be of some value! What the etymology of the Hebrew word is, the translators knew before you were born. But what the word signifieth here, Pagnine is sufficient to teach both you and them, who thus interpreteth it, *In obscuro, id est, obscure, id est, humiliter:* "In the dark, that is, darkly, that is, humbly." Your vulgar Latin translator calleth it *tristes*, which is as far from your pretended "penance," as "humility." The Septuaginta translate the word *οἰκέται*, which signifieth "servile" or "servants." Benedict Arias expoundeth it *supplices*, "humble." And, to put all out of quarrelling, the antithesis or opposition of the proud and arrogant, in the next verse following, proveth that in this verse they speak of humility, which is contrary to pride, and not of the tokens of repentance, which are mourning apparel, and such like.

MARTIN, 18.

Martin. Again, what is it else but against penance and satisfaction, that they deface these usual and known words of Daniel to the king, *Redime eleemosynis peccata tua*, "Redeem thy sins with alms[1];" altering and translating it thus, "Break off thy sins by righteousness?" First, the Greek is against them, which is word for word according to the vulgar and common reading: secondly, the Chaldee word which they translate, "break off," by Munster's own judgment, *in lexico Chald.*, signifieth rather, and more principally, "to redeem." Thirdly, the other word, which they translate "righteousness," in the scriptures signifieth also *eleemosynam*, as the Greek interpreters translate it, Deut. vi. and xxiv.; and it is most plain in St Matthew, where our Saviour saith (Matt. vi. 1), "Beware you do not your justice before men," which is in other Greek copies, "your alms." And S. Augustine proveth it by the very text: for, saith he, "as though a man might ask, what justice? he addeth, when thou dost an almsdeed. He signified therefore that alms are the works of justice." And in the psalm they are made one, "He distributed, he gave to the poor; his justice remaineth for ever and ever:" which Beza translateth, "his beneficence or liberality remaineth, &c." Again, St Jerome, a sufficient

Dan. iv. 24.

ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι.

בְּצִדְקָה פְרֹק

δικαιοσύνην. ἐλεημοσύνην.

In Ps. xlix. 5.

Psal. cxi. [cxii.]

[1] Καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι, &c., Dan. iv. 24. "Et peccata tua eleemosynis redime," Vulg.]

doctor to tell the signification of the Hebrew or Chaldee words, both translateth it so and expoundeth it so in his commentary. Moreover, the words that immediately follow in Daniel interpret it so unto us, "And thy iniquities with mercies to the poor." Lastly, Beza himself saith, "that by the name of justice with the Hebrews is also signified beneficence or beneficialness to the poor; yea, and that in this place of Daniel it is specially taken for alms." So that we see there is no impediment, neither in the Chaldee nor Greek, why they might not have said, as the church of God always hath said, "Redeem thy sins with alms, and thy iniquities with mercies to the poor;" but their heresy will not suffer them to speak after the catholic manner, that alms and merciful deeds are a redemption, ransom, and satisfaction for sins.

Annot. in Matt. vi. 1.

2 Cor. ix.

Fulke. Against popish penance and satisfaction, there is no doubt, but the translators were vehemently affected; yet in this translation they have used no prejudice against repentance, and the true fruits thereof, but rather more straitly have urged the same. For first, whereas in the vulgar Latin text there is no word of "repenting from sins," or "forsaking of sins," our translator, using the term of "breaking off his sins," signifieth that all alms, and other apparent good deeds, without repentance and breaking off the cause of the former sinful life, are in vain and unprofitable. Secondly, where the vulgar translator useth the word of "redeeming," or "buying out," which might bring the king into vain security, to think he might satisfy for his sins, without repentance, by giving of alms, which is a small penance for a king; our translators tell him, "that he must break off his sins," before any thing that he doth be acceptable to God. Thirdly, whereas the vulgar interpreter requireth of him nothing but alms and mercy to the poor, which was a very easy thing for him to perform; our translators enjoin him righteousness, which comprehendeth all virtues, and is a thousand-fold harder penance for such a mighty monarch, than giving of alms, and that to poor folks, which he should never feel. Fourthly, the words are plain for our translation: for *pherak*, the Chaldee verb, signifieth as properly and as principally to "dissolve" or "break off," as, to "deliver" or "redeem." Neither is Munster's judgment otherwise, although he give the other signification first; which is a miserable argument to prove that it signifieth rather and more principally "to redeem." But if any signi-

FULKE, 18.

פְּרַק

fication were more principal than other, it were more reason to say, that *pherak* signifieth rather and more principally "to break" or "dissolve," because the word signifieth so in the Hebrew tongue, from whence the Chaldee is derived. And indeed, "delivering" is a kind of "dissolving," or "breaking from him" to whom he was before addict or bound. So that the verb helpeth you nothing, but rather maketh more against you. The other word, although very seldom by synecdoche it be taken for alms, yet every boy almost in Cambridge knoweth, that it signifieth properly and principally "universal justice," or "all righteousness:" therefore the Chaldee text is plain for our translation, and enforced for yours of alms; being against all reason, that the prophet should exhort the king to giving alms, before he had exhorted him to repentance and forsaking of his sins. Beside that, it is contrary to the whole scope of the scriptures to teach any other satisfaction or redemption from sin than the death and passion of Christ. But where you tell us of St Jerome's translation, it were somewhat worth if you could shew it. The vulgar Latin text we may not grant you to be St Jerome's: as for his commentary, [it] teacheth not the word of redeeming, which is the principal word in controversy. And indeed it is a very absurd kind of speech, to say, "redeem thy sins," or "deliver thy sins;" for *pherak* signifieth none otherwise to redeem, than to deliver: whereas, if he had meant as you think, he should have said rather, "redeem thy soul from sins." Christ himself, the author of our redemption, is not said to have redeemed our sins with his blood, but to have redeemed us from our sins by his blood.

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MARTIN, 19. *Martin.* And what a miserable humour is it in these cases to fly as far as they can from the ancient received speech of holy scripture, that hath so many years sounded in all faithful ears, and to invent new terms and phrases, when the original text, both Greek and Hebrew, favoureth the one as much or more than the other? as, that they choose to say in the epistle to Titus[1], (where the apostle exceedingly

[1 ἵνα φροντίζωσι καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες τῷ Θεῷ, Tit. iii. 8. "Ut curent bonis operibus præesse qui credunt Deo," Vulg. "Might be diligent to go forward in good works," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible. "Might be diligent to maintain good works," Geneva. "Might be careful to maintain good works," Authorised version. "Be careful to excel in good works," Rheims.]

exhorteth to good works,) "maintain good works," and "shew forth good works," rather than according to the ancient Latin translation, *bonis operibus præesse*, "to be chief and principal in doing good works;" which is the very true and usual signification of the Greek word, and implieth a virtuous emulation among good men, who shall do most good works, or excel in that kind. But they that look to be saved by faith only, no marvel if neither their doings nor translations tend to any such excellency.

προΐστασθαι καλῶν ἔργων.

Fulke. What a miserable humour is it, when the truth is plainly revealed by knowledge of the tongues, which was hidden from many of the ancient fathers, to delight rather in error which is old, than in truth which is newly discovered! The word προΐστασθαι in the epistle to Titus, we translate also to "excel;" and it may signify, either "to shew forth," "to maintain," or "to excel." And therefore your wrangling is vain and without reason. For that christian men ought with all diligent labour to excel in good works, it is always acknowledged of us, although they must not look to be saved by their works, no, nor by their faith only, if their faith be not fruitful of good works. Such collections as these, and much better, it were no hard matter to make a great number against you, to prove that you are enemies to faith, to repentance, to good works, and to God himself. FULKE, 19.

CHAPTER XIV.

Heretical Translation against the Holy Sacraments, namely Baptism and Confession.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* ANOTHER sequel of their only faith is, that the sacraments also help nothing toward our salvation; and therefore they partly take them clean away, partly deprive them of all grace, virtue, and efficacy, making them poor and beggarly elements, either worse or no better than those of the old law.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* "That the sacraments help nothing toward our salvation," is another of Martin's slanders, no assertion of ours. For seeing we hold that the sacraments are seals of God's promises, to confirm our faith by which we are justified before him, how can we affirm that they help nothing to salvation? But this is the property of liars and slanderers, when they have nothing of truth to charge their adversaries, then they either invent that which was never said or done by them, or else they violently draw out of their sayings or doings by depraving them some colour of matter to serve for a shew of their slanders. So doth our wrangler in this place after a flat lie solemnly advouched against us, of that we say, the sacraments give no grace *ex opere operato*, "of the work wrought," he frameth his spider's web, first, "that we deprive them of all grace, virtue, and efficacy;" because we do not include grace, virtue, and efficacy, within the external elements, or the ministry of man about them; but ascribe the same to the mighty work of God's Spirit in his chosen children, which worketh all his gifts in all men according to the good pleasure of his own will: secondly, "that we make the sacraments poor and beggarly elements: and thirdly, "either worse or no better than those of the old law." The spiritual matter, indeed, of the sacraments of both the testaments we confess to be Jesus Christ, of equal power unto salvation of his people living under both the states: but the more abundant grace and truth, according to the revelation of Christ in the flesh, we acknowledge to be testified and exhibited in our sacraments, than was in theirs that lived under the law.

Martin. For this purpose Beza is not content to speak as the apostle doth, Rom. iv. 11[1], that circumcision was "a seal[2] of the justice of faith;" but because he thinketh that too small a term for the dignity of circumcision, as himself confesseth, "he gladly avoideth it" (I use his own words), and for the noun putteth the verb, so dissolutely and presumptuously, that the English Bezites themselves here also dare not follow him in translation, though in opinion they agree. The cause of his wilful translation he declareth in his annotations upon the same place, to wit, the dignity of circumcision, equal with any sacrament of the new testament. His words be these: "What," saith he, "could be spoken more magnifical of any sacrament? Therefore they that put a real difference between the sacraments of the old testament and ours, never seem to have known how far Christ's office extendeth." Which he saith, not to magnify the old, but to disgrace the new. MARTIN, 2. σφραγὶς. Libens refugi. Quod obsignaret, for, sigillum.

Fulke. There was never man that had such an artificial conjecture of men's purposes as you pretend yourself to have; which not only where there is likelihood to fasten a conjecture upon, but also when all likelihoods are against you, yet can so confidently pronounce of every man's purpose. Well, let the purpose go; which is known best to God, and next to them that will judge of the man according to charity and good reason. You say, Beza is not content to speak as the apostle doth, "that circumcision was a seal of the justice of faith." Yes, verily, his desire is to express that which the apostle saith to the full. The name of "seal" therefore he avoideth not, as you falsely slander him; but for want of a convenient Latin word to express the apostle's Greek word, he is content to use circumlocution by the verb, and saith, "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, which should seal up, or by seal confirm, the justice of faith," &c.; yet are FULKE, 2.

[1 Καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβε περιτομῆς, σφραγῖδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ· εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν δικαιοσύνην. Rom. iv. 11. "Et signum accepit circumcisionis, quod obsignaret justitiam fidei, quæ fuerat in præputio: ut esset pater omnium credentium in præputio, ut imputetur etiam ipsis justitia," Beza. "Et signum accepit circumcisionis, signaculum justitiæ fidei quæ est in præputio: ut sit pater omnium credentium per præputium, ut reputetur et illis ad justitiam," Vulg.]

[2 Quod obsignaret, σφραγῖδα. Quid magnificentius dici de ullo sacramento possit? Itaque qui veteris fœderis sacramenta a nostris re ipsa distinguunt, nunquam videntur Christi officium quam late pateat cognovisse, Bezæ Nov. Test. p. 180.]

not you ashamed most impudently to say he refused the term of "seal," *sigillum*, and for *sigillum* hath used *quod obsignaret:* whereas the word that he saith he refused is *signaculum. Signaculi nomen quod vetus interpres et Erasmus usurpavit libens refugi, partim quod non sit admodum usitatum, partim quod non satis videatur illam vim obsignationis declarare:* "The term *signaculum*, which the old interpreter and Erasmus hath used, I have willingly refused: partly, because it is no very usual word; partly, because it seemeth not sufficiently to declare that virtue or efficacy of sealing." You see therefore what word he avoideth, and for what cause; and that your eyes were not matches, or else they were dazzled with a mist of malice, when you read that he avoided *sigillum*, and placed *quod obsignaret* for *sigillum*. The word *sigillum* as he useth not, so doth he make no mention of it, I think, because it being a diminutive of *signum*, and taken sometimes for a little image, *unde sigillares*, &c., it is not proper nor full to express the Greek word σφραγίς. That he maketh circumcision equal unto the sacraments of the new testament, I have shewed before, that it is in matter, substance, and end; which he that confesseth not (as Beza saith) "seemeth never to have known how far the office of Christ extendeth": but that he hath any purpose to disgrace the sacraments of the new testament, instituted by Christ himself in a more clear dispensation of grace and truth, you affirm with the same credit by which you said he put *quod obsignaret* for *sigillum*.

Usurpant. edit. 1556. Nov. Test. p. 160.

MARTIN, 3. *Martin.* Which is also the cause why not only he, but the English bibles, (for commonly they join hands and agree together,) to make no difference between John's baptism and Christ's, translate thus concerning certain that had not yet received the Holy Ghost[1]: "Unto

Acts xix. 3.

[1] Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε; οἱ δὲ εἶπον, Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. Acts xix. 3. "In quo ergo baptizati estis? Qui dixerunt, in Johannis baptismate," Vulg. "In quid ergo baptizati estis? at illi dixerunt, in Johannis baptisma," Beza. "Therefore in what thing be ye baptized? and they said, In the baptism of John," Wiclif. "Wherewith were ye then baptized? and they said, With John's baptism," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Unto what were ye then baptized? and they said, Unto John's baptism," Geneva. "Unto what then were ye baptized? and they said, Unto John's baptism," Authorised version. "In what then were you baptized? who said, In John's baptism," Rheims.]

what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism." Which Beza in a long discourse proveth to be spoken of John's doctrine, and not of his baptism in water. As though it were said, What doctrine then do ye profess? and they said, John's. Whereas indeed the question is this, and ought thus to be translated, "In what then, or wherein were you baptized? And they said, In John's baptism." As who should say, we have received John's baptism, but not the Holy Ghost as yet. And therefore it followeth immediately, "Then they were baptized in the name of Jesus," and after imposition of hands "the Holy Ghost came upon them." Whereby is plainly gathered, that being baptized with John's baptism before, and yet of necessity baptized afterward with Christ's baptism also, there must needs be a great difference between the one baptism and the other, John's being insufficient. And that this is the deduction which troubleth these Bezites, and maketh them translate accordingly, Beza (as commonly still he uttereth his grief) telleth us in plain words thus: "It is not necessary, that wheresoever there is mention of John's baptism, we should think it to be the very ceremony of baptism. Therefore they that gather John's baptism to have been diverse from Christ's, because these a little after are said to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, have no sure foundation." Lo, how of purpose he translateth and expoundeth it John's doctrine, not John's baptism, to take away the foundation of this catholic conclusion, that his baptism differeth and is far inferior to Christ's. Anno. in Acts xix.

Fulke. And is John's baptism now made a sacrament of the old law? was John the Baptist a minister of the law, or of the gospel? Our Saviour Christ is sufficient to teach us that the law and the prophets prophesied until John; "but from the days of John the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence." But if you will make John's baptism a sacrament of the new testament, and yet differing from the baptism of Christ, then you make two baptisms of the new testament, contrary to the Nicene Creed, and Christ himself, who was baptized for us, baptized with the worse. But concerning that place, Acts xix., which hath troubled so many interpreters with the obscurity thereof, or rather with a prejudicate opinion of a difference in the baptism of John and of Christ, I am neither of Beza's opinion, nor yet of our translators', for the understanding and translation of that place: neither do I think that mention is made of any second baptism, the avoiding whereof hath bred divers forced interpretations; but that St Paul instructeth those disciples that knew not the grace of the Holy Ghost, that they which heard John's FULKE, 3. Matt. xi.

preaching to the people, that they should believe in Christ Jesus, which was coming after him, were also baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, who had granted those visible graces of his holy Spirit to be bestowed upon them that believed by imposition of the apostles' hands. Thus therefore I am persuaded those verses are to be translated: "But Paul said, John truly baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying to the people, that they should believe in him that cometh after him, that is in Jesus; and they which heard him, were baptized into the name of our Lord Jesus. And after Paul had laid his hands upon," &c. The argument of difference thereof, grounded upon this place, is nothing worth; where the baptism of John is confirmed by the imposition of hands, rather than disgraced by reiteration; which giveth strength to the error of the Donatists and Anabaptists for rebaptization: whereas it cannot be proved, that any which were once baptized by John were ever baptized again. But the contrary may easily be gathered: for seeing our Saviour Christ baptized none himself, it shall follow that the apostles were either not baptized at all, or else baptized only with John's baptism. And where there is express mention of John's disciples, that came unto Christ to become his disciples, there is no mention of any other baptism than they had already received.

MARTIN, 4. *εἰς τί.*

Martin. But doth the Greek lead him, or force him to this translation, *in quid?* "unto what?" First, himself confesseth in the very same place the contrary, that the Greek phrase is often used in the other sense, "wherein," or, "wherewith," as it is in the vulgar Latin and Erasmus; but that in his judgment it doth not so signify here, and therefore he refuseth it. Yet in the very next verse almost, where it is said by the same Greek phrase, "that they were baptized in the name of Jesus Christ," there both he and his so translate it as we do, and not "unto the name of Christ." Is it not plain, that all is voluntary and at their pleasure? For, I beseech them, if it be a right translation, "baptized in the name of Jesus," why is it not right, "baptized in the baptism of John?" Is there any difference in the Greek? none. Where then? in their commentaries and imaginations only, against which we oppose and set both the text and the commentaries of all the fathers.

εἰς τὸ ὄνομα.

FULKE, 4.

Fulke. The Greek doth allow him so to translate; and "to be baptized in the name of Jesus," and "into the name of

Jesus," is all one; as "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," or "into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," is all one. But if Beza, that hath discovered the truth in so many places, did not see it in this one text, as neither you nor any of the fathers which have written upon it, who are not many; he is rather to be pardoned of all reasonable men, than to be railed upon by such one, who in learning is no more like him, than a goose to a swan in singing.

Martin. But no marvel if they disgrace the baptism of Christ, when they are bold also to take it away altogether, interpreting this scripture, "Unless a man be born again of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God[1]," (which a man would think were plain enough to prove, that water in baptism is necessary,) interpreting, I say, this scripture, "of water and the Spirit," thus, of water, that is, the Spirit; making water to be nothing else in this place but the Spirit allegorically, and not material water. As though our Saviour had said to Nicodemus, "Unless a man be born of water," I mean, "of the Spirit, he cannot enter," &c. According to this most impudent exposition of plain scriptures, Calvin translateth also as impudently for the same purpose in the epistle to Titus, making the apostle to say, that God poured the water of regeneration upon us abundantly, that is, the Holy Ghost[2]. And lest we should

MARTIN, 5.

John iii. 5.

Beza in John iv. 10. and in Tit. iii. 5.

Tit. iii. 5. Per lavacrum regenerationis Spiritus Sancti, quod enudit in nos abunde.

[1 ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. John iii. 5.

Aquam vivam, ὕδωρ ζῶν. Hic quidem (nempe in Joh. iv. 10) non dubium est quin allegorice per aquam intelligatur immensa illa caritas Dei erga nos in Filio effusa in corda nostra per Spiritum Sanctum in vitam æternam, cujus fit mentio, Rom. v. 5, neque video cur aliter sit explicandum quod scriptum est supra, iii. 5. Bezæ Nov. Test. p. 112.]

[2 Οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων τῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὧν ἐποιήσαμεν ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔλεον ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς, διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος ἁγίου, οὗ ἐξέχεεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς πλουσίως, Tit. iii. 5, 6. "Non ex operibus justis quæ fecerimus nos, sed ex sua misericordia servavit nos per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationem Spiritus Sancti quem effudit in nos copiose," Bezæ Vers. "Not of the deeds of righteousness which we wrought, but of his mercy he saved us, by the fountain of the new birth and with the renewing of the Holy Ghost which he shed on us abundantly," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly," Authorised version. "Not by the works of justice which we did, but according to his mercy he hath saved us by the laver of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured on us abundantly," Rhemish version.]

not understand his meaning herein, he telleth us in his commentary upon this place, that when the apostle saith "water poured out abundantly," he speaketh not of material water, but of the Holy Ghost. Now indeed the apostle saith not, that water was poured upon us, but the Holy Ghost; neither doth the apostle make water and the Holy Ghost all one, but most plainly distinguisheth them, saying, "that God of his mercy hath saved us by the laver of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured upon us abundantly." See how plainly the apostle speaketh both of the material water, or washing of baptism, and of the effect thereof, which is the Holy Ghost poured upon us. Calvin taketh away water clean, and will have him speak only of the Holy Ghost, which Flaccus Illyricus the Lutheran himself wondereth at, that any man should be so bold, and calleth it plain sacrilege against the efficacy of the sacraments.

Quem effudit, as Beza himself translateth.

Comment. in hunc locum.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* The sacrament of baptism, how far we are from disgracing, or taking it away altogether, when we affirm that the grace of God's Spirit is not so tied unto it but he may work regeneration without it in them that by necessity are deprived of it, let all men of reason and indifferency judge. Our translation of John iii. 5 being such as he can find nothing to quarrel against it, he beginneth a new controversy of our interpretation, by which he might bring in five hundred places of scripture in which we differ from them in exposition. And a great absurdity he thinketh he hath found out, in that we expound the water and Spirit to signify one thing: as though in Matt. iii. 16, "the Holy Ghost and fire," are not put both for one thing: and he may as well in the one place urge the element of fire in the baptism of Christ, as by this place prove the necessity of baptism in water. And yet we take not away the sacrament of baptism, or the water, the external matter thereof, which in other places is expressly commanded, when we say it is not spoken of in this text, which is of the thing signified in baptism, rather than of baptism; as in John vi. our Saviour speaketh in like terms of the thing represented in the sacrament of his supper, not of the sacrament itself. The error of Calvin's translation and exposition of Titus iii. 5, we have before confessed, neither doth any of our translations follow him; and yet his error is no heresy, while he ascribeth wholly to the Holy Ghost that which properly is his, but yet of the apostle is figuratively ascribed unto the outward element, by which he worketh.

Martin. And if we should here accuse the English translators also, that translate it thus, "by the fountain of the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us," &c., making it indifferent, either which fountain, or which Holy Ghost he shed, &c., they would answer by and by that the Greek also is indifferent; but if a man should ask them further, whether the Holy Ghost may be said to be shed, or rather a fountain of water? they must needs confess, not the Holy Ghost, but water; and consequently that they translating, "which he shed," would have it meant of the fountain of water: and so they agree just with Calvin's translation, and leave Beza, who in his translation referreth it only to the Holy Ghost, as we do, but in his commentary playeth the heretic, as Calvin doth. MARTIN, 6. Sp. Sancti, quem effudit.

Fulke. When Aristides could be accused of no crime, he was by his envious enemies accused of justice. Even so this man, who is wont to prescribe us a rule, to leave that in ambiguity which in the Greek is ambiguous, now blameth us for translating so, as either Calvin's or Beza's sense may stand with it. And albeit in all other places he is content to make us Beza's scholars; yet here, because Calvin hath the worse part, he will enforce us to leave Beza and stick to Calvin. Such a force hath malice when it is settled in man's heart, that it carrieth him oftentimes headlong against himself. But seeing the Holy Ghost, as the nearest antecedent, is placed next before the relative, why must we needs confess, not the Holy Ghost, but water to be shed upon us? Is any man so brutish to believe the bold surmises (what said I, surmises? nay, impudent and contentious affirmations,) of this blind Bayard?[1] FULKE, 6.

Martin. Of the sacrament of penance I have spoken before, concerning that part specially which is satisfaction: here I will only add of confession, that to avoid this term, namely in such a place where the reader might easily gather sacramental confession, they translate thus, "Acknowledge your faults one to another," James v. It is said a little MARTIN, 7. ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, whereof confession is called in S. Cyprian and other fathers, Exomologesis.[2]

[1 A name frequently used in old writers for a *horse*.]

[2 Ante expiata delicta, ante exomologesin factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis. Cyprian. de lapsis, fol. cxvi. edit. Paris. 1512. 4to. 1829, p. 371.

Hujus igitur pœnitentiæ secundæ et unius, quanto in arcto negotium est, tanto operatior probatio; ut non sola conscientia proferatur, sed aliquo etiam actu administretur. Is actus, qui magis Græco vocabulo exprimitur et frequentatur, exomologesis est. Tertullian. de Pœnitent. cap. ix.]

before, if any be diseased, "let him bring in priests," &c. and then it followeth, "Confess your faults," &c. But they, to make all sure, for "confess" say "acknowledge;" and for "priests," "elders." What mean they by this? If this acknowledging of faults one to another before death be indifferently to be made to all men, why do they appoint in their communion-book, (as it seemeth, out of this place,) that the sick person shall make a special confession to the minister, and he shall absolve him in the very same form of absolution that catholic priests use in the sacrament of confession? Again, if this acknowledging of faults be specially to be made to the minister or priest, why translate they it not by the word "confessing" and "confession," as well as by "acknowledging?" and why is not this confession a sacrament, where themselves acknowledge forgiveness of sins by the minister? These contradictions and repugnance of their practice and translation if they can wittily and wisely reconcile, they may perhaps in this point satisfy the reader. But whether the apostle speak here of sacramental confession or no, sincere translators should not have fled from the proper and most usual word of "confession" or "confessing," consonant both to the Greek and Latin, and indifferent to whatsoever the Holy Ghost might mean, as this word "acknowledge" is not.

In the order of visitation of the sick.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* Of the word of "penance," and thereupon to wring in "satisfaction," we have heard more than enough: but that penance is a sacrament, we have heard never a word to prove it. But what say we against "confession?" Forsooth, James v. we translate ἐξομολογεῖσθε, "acknowledge yourselves." Why, sir, doth acknowledging signify any other thing than confessing? You want then nothing else but the sound of "confession," which among the ignorant would help you little, which term your popish acknowledging rather "shrift" than "confession." It is marvel then, that you blame us not because we say not, "shrive yourselves one to another." A miserable sacrament, that hath need of the sound of a word to help it to be gathered! But how, I pray you, should the reader gather your auricular shrift, or popish confession, if the word "confess yourselves" were used by us? I ween, because the priests are called in a little before. It is more than enough, if you might gain your sacrament of anealing by their coming in: but shrift cometh too late after extreme unction. Well, admit, the apostle forgot the order, and placed it after, which should come before; must we needs have priestly confession proved out of that place? Doth not St James say, "confess yourselves one to another," as he saith, "pray one for another?" Then it followeth, that the

layman must shrive the priest, as well as the priest must shrive the layman; and the priest must confess himself to the people, as well as the people must pray for the priest.

But you have an objection out of the communion-book, to prove confession to be a sacrament, which appointeth, that the sick person shall make a special confession to the minister, and he to absolve him, &c. Will you never leave this shameless cogging and forging of matters against us? The communion-book appointeth a special confession only for them that "feel their conscience troubled with any weighty matter," that they may receive counsel and comfort by the minister, who hath authority in the name of God to remit sins, not only to them that be sick, but also to them that be whole, and daily doth pronounce the absolution to them that acknowledge and confess their sins before God. But hereof it followeth not, that this confession is a sacrament: for by preaching the people that believe are absolved from their sins, by the ministry of the preacher; yet is not preaching a sacrament. A sacrament must have an outward element, or bodily creature, to represent the grace of remission of sins, as in baptism, and in the Lord's supper.

But where you conclude, that "sincere translators should not have fled the proper and most usual word of 'confession,'" you speak your pleasure; for the word of "acknowledging" is more proper and usual in the English tongue, than is the word of "confessing." And if you can prove any sacrament out of that text, behold, you have the Greek and Latin untouched, and the English answerable to both: make your syllogism out of that place to prove popish shrift, when you dare.

CHAPTER XV.

Heretical Translation against the Sacrament of Holy Orders, and for the Marriage of Priests and Votaries.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* AGAINST the sacrament of orders, what can they do more in translation, than in all their bibles to take away the name of "priest" and "priesthood" of the new testament altogether, and for it to say
Chap. vi. "elder" and "eldership?" Whereof I treated more at large in another place of this book. Here I add these few observations, that both for priests and deacons, which are two holy orders in the catholic church, they translate "ministers," to commend that new degree devised by
Eccles. vii. 31. ἱερεῖς. themselves. As when they say in all their bibles, "Fear the Lord with all thy soul, and honour his ministers." In the Greek it is plain thus, "and honour his priests," as the word always signifieth; and in the
ἱερία. very next sentence themselves so translate, "Fear the Lord and honour the priest.[1]" But they would needs borrow one of these places for the
1 Tim. iii. honour of "ministers." As also in the epistle to Timothy, where St Paul talketh of deacons, and nameth them twice: they in the first place
Bib. 1562. & 1577. translate thus, "Likewise must the ministers be honest," &c. And a little after, "Let the deacons be the husbands of one wife," Lo, the
Διάκονοι. Greek word, being one, and the apostle, speaking of one ecclesiastical order of deacons, and Beza so interpreting it in both places, yet our English translators have allowed the first place to their ministers, and the second to deacons, and so, because bishops also went before, they have found us out their three orders, bishops, ministers, and deacons. Alas, poor souls! that can have no place in scripture for their ministers, but by making the apostle speak three things for two.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* For the names of "priest," and "elder," we have spoken heretofore sufficiently, as also for the name of "minister," which is used for the same that elder and priest, although the word signify more generally. That the word "ministers" is put for "priests," I take it rather to be an oversight of the first translator, whom the rest followed, because that λειτουργοὺς cometh immediately after, than any purpose against the order of "priest," or to dignify the name

[1 Ἐν ὅλῃ ψυχῇ σου εὐλαβοῦ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ θαύμαζε· ἐν ὅλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάπησον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε, καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς. φοβοῦ τὸν Κύριον, καὶ δόξασον ἱερέα. Eccles. vii. 29, 30, 31.]

of "ministers." For, seeing Sirach's son speaketh of the priests and ministers of the law, his saying can make nothing to or fro for the names of the ministers, priests or elders of the new testament. That some translations in 1. Tim. iii. for διάκονοι render "ministers," it is because they supposed the Greek word to be taken there in the general sense, as it is in many other places; not to make three degrees of two, as you do fondly cavil. For the orders of bishops, elders, or, as you call them, priests, and as they be commonly called priests and ministers, is all one in authority of ministering the word and the sacraments. The degree of bishops, as they are taken to be a superior order unto elders or priests, is for government and discipline, specially committed unto them; not in authority of handling the word and the sacraments."

Martin. There are in the scripture that are called "ministers" in infinite places, and that by three Greek words commonly: but that is a large signification of "minister," attributed to all that minister, wait, serve, or attend to do any service ecclesiastical or temporal, sacred or profane. If the word be restrained to any one peculiar service or function, as one of the Greek words is, then doth it signify "deacons" only; which if they know not, or will not believe me, let them see Beza himself, in his annotations upon St Matthew, who protested that in his translation he useth always the word "minister" in the general signification, and *diaconus* in the special and peculiar ecclesiastical function of "deacons." So that yet we cannot understand, neither can they tell us, whence their peculiar calling and function of "minister" cometh, which is their second degree under a bishop, and is placed instead of "priests." MARTIN, 2. Annot. c. v. 25

Fulke. What the general word of "minister" signifieth, how it is taken, both generally and specially, we are not so ignorant that we need be taught of you: and yet all learned men are not agreed, when the Greek word διάκονος is restrained to the minister of the poor, and when it signifieth generally all the officers in the church. As for the name of "minister," by which elders or priests are commonly called among us, I have even now, and divers times before, shewed upon what occasion it was taken up so to be applied, which yet generally signifieth all that serve in the church, and commonwealth also. FULKE, 2.

MARTIN, 3. *Martin.* Again, what can be more against the dignity of sacred orders and ecclesiastical degrees, than to make them profane and secular by their terms and translations? For this purpose, as they translate "elders" and "eldership" for "priests" and "priesthood," so do they most impudently term St Peter and St John laymen: they say for apostle, "ambassador," and "messenger," John xiii. 16; and for "apostles of the churches," "messengers" of the same, 2 Cor. viii.; for "bishops," "overseers," Acts xx. Why, my masters, doth *idiota* signify a "layman?" Suppose a layman be as wise and learned as any other, is he *idiota?* or that one of your ministers be as unlearned and ignorant as any shepherd, is he not *idiota?* So then *idiota* is neither clerk nor layman, but every simple and ignorant man. They that spake with miraculous tongues in the primitive church, were they not laymen many of them? yet the apostle plainly distinguisheth them from *idiota.* So that this is more ignorantly or wilfully translated than *neophytus,* "a young scholar," in all your bibles.

ἰδιῶται· Acts iv. Bib. 1562.

ἀπόστολος. For messenger and legate, the scripture useth these words, ἄγγελος, πρεσβευτής, πρεσβεύειν.

1 Cor. xiv. 23, 24.

1 Tim. iii.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* There can be no greater wrangling, nor more unprofitable, than about words and terms. But why, I pray you, should the terms of "elder" and "eldership" be more profane and secular in English, than they be in Greek, yea, than the names of "ancients" and "seniors," which you yourselves in your translation use for the same office? Will you never be ashamed of these vanities, which turn always to your own reproach? Yet "do they," say you, "most impudently term St Peter and John laymen." And do not you dishonour them as much, to say in your translation, they were of the vulgar sort? What signifieth λαϊκὸς, "a layman," but one of the vulgar sort, or common people? Again, were they of that clergy whereof Annas and Caiaphas were high priests; or were they not as perfectly distinct from that sacrificing priesthood, as any layman at this day is from the christian clergy? Yet you go on whither the fury of your malice doth carry you, and say that *idiota* is neither "clerk" nor "layman," but "every simple and ignorant man." If it be so, then reform your translation as well in this place of the Acts iv., as in 1 Cor. xiv., where you call *idiota* "of the vulgar sort, or the vulgar;" and pluck yourself first by the nose for false translating, before you find fault with us. Again, if the high priests did take the apostles for unlearned and laymen, what impudence is it to say that we term them so? And touching your signification of *idiota,* although the priests knew that they had not been brought up in study of

learning, as they themselves were; yet, hearing their bold and wise answer, they could not take them for simple and ignorant men: therefore it followeth, that they meant they were none of their clergy, rather than that they were ignorant and foolish; for simple in the good part they would not acknowledge them to be. As for the term "ambassador," and "messenger," for the Greek word ἀπόστολος, John xiii. 16, [it] may well be used in that place, seeing it is like he speaketh as generally of the word ἀπόστολος, as he doeth of δοῦλος, which is "a servant." "The servant is not greater than his lord, nor the ambassador than he that sent him." And for "the messengers of the churches," when those are understood by the word ἀπόστολοι, which are sent on message from the churches, and not those that are sent by Christ to preach unto the churches, no wise man can blame the translation. Acts xx., where ἐπισκόπους are of us translated "overseers," of you "bishops;" yet in your note you say, "or priests," as though the word may signify "priests," which all men of skill do know to signify "overseers," although the term be given to them which before are called πρεσβύτεροι, "elders or priests." But it proceedeth of great "ignorance, that *neophytus* is translated in all our bibles, 'a young scholar.'" O what knowledge have we learned of you, to translate *neophytus* "a neophyte!" For before we did take *neophytus* to signify one that is newly planted, or lately engraffed, and by a metaphor, one that is a young and new scholar in the mysteries of the christian religion. But because your pope useth to make boys and unlearned young men bishops and great prelates in your church, you cannot abide, that a young scholar should by St Paul's rule be excluded from a bishoprick, and therefore you mock the reader with a "neophyte." We know that in the ancient church they were called *neophyti*, which were lately baptized; but yet in the same sense, because they were young scholars: and therefore look in the Homilies that are entitled, *ad Neophytos*, and you shall see, they are directed and spent almost or altogether in teaching the principles of christian religion plainly, wherein they were but young scholars, not yet perfectly instructed.

Martin. Now, for changing the name "apostle" into "messenger," MARTIN, 4.

though Beza do so also in the foresaid places, yet indeed he controlleth both himself and you in other places, saying of the same word, "apostles:" "A man may say in Latin *legates*, but we have gladly kept the Greek word 'apostle,' as many other words familiar to the church of Christ." And not only of the principal apostles, but also of the other disciples, he both translateth and interpreteth in his commentary, that they are "notable apostles;" and he proveth that all "ministers of the word," as he termeth them, are and may be so called. And for your "overseers," he saith *episcopos*, and not *superintendentes*, which he might as well have said, as you "overseers." But to say the truth, though he be too profane, yet he doth much more keep and use the ecclesiastical received terms than you do, often protesting it, and as it were glorying therein against Castaleon especially. As, when he saith *presbyterum*, where you say "elder;" *diaconum*, where you say, "minister," and so forth. Where if you tell me that howsoever he translate, he meaneth as profanely as you, I believe you; and therefore you shall go together, like master, like scholars, all false and profane translators; for this Beza, who sometimes so gladly keepeth the name of apostle, yet calleth Epaphroditus *legatum Philippensium*, Philip. ii. 15. Whereupon the English Bezites translate, "your messenger," for "your apostle." As if St Augustine, who was our apostle, should be called "our messenger."

Annot. in Matt. x. 2.

Annot. in Rom. xvi. 7. & in 2 Cor. viii. 23.

In tit. Evang. Matt. & iii. 11. & x. 2. & v. 25.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* You cannot leave your old bias, in wresting men's sayings far beyond their meaning. Therefore you allege against us the saying of Beza, for the term of "apostles" to be retained, where mention is made of the apostles of Christ, not only those that are specially so called, but also all the ministers of the word. But what is this, to term them by the honourable name of "apostles," which are not sent by God, but by men, about some civil or ecclesiastical business? For both he and we call Epaphroditus "the messenger," and not the apostle of the Philippians, because he was sent by the Philippians unto Paul, and not by Christ unto them. As for that Augustine which was sent by Gregory, [he] might better be called Gregory's apostle than our apostle; for he was not sent by us, but to us; not immediately from God, as an apostle should, but from Gregory, and by Gregory. Touching the terms of "bishops," "elders," "ministers," "priests," &c., enough hath been said already. Our translators have done that which they thought best to be done in our language, as Beza did in the Latin language.

MARTIN, 5. Nov. Test. 1580. *Martin.* As also, when you translate of St Matthias the apostle, that "he was by a common consent counted with the eleven apostles,"

Acts i. 26[1]; what is it else, but to make only a popular election of ecclesiastical degrees? as Beza, in his annotations, would have us to understand, saying, "that nothing was done here peculiarly by Peter, as one of more excellent dignity than the rest, but in common by the voices of the whole church;" though in another place upon this election, he noteth Peter to be the chief, or Coryphæus. And as for the Greek word in this place, if partiality of the cause would suffer him to consider of it, he should find that the proper signification thereof in this phrase of speech is, as the vulgar Latin interpreter, Erasmus, and Valla, (all which he rejecteth,) translate it, to wit, "He was numbered," or "counted with the eleven apostles," without all respect of common consent, or not consent, as you also in your other bibles do translate.

Annot. ibid. & Acts xiv. 4. συγκατεψηφίσθη. Annumeratus est. cooptatus est.

Fulke. The election of Matthias to be an apostle was extraordinary, and therefore permitted to the lot; the manner whereof, as it is not to be drawn into example, so the proper election cannot be proved thereby: yet hath both Beza and the English translator faithfully expressed the Greek word which St Luke there useth; although neither Erasmus nor Valla, beside your vulgar interpreter, did consider it. Neither doth that common consent, in accepting Matthias for an apostle, whom the lot had designed, more prove a popular election, or derogate from the singularity of Peter, than that by common consent of the whole brotherhood two were chosen and set up, that the apostleship should be laid upon one of them.

FULKE, 5.

Martin. Which diversity may proceed of the diversity of opinions among you. For we understand by Master Whitgift's books against the puritans, that he and his fellows deny this popular election, and give pre-eminence, superiority, and difference in this case to Peter and to ecclesiastical prelates: and therefore he proveth at large the use and ecclesiastical signification of the Greek word χειροτονία, not to be the giving of voices in popular elections, but to be the ecclesiastical imposing of hands upon persons taken to the church's ministry. Which he saith very truly, and needeth the less here to be spoken of, specially being touched elsewhere in this book.

MARTIN, 6.

His defence, or second book, p. 157.

Chap. vi. num. 7.

Fulke. The diversity of the translation proceedeth of this, that the former translators did not observe the nature

FULKE, 6.

[1 Καὶ συγκατεψηφίσθη μετὰ τῶν ἕνδεκα ἀποστόλων, Acts i. 26. "And he was by common consent counted with the eleven apostles," Geneva version, 1557. The other versions have, "he was counted with;" and the Authorised and Rhemish, "he was numbered with."]

of the Greek word, which Beza hath considered more absolutely than any interpreters before him. Although it is not unlikely, that Chrysostom did well acknowledge it, when speaking of this election he useth these words: *Jam et illud considera, quam et Petrus agit omnia ex communi discipulorum sententia, nihil auctoritate sua, nihil cum imperio*[1]. "Now also consider this thing, how Peter doth all things by common consent of the disciples, nothing of his own authority, nothing with rule or commandment." And as for the popular election, if you had read those books you make mention of, you might perceive that neither of both parts allow a mere popular election; and that Master Whitgift doth not so much contend, what form of election was used in the time of the apostles, and of the primitive church, as whether it be necessary that such form of election as then was practised, should in all ages of the church, and in all places, be of necessity continued and observed.

In Act. Hom. 3.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* One thing only we would know, why they that plead so earnestly against their brethren the puritans about the signification of this word, pretending herein only the primitive custom of imposition of hands in making their ministers, why, I say, themselves translate not this word accordingly, but altogether as the puritans, thus: "When they had ordained them elders by election in every church." Acts xiv. verse 23[2]. For if the Greek word signify here the people's giving of voices (as Beza forceth it only that way, out of Tully, and the popular custom of old Athens), then the other signification, of imposing hands, is gone, which Master Whitgift defendeth, and the popular election is brought in which he refelleth; and so by their translation they have in my opinion overshot themselves, and given advantage to their brotherly adversaries: unless, indeed, they translate as they think, because indeed they think as heretically as the other; but yet because their state of ecclesiastical regimen is otherwise, they must maintain that also in their writings, howsoever they translate. For an example, they all agree to translate "elder" for "priest:" and Master Whitakers telleth us afresh in the name of them all, that there are no

Bib. 1577.

χειροτονήσαντες.

Beza, ibid.

Pag. 200. ad rat. Camp.

[1 ὅρα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ κοινῆς πάντα ποιοῦντα γνώμης· οὐδὲν αὐθεντικῶς, οὐδὲ ἀρχικῶς. Chrysost. Hom. III. in Acta Apost. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 622, edit. Savill.]

[2 Χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, Acts xiv. 23. "And when they had ordained them elders by election in every congregation," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Elders by election in every church," Bishops' bible. "Elders in every church," Geneva, Authorised version.]

priests now in the church of Christ, that is, (as he interpreteth himself,) "this name 'priest' is never in the New Testament peculiarly applied to the ministers of the gospel." This is their doctrine: but what is their practice in the regiment of their church? Clean contrary. For in the order of the communion-book, where it is appointed what the minister shall do, it is indifferently said, "Then shall the priest do, or say this and that;" and, "Then shall the minister, &c." Whereby it is evident, that they make "priest" a proper and peculiar calling applied to their ministers; and so their practice is contrary to their teaching and doctrine. Pag. 210.

Fulke. I have satisfied your desire before, if you list to know: our translation must be, as near as it can, to express the true signification of the original words; and so it is in that place of the Acts xiv. 23, which being granted by them that deny the necessity of that form of election to continue always, giveth no more advantage to the adversaries, than they would take out of the signification of the Greek word, howsoever it were translated. Your example of Master Whitakers' denying the name of "priest" to be applied to the ministers of the gospel, to prove that we must maintain our ecclesiastical state, howsoever we translate, is very fond and ridiculous; as also the contradiction that you would make between him and the service-book, touching the name of priest there used and allowed. Master Whitakers, writing in Latin, speaketh of the Latin term, *sacerdos;* the communion-book, of the English word "priest:" is not this a goodly net for a fool to dance naked in, and think that nobody can see him? FULKE, 7.

Martin. Now concerning imposition, or laying on of hands, in making their ministers (which the puritans also are forced to allow by other words of scripture, howsoever they dispute and jangle against χειροτονία), none of them all make more of it, than of the like judaical ceremony in the old law; not acknowledging that there is any grace given withal, though the apostle say there is, in express terms: but they will answer this text (as they are wont) with a favourable translation, turning "grace" into "gift." As, when the apostle saith thus, "Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which is given thee by prophecy, with imposition of the hands of priesthood[3];" they translate, "Neglect not the 'gift;'" and Beza most impudently, for "by prophecy," translateth "to prophecy:" making that only to be this gift, MARTIN, 8. Beza, Anno Act. vi. 6. 1 Tim. iv. 14. τοῦ χαρίσματος. διὰ προφητείας.

[3 Μὴ ἀμέλει τοῦ ἐν σοὶ χαρίσματος, ὃ ἐδόθη σοι διὰ προφητείας μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, 1 Tim. iv. 14.]

and withal adding this goodly exposition, that he had the gift of prophecy or preaching before, and now by imposition of hands was chosen only to execute that function. But because it might be objected that the
2 Tim. i. apostle saith, "which was given thee with the imposition of hands," or, as he speaketh in another place, "by imposition of hands," making this imposition of hands an instrumental cause of giving this grace, he saith that it did only confirm the grace or gift before given.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* Though we find that by or with imposition of hands many rare and extraordinary gifts, of prophecy, of tongues, and such like, were given in the apostles' time, yet we find nowhere, that grace is ordinarily given by that ceremony, used always in the church for ordination of the ministers thereof. But whether there be, or not, our translation of χάρισμα into "gift" is true and proper to the word. For albeit the word χάρις be taken, not only for the favour of God, but also for his gracious gifts; yet χάρισμα is never taken in the scripture but for a free gift, or a gift of his grace. That Beza referreth the preposition διὰ to the end of the gift, he hath the nature of the word to bear him out, which may well abide that sense: and yet he doth not reject the other common interpretation "by prophecy," that by appointment of the Holy Ghost uttered by some of the prophets. But where you wrangle about the gift of prophecy, as though he were utterly void thereof before he received imposition of hands, I know not what you mean. Would you have us think, that he was ordained priest, or elder, or to any office of the church, without competent gifts, meet to discharge his office? That the gift of prophecy, as well as of speaking with tongues, might be given by and with imposition of hands, Beza doubteth not. But it is out of doubt, that to an office none was chosen or admitted by the apostle and the rest of the presbytery of Ephesus, but such as had sufficient gifts to answer that office.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* Thus it is evident, that though the apostle speak never so plain for the dignity of holy orders, that it giveth grace, and consequently is a sacrament; they pervert all to the contrary, making it a bare ceremony, suppressing the word "grace," which is much more
χάρισμα. significant to express the Greek word than "gift" is, because it is not every gift, but a gracious gift, or a gift proceeding of marvellous
Phil. i. 29. and mere grace. As when it is said, "To you it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer for him;" the Greek word signifieth
ἐχαρίσθη. this much, "To you this grace is given," &c. So when God gave

unto St Paul all that sailed with him, this Greek word is used, because it was a great grace or gracious gift given unto him. When St Paul pardoned the incestuous person before due time, it is expressed by this word, because it was a grace (as Theodoret calleth it,) given unto him. And therefore also the alms of the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, are called "their grace," which the protestants translate "liberality," neglecting altogether the true force and signification of the Greek words. Acts xxvii. 2 Cor. ii. κεχάρισμαι. χάρισμα. τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν.

Fulke. Here is no evidence at all, that the order of priesthood is a sacrament, or giveth grace; but that God by the ceremony of laying on of hands did give wonderful and extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophesying in the beginning and first planting of the church. But that grace should always follow that ceremony, there is no proof to be made out of the holy scriptures. And experience sheweth, that he which was void of gifts before he was ordered priest, is as very an ass and dogbolt[1] as he was before, for any increase of grace or gracious gifts, although he have authority committed unto him, if he be ordained in the church, though unworthily, and with great sin, both of him that ordaineth, and of him that is ordained. But we suppress the word "grace," you say, because *charisma* signifieth, at least, "a gracious gift." See how the bare sound of terms delighteth you, that you might therein seek a shadow for your singlefold sacrament of popish orders. The word signifieth "a free or gracious gift;" and so will every man understand it, which knoweth that it is given by God. As also in all places, where mention is made of God's gifts, we must understand, that it proceedeth freely from him, as a token of his favour and grace. But that the Greek word χαρίζομαι doth always import the grace or favour of God, none either wise or learned will affirm; neither doth your vulgar interpreter express the word of grace in those places that you bring: for example, Phil. i. 29, he saith plainly, *donatum est*, "it is given," and so yourselves translate it[2]. Why, I pray you, do you suppress the word "grace," or why do you thus trifle against us? Fulke, 9.

[1 Dogbolt: a worthless fellow.]

[2 Ὅτι ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν· Philipp. i. 29. "Quia vobis donatum est pro Christo," Vulg. "For to you it is given for Christ," Rhemish version, 1582.]

When St Paul appealed to Cæsar, Acts xxv., affirming that no man could give him into the hands of his adversaries, he useth the same word χαρίσασθαι[1]. So, when Festus telleth Agrippa that he answered the Jews, "that it was not the custom of the Romans to give any man to destruction," &c., St Luke useth the word χαρίζεσθαι[2]: were not he a mad translator, or interpreter either, that would expound this word of the grace of God, which is spoken of the favour of men? So, when the apostle, 1 Cor. xvi., calleth the alms of the Corinthians their "grace," is it not better English to say "their liberality?"[3] for although their liberality proceeded of God's gift, yet the apostle, adding the pronoun ὑμῶν, meaneth the "free gift of the Corinthians," not the "grace of God."

MARTIN, 10. *Martin.* But concerning the sacrament of orders, as in the first to Timothy, so in the second also, they suppress the word "grace," and call it barely and coldly "gift," saying: "I put thee in remembrance, that thou stir up the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." Where if they had said, "the grace" of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands; then were it plain, that St Paul by the ceremony of imposing hands upon Timothy, in making him priest or bishop, gave him grace: and so it should be a very sacrament of holy orders, for avoiding whereof they translate otherwise; or else let them give us another reason thereof, specially the Greek word much more signifying "grace," than a bare "gift," as is declared.

2 Tim. i. 6.

FULKE, 10. *Fulke.* These coleworts were sodden enough once before, that they need not be set on again. The word χάρισμα, if you find it a hundred times, signifieth no more but "a free gift," or "a gift that is freely given," even as the English word "gift" doth; whereof the proverb is, "what

[1 οὐδείς με δύναται αὐτοῖς χαρίσασθαι, Acts xxv. 11. "Nemo potest me illis donare." Vulg.]

[2 Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαί τινα ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπώλειαν, Acts xxv. 16.]

[3 Ὅταν δὲ παραγένωμαι, οὓς ἐὰν δοκιμάσητε δι' ἐπιστολῶν, τούτους πέμψω ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ. 1 Cor. xvi. 3. "Hos mittam perferre gratiam in Jerusalem," Vulg. "Them will I send to carry your grace unto Jerusalem," Rhemish version. "Them will I send to bring your liberality," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops' bible, Authorised version.]

is so free as gift?" Wherefore, if we had said the grace of God, we had translated amiss, and otherwise than the Greek word doth signify. But where you trifle in your terms of a bare gift, and we call it barely and coldly "a gift," you do nothing but bewray your own shame. Can the gift of God be called "a bare gift?" or doth he speak barely and coldly that saith "the gift of God?" Doth the apostle, Ephes. ii., speaking of our salvation, and your vulgar interpreter, and you yourselves, speak of a bare gift, and call it barely and coldly "the gift of God?" When you say, "you are saved through faith (and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God), not of works, &c.," see you not that while you seek to rase our skin, you strike yourself to the heart? Be wiser therefore, and spare your own credit: find no fault with that which you cannot amend, and which, if it were a fault, you yourselves commit as much as we.

Martin. The more to profane this sacred order, whereunto continency and single life hath been always annexed in the New Testament for the honour and reverence of the functions thereunto belonging, to profane the same, I say, and to make it mere laical and popular, they will have all to be married men, yea, those that have vowed the contrary: and it is a great credit among them, for our priests apostates to take wives. This they would deduce from the apostles' custom, but by most false and impudent translation; making St Paul say thus, as of his own wife and the other apostles' wives, "Have not we power to lead about a wife being a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles?" Whereas the apostle saith nothing else but, "a woman a sister," that is, a christian woman; meaning such holy women as followed Christ and the apostles, to find and maintain them of their substance. So doth St Jerome interpret it, and St Augustine[4], both

MARTIN, 11.

1 Cor. ix. 5. Nov. Test. 1580.

ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα. Matt. xxvii.

Lib. i. advers. Jovin. De op. mon. c. 4.

[4 Si autem nobis illud opposuerit ad probandum, quod omnes apostoli uxores habuerint, 'Numquid non habemus potestatem mulieres, vel uxores circumducendi?' . . . . . jungat et illud, quod in Græcis codicibus est, 'Numquid non habemus potestatem sorores mulieres, vel uxores circumducendi?' Ex quo apparet eum de aliis sanctis dixisse mulieribus, quæ juxta morem Judaicum magistris de sua substantia ministrabant, sicut legimus ipsi quoque Domino factitatum. . . . . Aut certe, si γυναῖκας *uxores* accipimus, non *mulieres*, id quod additur, *sorores* tollit *uxores;* et ostendit eas germanas in spiritu fuisse, non conjuges. Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. I. cap. 14. Tom. IV. Pt. ii. p. 167. edit. Ben.

Fefellit eos verbi Græci ambiguitas, quod et uxor et mulier eodem verbo Græce dicitur. Quanquam hoc ita posuerit apostolus, ut falli non

directly proving that it cannot be translated "wife," but "woman:" and the Greek fathers most expressly. And as for the Greek word, if they say it is ambiguous, St Augustine telleth them, that as the apostle hath put it down with all the circumstances, there is no ambiguity at all that might deceive any man. Yea, let us set apart the circumstances, and consider the Greek word alone in itself, and Beza will tell us in other places, that it signifieth a woman rather than a wife; reprehending Erasmus for translating it "wife, because there is no circumstances annexed why it should so signify:" thereby declaring that of itself it signifieth "woman;" and therefore much more when the circumstances also, as St Augustine saith, maketh it certain that so it doth signify.

In Collectan. Œcu. super hunc locum.

Annot. Matt. v. 28. & 1 Cor. vii. 1.

Quia non additur τινὸς aut ἀδελφοῦ.

FULKE, 11.

Fulke. If matrimony be a holy sacrament, as you say, and an holy ordinance of God, as we both confess; how should the sacred order of priesthood be profaned thereby? That continence and single life hath always been annexed to the ecclesiastical functions in the New Testament, it is so manifest an untruth, that I will not stand to confute it. As where you say, that we "make the order mere laical and popular, that we will have all men to be married, yea, those that have vowed the contrary," these be most impudent assertions. Though it be free for all men to marry, yet no man is willed, otherwise than he shall find cause in himself. And for priests that come from you, it is more credit to marry, than out of marriage to live incontinently: otherwise they are of as great credit that be unmarried as they that be married. What the custom of the apostles was for having wives, and keeping company with them, not only the scripture of the apostles, but also Clemens Alexandrinus, a most ancient writer, is witness for us, and against your impudent assertion, alleging even this text of 1 Cor. ix.: to prove that they did lead their wives about with them: *Per quas etiam in gynæceum*, &c[1]. "By means of whom the

1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. 1 Cor. ix. &c.

debuerint: quia neque *mulierem* tantummodo ait, sed *sororem mulierem;* neque *ducendi*, sed *circumducendi*. Veruntamen alios interpretes non fefellit hæc ambiguitas, et *mulierem*, non *uxorem*, interpretati sunt. Augustini de Opere Monachorum. Opera, Vol. VI. p. 803.]

[1 Λέγει οὖν ἔν τινι ἐπιστολῇ, Οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι; οὗτοι μὲν οἰκείως τῇ διακονίᾳ ἀπερισπάστῳ τῷ κηρύγματι προσανέχοντες, οὐχ ὡς γαμέτας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀδελφὰς περιῆγον τὰς γυναῖκας, συνδιακόνους ἐσομένας πρὸς τὰς οἰκουρούς γυναῖκας, δι' ὧν καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἀδιαβλήτως παρεισεδύετο ἡ τοῦ

doctrine of our Lord might enter into the closet of women, without any reprehension or evil suspicion." By which our translation is proved to be good and true, as I have more at large declared before, cap. i. sec. xviii. Neither is there here any new matter, which is not there sufficiently answered. And Præfat. Sect. 36.

Martin. Wherefore great must the impudency of Beza be, (and of the English Bezites,) that knowing this and protesting it elsewhere in his annotations, yet here translateth, *sororem uxorem*, "a sister a wife," and saying after his lordly manner, "I doubted not so to translate it," disputing and reasoning against all other interpreters, both ancient and later, for the contrary, yea, and affirming that St Paul himself "did foolishly," if he spake there of other rich women. Such a fancy he hath to make the apostles not only married men, but that they carried about their wives with them, and that they were the apostles' wives, (for so he translateth it, Acts i. 14.) that returned with them after our Lord's ascension to Jerusalem, and continued together in prayer till the Holy Ghost came upon them: whereas St Luke there speaketh so evidently of the other holy and faithful women which are famous in the gospel, as the Marys and other, that the English Bezites themselves dare not here follow his translation. For I beseech you, M. Beza, (to turn my talk unto you a little,) is there any circumstance or particle here added, why it should be translated "wives?" None: then by your own reason before alleged, it should rather be translated "women." Again, did Erasmus translate well, saying, "It is good for a man not to touch a wife?" 1 Cor. vii. 1.[2] No, say you, reprehending this translation, because it dehorteth from marriage. If not, shew your commission, why you may translate in the foresaid places "wife," and "wives," at your pleasure; the Greek being all one, both where you will not in anywise have it translated "wife," and also where you will have it so translated in anywise[3]. MARTIN, 12. Inepte faceret. Cum uxoribus. σὺν γυναιξί. Uxorem non tangere. γυναικὸς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι.

Fulke. Nay, "great must be the impudency of" the papists, that imagine the apostles which had wives of their own, did leave them behind them, and lead strange women about with them into all parts of the world. The first that invented that gloss of continent women, such as followed Christ, was FULKE, 12.

Κυρίου διδασκαλία. Clem. Alex. Strom. Lib. III. sect. 6. pp. 535—6. edit. Venet. 1757.]

[2 Bonum est homini uxorem non attingere. Erasmi Vers. Opera, Vol. VI. p. 686. edit. Lug. Bat. 1705.]

[3 See note, chap. i. No. 18, p. 115.]

Tertullian, the Montanist, in his book of *Monogamy*[1], which he wrote against the church, condemning second marriage, and reproving the Latin translation of his time, as it seemeth, which in this text, 1 Cor. ix., used the term of *uxor*, by the ambiguity of the Greek word γύνη, saying, that if the apostle had spoken of matrimony, he would have understood this of wives; but seeing he speaketh *de victuaria exhibitione*, "of the exhibition toward his living," he understandeth it of such women as followed Christ: than the which distinction nothing can be more absurd; for speaking of exhibition toward his living, the apostle sheweth that he might have lawfully charged the church with finding, not only of himself, but also of his wife, as the other apostles did. Again, if rich women did follow the apostles, ministering to them of their substance, as they followed our Saviour, this was no burden, but an easement unto the church, which the apostle would not have abstained from as a thing burdenous to the church of Corinth. Concerning the other place, Acts i. 14, although perhaps it be not necessary to translate "wives," yet it is necessary to understand "wives." For to answer you in M. Beza's name, who telleth you that it was meet, (as also Erasmus thinketh,) that their wives should be confirmed, who partly were to be companions of their travail and peregrination, partly to tarry patiently at home while their husbands were about the Lord's business; and therefore their wives also were present. Again, what a shameful absurdity were it to think, that the apostles would tarry in a close house so long together with other women than their wives, and shut out their own wives, which must needs have

[1 Nec enim si penes Græcos communi vocabulo censentur mulieres et uxores pro consuetudinis facilitate, (ceterum est proprium vocabulum uxorum,) ideo Paulum sic interpretabimur, quasi demonstret uxores apostolos habuisse. Si enim de matrimonio disputaret (quod in sequentibus facit, ubi magis apostolus aliquod exemplum nominare potuisset) recte videretur dicere, Non enim habemus potestatem uxores circumducendi, sicut ceteri apostoli et Cephas? At ubi ea subjungit, quæ de victuaria exhibitione abstinentiam ejus ostendunt, dicentis, Non enim potestatem habemus manducandi et bibendi? non uxores demonstrat ab apostolis circumductas, quas et qui non habent, potestatem tamen manducandi et bibendi habent; sed simpliciter mulieres, quæ illis eodem instituto, quo et Dominum comitantes, ministrabant. Tertull. de Monogamia, cap. viii. p. 681. ed. Rigaltii. Lutet. 1641.]

been subject to great offence and obloquy! And what devilish malice have you against the apostles' wives, that you cannot abide that they should join with their husbands in prayer and supplication, and be made partakers of the Holy Ghost with them, as well as other women, which were also married women; Mary the wife of Cleophas, Joanna the wife of Chuza, and other holy women, the mothers or wives of holy men? Will you say the apostles had no wives? Peter's wife's mother will testify against you. Will you say she was forsaken by Peter? The story of his martyrdom, if it be true, affirmeth that she continued with him to his dying day. Will you say he had no matrimonial company with her? His daughter Petronilla will bear witness against you, so young, that she was desired in marriage by Flaccus the Comes. Touching the place, 1 Cor. vii., where Erasmus translateth *uxorem*, I have answered already; the circumstance of the place doth argue that it is spoken generally of continence, and not of abstinence in marriage only. And who is such a novice in the Greek tongue, that he knoweth not that the word γύνη signifieth "a wife," or "woman," as the circumstance of the place requireth, where it is used?

Clemen. Reco. lib. 7. Cronica cronic. Fasciculi Temp.

Martin. Again, to this purpose they make St Paul say, as to his wife, "I beseech thee also, faithful yokefellow," Phil. iv. 3: for in English what doth it else sound, but "man and wife?" But that St Paul should here mean his wife, most of the Greek fathers count it ridiculous and foolish, St Chrysostom[3], Theodoret[4], Œcumenius, Theophylactus[5]. Beza and Calvin both mislike it, translating also in the

MARTIN, 13. σύζυγε γνήσιε.

Socie germane. Theophylact saith, if he spake to a woman, it should be γνησία in the Greek. Lib. ii. c. 24.

[2] Clementinæ Recognitiones: apud Gallandi Biblioth. Patrum, Vol. II.]

[3] Σύζυγε. ἢ ἀδελφόν τινα αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ ἄνδρα μιᾶς αὐτῶν οὕτω καλεῖ· ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔλεγε· νῦν ἀδελφὸς εἶ γνήσιος, νῦν ἀνὴρ γνήσιος, ὅτι μέλος γέγονας. . . . . Τινὲς δέ φασιν ὄνομα ἐκεῖνο κύριον εἶναι τὸ σύζυγε. Πλὴν εἴτε τοῦτο, εἴτε ἐκεῖνο, οὐ σφόδρα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι δεῖ. Chrysostom. in loc. edit. Sav. Tom. IV. p. 76.]

[4 τὸν δὲ σύζυγόν τινες ἀνοήτως ὑπέλαβον γυναῖκα εἶναι τοῦ ἀποστόλου· οὐ προσεσχηκότες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους γεγραμμένοις, ὅτι τοῖς ἀγάμοις συνέταξεν ἑαυτόν. Theodoret. in loc. Tom. III. p. 338. ed. Paris. 1743.]

[5 Δοκοῦσί μοι αὗται αἱ γυναῖκες τὸ κεφάλαιον εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐκεῖ· παρατίθεται οὖν ταύτας ἀνδρί τινι θαυμαστῷ, ὃς ἦ ἀδελφὸς ἦν μιᾶς αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ ἀνήρ. . . . . Τινὲς δὲ πλανηθέντες, τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκά

masculine gender; St Paul himself saith the contrary, that he had no wife, 1 Cor. vii. And as for Clemens Alexandrinus, who allegeth it for Paul's wife, Eusebius plainly insinuateth, and Nicephorus expressly saith, that he did it ἀνταγωνιστικῶς, by the way of contention and disputation, whiles he earnestly wrote against them that oppugned matrimony.

FULKE, 13. *Fulke.* The Greek word being σύζυγε, signifieth "a fellow or companion in yoke:" they have not therefore translated amiss, when they say "yokefellow," which signifieth "fellow in any yoke whatsoever." If it sound "man and wife" in English, what matter is that? for so it soundeth in Greek. Men must not follow the sound of words only, but examine the matter. And great probability there is, that he speaketh there of his wife, as Clemens Alexandrinus thinketh; neither doth St Paul himself say precisely, he had no wife, 1 Cor. vii., but that he lived without the use of a wife, which might be, his wife consenting to remain at Philippi. That the later writers mislike the judgment of Clemens, and specially that fabulous historian Nicephor, it derogateth nothing to his credit, nor to the likelihood of the matter. That Theophylact saith, the adjective should be of the feminine gender, he is not to be credited above Clemens Alexandrinus, who knew the purity of the Greek tongue as well as he. But whether it be to be understood of his wife or no, we leave it indifferent, and translate according to the Greek word, without prejudice of either opinion; which kind of translation at other times you do highly commend.

MARTIN, 14. Heb. xiii. *Martin.* Again, for the marriage of priests, and of all sorts of men indifferently, they translate the apostle thus: "Wedlock is honourable among all men." Where one falsification is, that they say, "among all men," and Beza, *inter quosvis*, and in the margin, *in omni hominum ordine*[1], "in every order or condition of men," and in

Nov. Test. an. 1565.

φασι τὸν Παῦλον παρακαλεῖν ἐνταῦθα· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν· ἵνα γὰρ τἆλλα ἐάσω, ἔδει γνησία σύζυγε εἰπεῖν. Theophylact. Tom. II. p. 454. ed. Ven. 1755.

Ναὶ ἐρωτῶ καί σε, σύζυγε γνήσιε, συλλαμβάνου αὐταῖς, &c. Philipp. iv. 3. "Etiam rogo et te, germane compar, adjuva illos," Vulg. "Yea, and I beseech thee, faithful yokefellow," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva. "True yokefellow," Authorised version. "Yea, and I beseech thee my sincere companion," Rhemish.]

[1 The marginal note of the 1565 edition has, "inter cujusvis ordinis homines," p. 542.]

his annotation he raileth, to make this translation good: whereas the Greek is as indifferent to signify, that "marriage is honourable by all means, in all respects, wholly, throughly, altogether[2]." So doth not only Erasmus, but also the Greek fathers expound it, namely Theophylact, whose words in the Greek be very significant, but too long here to trouble the reader with them. "Not in part," saith he, "honourable, and in part not: but wholly, throughout, by all means honourable and undefiled, in all ages, in all times." Therefore, to restrain it in translation to "persons" only, (though it may also very well be understood of all persons that have no impediments to the contrary,) that is to translate falsely.

ἐν πᾶσι.

See Œcum. in catena.

Fulke. I have answered already, that seeing the apostle threateneth the judgment of God against fornicators and adulterers, the most apt signification of the words ἐν πᾶσι, is, "among all men:" although that which you would have, comprehendeth "all persons," as well as "all other things, means, respects," &c. If any persons have an impediment to the contrary, such as God's word doth allow, their marriage by this text is not authorised. But priests have no impediment when they are, by the word of God to be chosen, as well of married men as of any other, 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.; neither can it be any falsification to translate so as both the words in the Greek tongue do signify, and the reason of the place doth require. Theophylact's words, you say, be long: and so it seemeth they be for your purpose; therefore you take but a piece in the midst, cutting off both the beginning and the end that make against you[3]. "In all (saith

FULKE, 14.

[2 Τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος, Heb. xiii. 4. "Honorabile connubium in omnibus, et torus immaculatus," Vulg. "Honorabile est inter quosvis conjugium, et cubile impollutum," Beza. "Inter quosvis, ἐν πᾶσι, id est, inter cujusvis ordinis homines." Nov. Test. in loc. edit. 1556, 1582. "Wedding is in all things honourable, and bed unwemmed (unspotted.)" [A Sax. "*unwæmmed*, purus,"] Wiclif's version. "Let wedlock be had in price in all points, and let the chamber be undefiled," Tyndale. "Wedlock is to be had in honor among all men, and the bed undefiled," Cranmer, Geneva. "Marriage honorable in all, and the bed undefiled," Rheims. "Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled," Authorised version.]

[3 Ὅρα πόσος περὶ σωφροσύνης αὐτῷ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀνωτέρω ἁγιασμοῦ μνημονεύων, περὶ ταύτης ἔλεγε, καὶ πάλιν μετα ταῦτα ἐρεῖ περὶ πόρνων καὶ μοιχῶν. Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν, μὴ ἐν τοῖς προβεβηκόσι μὲν ἐν δὲ τοῖς νέοις οὔ, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἢ καὶ ἐν πασι τρόποις, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι καίροις, μὴ ἐν θλίψει μέν, ἐν δὲ ἀνέσει οὔ· μὴ ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῷ μέρει τίμιος, ἐν

he), not in men of riper age, and not in young men also, but in all men, or by all means, and in all times, not in affliction truly, and in quietness not also; not in this part precious and honourable, and in that part otherwise; but the whole and through all parts, let it be precious. Here heretics are made to blush, that slander marriage: for behold, he calleth marriage precious, matrimony honourable, which keepeth a man in the virtue of temperance." And afterward, "If matrimony be permitted, the fornicators and adulterers are justly punished." Who is so blind, that he will not see Theophylact refer it to the persons, as well as to all parts of it? At leastwise you should have remembered, that Theophylact, being a bishop of the Greek church, where their priests have been, and yet are, suffered to be married men, would not write anything here against the marriage of priests. Neither doth.. Œcumenius exclude the persons, when he extolleth the perfection of marriage, but rather doth comprehend them. Chrysostom doth plainly refer it to the persons, insomuch that he joineth it in exposition with that text, "Have peace with all men."

MARTIN, 15. *Martin.* Another, and the like falsification in this same short sentence, is, that they make it an affirmative speech, by adding "is:"

τίμιος ὁ γάμος. whereas the apostle's words be these: "Marriage honourable in all, and the bed undefiled." Which is rather an exhortation, as if he should say, "Let marriage be honourable, and the bed undefiled." How honourable? that, (as St Peter speaketh, 1 Pet. iii.) men "converse

τιμήν. with their wives according to knowledge, imparting honour to them, as to the weaker vessels:" that is, as St Paul also explicateth it, 1 Thes. iv. "possessing every man his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the passion or lust of concupiscence, as the gentiles," &c. Lo, what honourable marriage is, to wit, when the husband useth the

ἐν τιμῇ. wife honourably and honestly in all respects, not beastly and filthily according to all kind of lust and concupiscence. And that the apostle here exhorteth to this honourable usage of wedlock, rather than affirmeth any thing, it is most probable, both by that which goeth before, and that which immediately followeth, all which are exhortations; and let the protestants give us a reason out of the Greek text, if they can, why they translate the words following by way of ex-

ἄλλῳ δὲ οὔ· ἀλλ' ὅλος δι' ὅλου τίμιος ἔστιν. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐντρέπονται οἱ τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντες αἱρετικοί· ἰδοὺ γὰρ τίμιος ὀνομάζεται, ὅτι ἐν σωφροσύνῃ τηρεῖ. Theophylact. in loc. Tom. II. p. 756. edit. Venet. 1755.]

hortation, "Let your conversation be without covetousness;" and not these words also in like manner, "Let marriage be honourable in all." Certain it is, that the Greek in both is all one phrase and speech; and Beza is much troubled to find a good reason against Erasmus, who thinketh it is an exhortation. The sentence then being ambiguous and doubtful at the least, what jolly fellows are these that will so restrain it in translation, that it cannot be taken in the other sense; and not rather leave it indifferently, as in the Greek and vulgar Latin it is, lest the sense of the Holy Ghost be not that, or not only that, which they translate!

ἀφιλάργυρος ὁ τρόπος. τίμιος ὁ γάμος.

Fulke. I have already shewed that the verb of the indicative mood is here to be understood, because the verb which followeth in the same verse is of the indicative mood. Again, the particle δὲ, as Beza telleth you, declareth the first words to be uttered affirmatively: "Marriage is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled, but fornicators and adulterers God will judge." Moreover, Chrysostom[1], Theodoret[2], Theophylact[3], Œcumenius, do all prove out of this place the permission and lawfulness of marriage to all men; which could not be, except they understood the apostle's words affirmatively. That married men must live temperately with their wives, it is also true, but not the principal purpose of the apostle here to exhort thereunto; but rather to dissuade men from fornication and adultery, because marriage is honourable and undefiled in all sorts of men. The reason you require, Beza hath given you, and I have reported it. Neither is the sentence ambiguous, neither hath it been so taken, but of late days, in despite of holy matrimony; which though you cannot deny in all men, yet you deface the honour thereof, as the Manichees and other heretics did, when you affirm that the sacred order of priesthood is profaned thereby. They be your own words before,

FULKE, 15.

[1 Εἰ γὰρ γάμος συνεχωρήθη, δικαίως ὁ πόρνος κολάζεται, δικαίως ὁ μοιχὸς τιμωρεῖται. Ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς ἀποδύεται. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἰουδαίους αἰνίττεται, ὅτι βδελυρὰν ἡγοῦντο τὴν κοίτην. Καὶ ὃς ἂν ᾖ, φησιν, ἀπὸ κοίτης, οὐκ ἔστι καθαρός. Οὐκ ἔστι βδελυρὰ τὰ ἀπὸ φύσεως, ὦ ἄγνωμον καὶ ἀναίσθητε Ἰουδαῖε, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως. Chrys. in loc. ed. Sav. Tom. IV. pp. 596, 598.]

[2 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔννομον, τὸ δὲ λίαν παρανόμον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ Θεὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ποιήσωμεν γὰρ αὐτῷ, ἔφη, βοηθὸν, καὶ διαπλάσας ἤγαγε καὶ συνῆψε. Theodoret. in loc. Tom. III. p. 459. Paris. 1742.]

[3 See note 3, p. 477.]

sect. ii., convincing you to be a maintainer of the doctrine of devils. 1 Tim. iv.

MARTIN, 16. *Martin.* Moreover it is against the profession of continency in priests and others, that they translate our Saviour's words of "single
Matt. xix. 11. life," and the "unmarried state," thus: "All men cannot receive this saying:" as though it were impossible to live continent. Where Christ said not so, that "all men cannot," but, "all men do not receive this saying[1]." But of this I have spoken more in the chapter of free will. Here I add only concerning the words following, that they translate them not exactly, nor perhaps with a sincere meaning; for if there be chastity in marriage, as well as in the single life, as Paphnutius the confessor most truly said, and they are wont much to allege it, then their translation doth nothing express our Saviour's meaning,
Bib. 1561. 1577. when they say, "There are some chaste, which have made themselves chaste for the kingdom of heaven's sake;" for a man might say, all do so that live chastely in matrimony: but our Saviour speaketh of
εὐνοῦχοι. them that are impotent and unable to generation, called eunuchs, or gelded men, and that in three divers kinds: some that have that infirmity or maim from their birth, other some that are gelded afterward by men, and other that geld themselves for the kingdom of heaven,—not by cutting off those parts, which were an horrible mortal sin, but having those parts, as other men have, yet geld themselves
εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτούς. (for so is the Greek,) and make themselves unable to generation. Which how it can be but by voluntary profession, promise, and vow of perpetual continency, which they may never break, let the protestants tell us. Christ then, as it is most evident, speaketh of gelded men, either corporally, or spiritually, (which are all such as profess perpetual continency;) and they tell us of some that were born chaste, and some that were made chaste by men, and some that make themselves chaste: a most foolish and false translation of the Greek words, εὐνοῦχοι, and εὐνουχίζειν.

FULKE, 16. *Fulke.* Concerning the former part of this matter, Matt. xix. 11., we have answered sufficiently, in the chapter of free will; but here is a new cavil. Because chastity is also in marriage, as in single life, our translators do not well to express the word εὐνοῦχοι, and εὐνούχισαν, by "chaste," and "have made chaste." I confess they should more properly have said, "gelded men," or "gelded themselves," or else "continent," and "made continent:" although

[1 Οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται. εἰσὶ γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτω· καί εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καί εἰσιν εὐνοῦχοι, οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. Matt. xix. 11, 12.]

they mean none other by the word "chaste," which they use. And touching your question, how men may lawfully geld themselves, "but by voluntary purpose of continency, which they may not break:" I answer, that we deny not but that such as be assured they have the gift of continency, may profess to keep it; and after such profession or promise made to God, they sin if they break it. But if any have rashly vowed that which they are not able to keep, they have sinned in vowing, and cannot keep their vow by abstinence from marriage, except they abstain also from all filthiness out of marriage: for such, we hold with Epiphanius[2] and Saint Jerome[3], that immoderate advancer of virginity, that it is better to marry than out of marriage to live incontinently.

Epiph. cont. Apost. 61. Hieron. ep. ad Demetriadem.

Martin. The Bezites here are blameless, who translate it word for word "eunuchs:" but they are more to blame in another place, where in derogation of the privilege and dignity of priests they translate thus: "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth;" where in the Hebrew and Greek it is as plain as possibly can be spoken, "The priest's lips shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth[4]." Which is a marvellous privilege given to the priests of the old law, for true determination of matters in controversy, and right expounding of the law; as we read more fully, Deut. xvii., where they are commanded, under pain of death, to stand to the priest's judgment, which in this

MARTIN, 17.

Mal. ii. 7. φυλάξεται. ἐκζητήσουσιν. יִשְׁמְרוּ יִבַקְשׁוּ׃

The infallible judgment of the priests in questions of religion. ver. 4

[2 Οἱ γὰρ διὰ τὸ μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κρυφῇ πορνεύοντες ποιοῦσι πορνείας, ἢ μονότητος ἢ ἐγκρατείας οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσι τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Θεὸν τὸν εἰδότα τὰ κρύφια καὶ ἐξελέγχοντα πᾶσαν σάρκα ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ, περὶ ὧν ἕκαστος ἥμαρτε· κρεῖττον τοίνυν ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν, καὶ μὴ περισσοτέρας· κρεῖττον πέσαντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον, καὶ ἀπὸ παρθενίας πολλῷ χρόνῳ μετανοήσαντα εἰσαχθῆναι πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Epiphan. Apostol. Hæres. lx. sect. 7. Tom. I. p. 512. Ed. Morell. Paris. 1622.]

[3 Sanctum virginum propositum, et cœlestis angelorumque familiæ gloriam, quarumdam non bene se agentium nomen infamat. Quibus aperte dicendum est, ut aut nubant, si se non possunt continere; aut contineant, si nolunt nubere. Hieronymi, Epist. xcvii. ad Demetriadem de servanda Virginitate. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 796.]

[4 Ὅτι χείλη ἱερέως φυλάξεται γνῶσιν, καὶ νόμον ἐκζητήσουσιν ἐκ στόματος αὐτοῦ, διότι ἄγγελος Κυρίου παντοκράτορός ἐστιν, Mal. ii. 7. "Labia autem enim sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem requirent ex ore ejus: quia angelus Domini exercituum est," Vulg.]

place God by the prophet Malachi calleth his covenant with Levi, and that he will have it to stand, to wit, in the new testament, where Peter hath such privilege for him and his successors, that his faith shall not fail, where the Holy Ghost is president in the church of bishops and priests. All which these heretics would deface and defeat, by translating the words otherwise than the Holy Ghost hath spoken them.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* The verb indeed, which the prophet Malachi useth, is of the future tense. But who knoweth not that the Hebrews lack the potential mood? and therefore they do very often express it by the future tense of the indicative mood; which if you should always translate by the future indicative, you should make many fair promises to them that are sharply rebuked. But the circumstance of the place doth plainly declare, that the priests of that time had broken the covenant made with Levi concerning keeping of the law. Yea, the very words following express the same! "But you have departed out of the way, and have caused many to fall against the law. You have made void the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of hosts." By which words it is manifest, that the prophet before spake of that knowledge of the law which the priest ought to have, and not which the priest always had: for certain it is that many of them were ignorant, yea, sometimes all; the high priest was often an idolater. And who condemned Christ and his gospel but the high priests? The authority that was given to the priests, in case of controversy, was limited within the bounds of God's law; from which if they declined, no man was bound to obey them. For who was bound to obey Urias the high priest, preferring the idolatrous altar of Damasco before the true altar of the Lord? or those devilish tyrants, Menelaus, Alcimus, and such other as occupied the priests' rooms in the time of the Maccabees, or Annas and Caiphas, in the time of Christ? Peter then having none other privilege for him and his successors than Aaron had, he and his successors might fall and be deceived: although Christ prayed that his faith should not fail, as he prayed for all the apostles, and for all their successors, yea, for all believers, that they might be sanctified in the truth; yet it were madness to say that none of them could err. But whensoever you will go about to prove this privilege out of those words of our Saviour

Christ, make your syllogism, and let us have no more babbling. Our translation in that place of Malachi is more true than you are able to impugn; for those words are rather a commandment, what the priests' lips should do, not a promise or assurance that they alway did so.

Martin. And when the prophet addeth immediately the cause of this singular prerogative of the priest, *quia angelus Domini exercituum est,* "because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts," which is also a wonderful dignity, so to be called; they after their cold manner of profane translation say, "Because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts." So do they in the next chapter call St John the Baptist "messenger;" where the scripture no doubt speaketh more honourably of him, as being Christ's precursor, than of a messenger, which is a term for posts also and lackies. The scripture, I say, speaketh thus of St John, "Behold I send mine angel before thee:" and our Saviour in the gospel, Matt. xi. Luke vii. telling the people the wonderful dignities of St John, and that he was more than a prophet, citeth this place, and giveth this reason: "For this is he of whom it is written, Behold I send mine angel before thee." Which St Hierome[1] calleth *meritorum αὔξησιν,* "the increase and augmenting of John's merits or privileges, that in Malachi he is called an angel:" and St Gregory[2] saith, "He which came to bring tidings of Christ himself, was worthily called an angel, that in his very name there might be a dignity;" and all the fathers, and all wit and reason conceive a great excellency in this name: only our profane protestants, that think of all divine things and persons most basely, translate accordingly even in the foresaid gospel also, making our Saviour to say that John was more than a prophet, because he was a "messenger." Yea, where our Saviour himself is called *Angelus testamenti,* "The Angel of the testament," there they translate, "The messenger of the covenant[3]." MARTIN, 18. Mal. iii. 1. τὸν ἄγγελόν μου. Angelum meum. Comment. in hunc locum. Hom. 6. in Evang. Mal. iii. 1.

Fulke. It is not safe to translate always "the messenger of God" by the name of "an angel," which is commonly FULKE, 18.

[1 Et quia ad privilegium prophetale etiam Baptistæ accessit præmium, ut Dominum suum baptizaret; unde infert meritorum αὔξησιν, faciens de Malachia testimonium, in quo etiam angelus prædicatur. Hieronymi Comment. in Matt. Lib. II. Vol. IV. p. 1. edit. Martianay.]

[2 Quod enim Græce angelus, hoc Latine nuntius dicitur. Recte ergo, qui nuntiare supernum Judicem mittitur, angelus vocatur, ut dignitatem servet in nomine, quam explet in operatione. Greg. Magn. in Evang. Liber. I. Hom. vi. edit. Paris. 1705. Tom. I. p. 1455. B.]

[3 Καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς διαθήκης, Mal. iii. 1. "Et angelus testamenti," Vulg. "Even the messenger of the covenant," Cranmer's bible, 1562, Bishops' bible, 1584, Authorised version.]

taken to signify "a spirit," not "a bodily creature": therefore our translators thought good to express the signification of the Hebrew and Greek word in English, and to use the term of "messenger," as the word doth signify; nothing derogating from the dignity of the persons or office of them, of whom it is uttered, which consisteth in the addition following, "of God," "of the Lord," "of the church." For the name of "angel," of itself, is no name of dignity, seeing there be angels of the devil and of darkness, as well as of God and of light. And Isidorus Clarius interpreteth the word in this place of Malachi *legatus*, "the ambassador," or "messenger." It is not therefore of any "profane" mind, that for "angel" we say "messenger[1]." Your own vulgar interpreter, Agg. i. 13, translateth *Maleach Jehovah, nuntius Domini*, "the Lord's messenger;" and so divers times, where mention is made of God's messengers. This is therefore a vain contention about terms, when the matter is not in question. That the name of "angels" soundeth more honourably, as Jerome and other think, it is no rule to bind translators; but expounders may, as occasion is offered, observe it.

מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה

MARTIN, 19. See Apoc. c. ii. and iii. in the English bible, 1562. "To the messenger of the congregation," &c. Angelo ecclesiæ.

Martin. If St Jerome in all these places had translated *nuntium*, then the English were "messenger:" but translating it *angelum*, and the church and all antiquity so reading and expounding it as a term of more dignity and excellency, what mean these base companions to disgrace the very eloquence of the scripture, which by such terms of amplification would speak more significantly and emphatically? What mean they, I say, that so envy against Castaleo for his profaneness, themselves to say, for angel, "messenger," for apostle, "legate," or "ambassador," and the like? Are they afraid, lest by calling men angels it would be mistaken, as though they were angels in deed by nature? Then St Paul spake dangerously, when he said to the Galatians, "As God's angel you received me, as Christ Jesus." But to proceed.

Gal. iv. 14.

FULKE, 19.

Fulke. "The very eloquence of the scripture" is best expressed, when the words are translated as they signify in the original tongue. And although some words be appropriated to certain callings, which it is not convenient to turn

[1 Καὶ εἶπεν Ἀγγαῖος ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐν ἀγγελοις Κυρίου τῷ λαῷ, Haggeus i. 13. "Et dixit Aggæus nuncius Domini de nunciis Domini populo," Vulg.]

into the general signification; yet is neither the Hebrew nor the Greek word, that signifieth "messengers" in the scripture, so restrained, but that it is used for all messengers indifferently, of God and men, yea, of God and the devil. Wherefore there is no cause why we should use the Greek word "angel," rather than the English word "messenger." And where you ask, whether we be "afraid, lest by calling men angels it would be mistaken, as though they were angels in nature;" we may well fear lest the ignorant and unlearned might so be deceived, when Bristow, so great a doctor and writer among you, is so fondly disguised, that he mistaketh the angel of the church of Philadelphia for an angel by nature, and allegeth that which God promiseth, that his enemies, the Jews, shall worship before his feet, to prove the invocation and worship of heavenly angels. Neither "spake Paul dangerously, when he said the Galatians received him as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus." For the word "angel" in the Greek tongue signifieth "a messenger:" it was easy to understand that the messenger, or ambassador, of a prince is received as the prince himself, without confounding the persons of the prince and his messenger.

Apoc. 3. Brist. repl. c. 6.

Martin. It is much for the authority and dignity of God's priests, that they do bind and loose, and execute all ecclesiastical function as in the person and power of Christ, whose ministers they are. So St Paul saith, 2 Cor. ii. 10., that when he pardoned or released the penance of the incestuous Corinthian, he did it "in the person of Christ:" that is, (as St Ambrose expoundeth it,) "in the name of Christ, in his stead, as his vicar and deputy." But they translate it, "In the sight of Christ[a]." Where it is evident they cannot pretend the Greek; and if there be ambiguity in the Greek, the apostle himself taketh it away, interpreting himself in the very same case, when he excommunicateth the said incestuous person, saying, that he doth it, "in the name and with the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ;" so expounding what he meaneth also in this place.

MARTIN, 20.

ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ.

1 Cor. v. 4.

[a ᾧ δέ τι χαρίζεσθε, καὶ ἐγώ· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ὃ κεχάρισμαι, εἴ τι κεχάρισμαι, δι' ὑμᾶς, ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα μὴ πλεονεκτηθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ, 2 Cor. ii. 10, 11. "Cui autem aliquid donastis, et ego: nam et ego quod donavi, si quid donavi, propter vos in persona Christi," &c. Vulg. "In the room of Christ," Tyndale's version, 1534. "In the sight of Christ," 1539, Geneva, 1557, Bishops' bible, 1584, "In the person of Christ," Rhemish, Authorised version.]

FULKE, 20. *Fulke.* That the bishops, elders, or priests of God's church do "bind and loose as in the person and power of Christ," in his name, and by his authority, is acknowledged by us. But when we translate ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ, "in the sight of Christ," we respect what the Greek phrase doth more properly require; yea, what the Hebrew phrase מִפָּנַי *mipenei* doth signify, whereunto it is like that the apostle doth allude. Otherwise Beza, in his annotations upon the place, doth not mislike the sense and interpretation of Ambrose, whereof he maketh mention; but preferreth the other, as more simple and agreeable to the meaning of the apostle in that place, and to the nature of the Greek and Hebrew phrase.

MARTIN, 21. Matt. ii. *Martin.* And it may be, that for some such purpose they change the ancient and accustomed reading in these words of St Matthew, *Ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel;* translating thus: "Out of thee shall come the governour that shall feed my people Israel," for, "that shall rule my people Israel[1]." This is certain, that it is a false translation, because the prophet's words, Mich. v. (cited by St Matthew,) both in Hebrew and Greek, signify only a "ruler" or "governour," and not a "pastor" or "feeder." Therefore it is either a great oversight, which is a small matter in comparison of the least corruption; or rather, because they do the like, Acts xx. 28., it is done to suppress the signification of ecclesiastical power and government, that concurreth with "feeding," first in Christ, and from him in his apostles and pastors of the church; both which are here signified in this one Greek word, to wit, that Christ our Saviour shall "rule" and "feed," (Psal. ii., Apoc. ii. 27.) "yea, he shall rule in a rod of iron;" and from him Peter and the rest, by his commission given in the same word, "feed and rule my sheep," John xxi., yea, and that in a rod of iron, as when he stroke Ananias and Sapphira to corporal death, as his successors do the like offenders to spiritual destruction (unless they repent) by the terrible rod of excommunication. This is imported in the double signification of the Greek word, which they to diminish ecclesiastical authority, [they] translate "feed," rather than "rule," or "govern."

Nov. Test. 1580.

τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל

ποιμαίνω.

ποίμαινε. Acts v. 1 Cor. iv. 21. & v. 5. & 2 Cor. xx. 4. & 8.

[1 ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ. Matt. ii. 6. "For out of thee shall come the captain that shall govern my people Israel," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, Geneva, 1557; Bishops' bible, 1584. "Shall rule my people Israel," Rhemish, 1582, Authorised version, 1611. "For out of thee shall come the Governor that shall feed my people Israel," Geneva bible, 1560.]

Fulke. That we should not mean any thing against the government of Christ, whom we wish and desire from our hearts that he alone might reign, and his servants under him, he himself is judge, to whom in this case we do boldly appeal. But let us see how we may be charged with false translation. The Hebrew and Greek (say you) do signify only a "ruler" or "governor," Mich. v. And do not we translate "a governor" or "captain," which may answer there the Hebrew of the prophet, or the Greek of the Septuaginta, or of the evangelist? The word ποιμαίνειν, that we translate sometime "to govern," sometime "to feed," is not in the prophet, but in the evangelist, and signifieth properly "to feed as a shepherd," and metaphorically, "to govern." What cause have you here to cry out, "false translation," and to oppose the Hebrew word of the prophet, which is fully satisfied in the word "governor?" And the Greek word, which the Evangelist useth, hath his proper signification in some translations, in other that which is figurative; neither doth the one exclude the other. But "feeding" doth import "governing." But it seemeth you would have rule without feeding, that you are so zealous for government. The word ποιμαίνειν, Acts xx., in some translations is rendered "to rule," in other "to feed." The more proper is "to feed;" yet the Greek word will bear the other also. But "feeding," as a shepherd doth his sheep, comprehendeth both. The same word, John xxi., our Saviour Christ limiteth rather to "feeding," as the evangelist reporteth his words, using βόσκε twice, and ποίμαινε once. For by lording and ruling, Peter should not so well testify his love towards Christ, as by painful feeding. And there your own vulgar interpreter translateth *pasce*, and yourselves "feed;" though in the margin you would fain pray aid of the Greek to establish your pope's tyrannical rule. Yea, you will give him a rod of iron, which is the sceptre of Christ; yea, an army of soldiers to subdue Ireland, and to wrest it out of the Queen of England's dominion: that is ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου, "feed and rule my sheep," in your secret meaning; and for that purpose you bring in the miraculous striking of Ananias and Sapphira for their hypocrisy, pretending that you mean but spiritual destruction by the rod of excommunication; which how terrible it is when it is

FULKE, 21.

duly exercised by them that have authority, we need not learn of you. The other text, Psalm ii., Apoc. ii. 27, we translate always "rule." And your vulgar interpreter, [1] Pet. v., translateth the same word *pascite*, "feed you the church of God," &c., and elsewhere divers times. Doth he so "diminish ecclesiastical authority," &c.?

MARTIN, 22.

Martin. To the diminishing of this ecclesiastical authority in the latter end of the reign of king Henry the eighth, and during the reign of king Edward the sixth, the only translation of their English bibles was, "Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance of man, whether it be unto the king, as to the chief head," 1 Pet. ii.: where in this queen's time the later translators cannot find those words now in the Greek, but do translate thus, "To the king as having pre-eminence," or "to the king as the superior[1]." Why so? because then the king had first taken upon him this name of "Supreme head of the church;" and therefore they flattered both him and his son, till their heresy was planted, making the holy scripture to say that the king was "the chief head," which is all one with "supreme head:" but now being better advised in that point (by Calvin, I suppose, and the Lutherans of Magdeburg, who do jointly inveigh against such title, and Calvin against that by name, which was first given to king Henry the eighth,) and because they may be bolder with a queen than with a king, and because now they think their kingdom is well established, therefore they suppress this title in their later translations, and would take it from her altogether, if they could, to advance their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without any dependence of the queen's supreme government of their church, which in their conscience (if they be true Calvinists, or Lutherans, or mixt of both,) they do and must mislike.

βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι.

Bibl. 1577. 1579.

Calv. in c. vii. Amos. Magdeb. in præf. Cent. 7. fol. 9, 10, 11.

FULKE, 22.

Fulke. Touching this text, 1 Pet. ii., I have answered before, that the word signifieth "him that excelleth;" and therefore it is no corruption to translate it "the chief." For the name of "supreme head," in that sense which Calvin

[1] Ὑποτάγητε οὖν πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον· εἴτε βασιλεῖ, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, 1 Pet. ii. 13. "Either to the king as to him that is higher in the state," Wiclif, 1380. "Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be unto the king as unto the chief head," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, Geneva testament, 1557. "Whether it be unto the king as unto the superior," Geneva bible, 1560. "Whether it be to the king, as excelling," Rheims, 1582. "Whether it be unto the king, as having the pre-eminence," Bishops' bible, 1584. "Whether it be to the king as supreme," Authorised version, 1611.]

and other abroad did mislike it, it was never allowed, nor by authority granted to the kings, Henry and Edward, but in the same sense it is now granted to queen Elizabeth; whom we acknowledge to have the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, which her father and brother, kings before her, had, and exercised to God's glory. But as Stephen Gardiner understood that title in conference with Bucer at Ratisbon, we do utterly abhor it, and so did all godly men always, that a king should have absolute power to do in religion what he will. In what sense the popish clergy of England, being cast in the premunire, did first of all ascribe it to the king in their submission, look you unto it: we think it was rather of flattery, than of duty, wisdom, or religion. As for the ecclesiastical government which the scripture prescribeth, [it] may well stand, which craveth the aid of a christian prince, which is the queen's authority in causes ecclesiastical.

Martin. But howsoever that be, let them justify their translation, or confess their fault. And as for the king's supremacy over the church, if they make any doubt, let them read St Ignatius' words, who was in the apostles' time, even when St Peter gave the foresaid admonition of subjection to the king, and knew very well how far his pre-eminence extended; and therefore saith plainly in notorious words, that we must first honour God, then the bishop, and then the king: because in all things nothing is comparable to God, and in the church nothing greater than the bishop, who is consecrated to God for the salvation of the whole world; and among magistrates and temporal rulers none is like the king[2]. See his other words immediately following, where he preferreth the bishop's office before the king's and all other things of price among men.

MARTIN, 23.

Epist. 7. ad Smyrnenses.

ἐν ἄρχουσιν. ἱερωσύνη ἐστὶν, τὸ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀναβεβηκός.

Fulke. Howsoever those epistles be truly or untruly ascribed to Ignatius, which here I will not dispute, there is nothing said in this that you cite of the bishop's pre-eminence above the king, but we acknowledge it to be true of the meanest priest of God's church, in matters properly

FULKE, 23.

[2 Ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ, Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς αἴτιον τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριον· ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα, Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φοροῦντα· κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν Χριστοῦ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον τιμᾷν χρὴ τὸν βασιλέα, κ. τ. ἑ. Ignat. ad Smyrnenses, p. 198. ed. Voss. Londini, 1680. The passage however is not from the genuine, but the interpolated Epistle.]

belonging to his office; which yet doth not exempt him from subjection to his prince, but that in causes ecclesiastical also he is to be commanded by his prince to do his duty, and to be punished by him, if he do otherwise.

MARTIN, 24. *Martin.* But in the former sentence of St Peter, though they have altered their translation about the king's headship, yet there is one corruption remaining still, in these words: "Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance of man:" whereas in the Greek it is word for word as in the old vulgar Latin translation, *omni humanæ creaturæ*, and as we have translated, "to every human creature;" meaning temporal princes and magistrates, as is plain by the exemplification immediately following, of king, and dukes, and other sent or appointed by him. But they, in favour of their temporal statutes, acts of parliament, proclamations and injunctions made against the catholic religion, do translate all with one consent, "Submit yourselves to all manner ordinance of man." Doth κτίσις signify "ordinance?" or is it all one to be obedient to every one of our princes, and to all manner ordinance of the said princes?

πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

FULKE, 24. The word "ordinance" you do violently draw to every statute, proclamation, or injunction, which is understood of the ordinance or appointment of magistrates, in what form soever they be created; or at the worst cannot be referred but only to such decrees as are not contrary to the word of God. The word κτίσις we know signifieth "a creature," or "creation;" which speeches being not usual in our English tongue to signify magistrates, our interpreters have expressed the same by the word "ordinance." You yourselves translate that which is in Greek κτίσεως, in Latin *creaturæ*, Mark xvi., "of the creation;" and in the same sense do our translators use the word of ordinance.

MARTIN, 25. *Martin.* A strange case and much to be considered, how they wring and wrest the holy scriptures this way, and that way, and every way, to serve their heretical proceedings. For when the question is of due obedience to ecclesiastical canons, and decrees of the church and general councils, where the Holy Ghost by Christ's promise is assistant, and whereof it is said, "If he hear not the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen and publican;" and, "He that heareth you, heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me:" there they cry out aloud, and odiously term all such ordinances "men's traditions," and "commandments of men," and most despitefully contemn and condemn them. But here, for obedience unto temporal edicts and parliament statutes daily enacted in favour of their schism and heresies,

Matt. xviii. Luke x.

they once maliciously forged, and still wickedly retain without alteration, a text of their own, making the apostle to command submission unto all "manner ordinance of man;" whereof hath ensued the false crime of treason, and cruel death for the same, upon those innocent men and glorious martyrs, that chose to obey God and his church's holy ordinances, rather than man's statutes and laws directly against the same.

Fulke. It is no strange case for an heretic and a traitor, that hath sold his tongue to utter slanders against the church of God, and the christian magistrate, protector of the same, to devise and surmise that which never was intended, never was practised: as that against the godly and lawful decrees of the church we should translate "men's traditions," "commandments of men;" and to the maintenance of all temporal laws, be they never so wicked, we should translate "ordinance," instead of "creature." As for the crime of treason, and just execution of them that have suffered of your viperous brood, I refer to the trial of the laws and judgments that have passed upon them, as no matter meet for me to dispute of: only this all good subjects know, yea, all the world may know, that they which take part with the pope, our prince's open and professed enemy, not in matters of religion only, but in cases concerning her crown and dignity, her realms and dominions, cannot bear dutiful and obedient hearts to her Majesty; whose clemency hitherto hath spared them that acknowledge her princely authority, although in all other points of popery they continue as obstinate as ever they were. FULKE, 25.

CHAPTER XVI.

Heretical Translation against the Sacrament of Matrimony.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* BUT as they are injurious translators to the sacred order of priesthood, so a man would think they should be very friendly to the sacrament of matrimony. For they would seem to make more of matrimony than we do, making it equal at the least with virginity. Yet the truth is, we make it, or rather the church of God esteemeth it, as a holy sacrament, they do not: as giving grace to the married persons to live together in love, concord, and fidelity; they acknowledge no such thing. So that matrimony with them is highly esteemed in respect of the flesh, or (to say the best) only for a civil contract, as it is among Jews and pagans: but as it is peculiar to Christians, and (as St Augustine saith) "in the sanctification also and holiness of a sacrament," they make no account of it, but flatly deny it.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* We make no more of matrimony than the holy scripture doth teach us; neither do we in all respects make it equal with virginity, howsoever you do slander us. But you so "make it an holy sacrament," that you think the holy order of priesthood is profaned by it. We acknowledge that God giveth grace to them that be faithful "to live in love, concord, and fidelity," even as he did to the fathers of the old testament, living in the same honourable estate; which proveth that matrimony is no sacrament of the new testament, although it be an holy ordinance for God's children to live in, and in it is contained a holy secret or mystery of the spiritual conjunction of Christ and his church. It is therefore nothing else but a devilish slander to say that we "esteem it but in respect of the flesh, or for a civil contract."

MARTIN, 2. *Martin.* And to this purpose they translate in the epistle to the Ephesians, v. where the apostle speaketh of matrimony, "This is a great secret[1]." Whereas the Latin church and all the doctors thereof

Sacramentum hoc magnum est.

[1] Τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν· ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω εἰς Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Eph. v. 32. "Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in ecclesia," Vulg. "This sacrament is great," Wiclif, Rheims. "This is a great secret," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Geneva Test. "This is a great mystery," Authorised version.]

have ever read, "This is a great sacrament:" the Greek church and all the fathers thereof, "This is a great mystery," because that which is in Greek "mystery," is in Latin "sacrament:" and contrariwise, the words in both tongues being equivalent; so that if one be taken in the large signification, the other also: as, Apoc. xvii. "I will shew thee the sacrament of the woman," and, "I will shew thee the mystery of the woman[2]." And so in sundry places, again, if one be restrained from the larger signification, and peculiarly applied, signify "the sacraments of the church," the other also: as, "the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ," or, "the mystery of the body and blood of Christ:" and the Calvinists in their Latin and Greek catechism say, "Two sacraments," or, "two mysteries."

μυστήριον. Sacramentum. μυστήριον. Duo Sacramenta. δύο μυστήρια.

Fulke. The English word "secret" signifieth fully as much as the Greek word μυστήριον, in which we must seek no holiness, as papists do, in vain sound of words, but in the matter annexed, which plainly expresseth that it is a great secret of great holiness, whereof the apostle speaketh. And it is very false that you say, that the Latin word *sacramentum* is equivalent to the Greek: for both it signifieth "an oath," which the Greek word doth not, and also it includeth holiness, which the Greek word doth not. Or else, why saith not your vulgar translator, and you, the sacrament of iniquity? Μυστήριον therefore signifieth "every secret;" *sacramentum* only "an holy sacrament:" as when you say, Apoc. xvii., "the sacrament of the woman," the meaning is, the secret to be revealed concerning her is an holy thing; else in the same chapter you have not a sacrament written in her forehead, but "a mystery or secret, Babylon, the mother of abominations." That the sacraments are called mysteries, we confess; but that whatsoever is called a mystery may also be called a sacrament, that do we utterly deny. FULKE, 2.

Martin. This being so, what is the fault of their translation in the place aforesaid? This, that they translate neither "sacrament," nor "mystery." As for the word "sacrament," they are excused, because they translate not the Latin: but translating the Greek, why said they not "mystery," which is the Greek word here in the apostle? I mean, why said they not of matrimony, "This is a great mystery?" MARTIN, 3.

[[2] ἐγώ σοι ἐρῶ τὸ μυστήριον τῆς γυναικὸς, Apoc. xvii. 7. "Ego dicam tibi sacramentum mulieris," Vulg. "I shall shew to thee the sacrament of the woman," Wiclif. "The mystery of the woman," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Rheims, Bishops' bible, Authorised version.]

Were it honest or lawful to translate, *Baptizo*, "I wash:" or *Baptismus*, "washing:" or *Evangelium*, "good news?" yet the words profanely taken signify no more.

No doubt, there can be no other cause, but to avoid both those words, which are used in the Latin and Greek church, to signify "the sacraments." For in the Greek church the sacrament of the body and blood itself is called but "a mystery" or "mysteries," which yet the protestants themselves call a true sacrament. Therefore if they should have called matrimony also by that name, it might easily have sounded to be a sacrament also. But in saying it is a great secret, they put it out of doubt that it shall not be so taken.

FULKE, 3. *Fulke.* Seeing the word "secret" that we use, signifieth wholly as much as "mystery," we hope all reasonable men will allow the same also. "Sacrament" without prejudice to the truth we could not translate; and "mystery," for the better understanding of the people, we have expressed in the English word, "secret;" out of which, if it have any force of argument in it, you may prove matrimony to be a sacrament, as well as out of the Greek word "mystery." But it is the sound of an unknown word, that you had rather play upon in the ears of the ignorant, than by any sound argument out of the scripture to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* They will say unto me, Is not every sacrament and mystery in English a secret? Yes, as angel is a messenger; and apostle, one that is sent. But when the holy scripture useth these words to signify more excellent and divine things than those of the common sort, doth it become translators to use baser terms instead thereof, and so to disgrace the writing and meaning of the Holy Ghost? I appeal to themselves, when they translate this word in other places, whether they say not thus: "And without doubt, great was the mystery of godliness; God was shewed manifestly in the flesh, &c." again, "The mystery which hath been hid since the world began, but now is opened to his saints;" again, "I shew you a mystery, we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed." And the like. Where if they should translate "secret," instead of "mystery," as the Bezites do in one of these places, saying, "I will shew you a secret thing;" what a disgracing and debasing were it to those high mysteries there signified? And if it were so in these, is it not so in "matrimony," which the apostle maketh such a mystery, that it representeth no less matter than Christ and his church, and whatsoever is most excellent in that conjunction? Now then, if in all other places of high mystery they translate it also "mystery," as it is in the Greek; and only in "matrimony" do not so, but say rather, "This is a great secret," using so base a term in so high and excellent a mystery; must we not needs think, (as no doubt it is,) that they do it because

1 Tim. iii. Col. i. 26. Eph. iii. 9. 1 Cor. xv. 51.

of their heretical opinion against the sacrament of matrimony, and for their base estimation thereof?

Fulke. Now you fly to your old shift of the ecclesiastical use of terms, which you cannot prove to be like, of this English word "mystery," which is commonly as profanely and secularly used as any other word. For what is more common among artificers, than their science or mystery of weaving, of dyeing, and such like? And yet the word may be used of the highest secrets of christian religion, as it is of our translators. And wheresoever they have said "a mystery," they might as truly have said "a secret;" and where they say "a secret," they might have said "a mystery." But where you say, that "in all other places of high mystery they translate the word 'mystery,'" it is false. For Matt. xiii. Mark iv. Luke viii., where all the mysteries of the kingdom of God are spoken of, they translate *mysteria* "the secrets of the kingdom of heaven;" and 1 Cor. iv., where the sacraments and all other secrets of the christian religion are spoken of, they translate μυστηρίων "stewards of the mysteries of God." Wherefore it is a shameful and senseless slander that here only we use this word "secret," to shew our base estimation of matrimony. FULKE, 4.

Martin. But they will yet reply again, and ask us, what we gain by translating it either "sacrament," or "mystery?" Doth that make it one of the sacraments properly so called, to wit, such a sacrament as baptism is? No, surely; but howsoever we gain otherwise, at least we gain the commendation of true translators, whether it make with us or against us. For otherwise it is not the name that maketh it such a peculiar sacrament. For, (as is said before,) sacrament is a general name in scripture to other things. Neither do we therefore so translate it, as though it were forthwith one of the seven sacraments, because of the name: but as in other places, wheresoever we find this word in the Latin, we translate it "sacrament", (as in the apocalypse, "the sacrament of the woman";) so finding it here, we do here also so translate it: and as for the diverse taking of it here and elsewhere, that we examine otherwise, by circumstance of the text, and by the church's and doctors' interpretation; and we find that here it is taken for "a sacrament" in that sense as we say, "seven sacraments:" not so in the other places. MARTIN, 5. Apoc. xvii.

Fulke. No reasonable man can charge us to be false translators, when we turn the Greek word into that which it FULKE, 5.

doth generally, properly, and always signify. And for all your bragging of sincere translating, if you should translate Tob. xii. I am persuaded you would not say, "it is a good thing to hide the king's sacrament:" yet is the Latin word in that place *sacramentum*, and the Greek μυστήριον. But it is sufficient for you to have a shadow of something to find yourself occupied, rather than you would be saying of nothing.

MARTIN, 6. *Martin.* As when we read this name "Jesus" in scripture common to our Saviour and to other men, we translate it always alike "Jesus;" but when it is "Jesus Christ," and when some other "Jesus," we know by other circumstances. Likewise presuppose baptism in the scripture were called "a sacrament:" yet the protestants themselves would not, nor could thereby conclude, that it were one of their two sacraments: yet I trow they would not avoid to translate it by the word "sacrament," if they found it so called. Even so we, finding "matrimony" so called, do so translate it, neither concluding thereby that it is one of the seven, nor yet suppressing the name, which no doubt gave some occasion to the church and the holy doctors to esteem it as one of the seven. They contrariwise, as though it were never so called, suppress the name altogether, calling it "a secret," to put it out of all question, that it is no sacrament: which they would not have done, if the scripture had said of baptism or the eucharist, "This is a great sacrament." So partial they are to their own opinions.

Jude, 4. Acts vii. 45. Col. iv. 11.

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* Except you thought you had to do with very ignorant persons, or else esteemed too much of your lately professed divinity, you would never cumber the reader with such childish trifles of the name of Jesus, of the bare name of sacrament, which could not prove baptism or the Lord's supper to be sacraments, &c., and what we would do if we found them so called, &c. I have already told you what we have done, where not only the sacraments, but all other precious jewels of Christ's church, committed to the dispensation of his ministers, are called μυστήρια, and translated "secrets," without any abasement of the dignity of them, or without any intent to suppress any of the honour and reverence which is due unto them. Wherefore, using the word "secret" in this text, we had no purpose to derogate anything from the worthiness of matrimony, much less from the spiritual mystery which the apostle offereth to be considered by it in Christ and his church.

CHAPTER XVII.

Heretical Translations against the blessed Sacrament, and Sacrifice, and Altar.

Martin. Now let us see concerning the eucharist, which they allow for a sacrament, how they handle the matter to the disgracing and defacing of the same also. They take away the operation and efficacy of Christ's blessing pronounced upon the bread and wine, making it only a thanksgiving to God: and to this purpose they translate more gladly "thanksgiving," than "blessing;" as Matt. xxvi. the Greek words being two, the one signifying properly "to bless," the other "to give thanks," they translate both thus, "when he had given thanks[1]." Likewise Mark xiv. in the bible printed 1562. And when they translate it "blessing," they mean nothing else but "giving thanks," as Beza telleth us in his annotations, Matt. xxvi. 26. We reply, and by most manifest scripture prove unto them, that the former Greek word doth not signify "thanksgiving" properly, but "blessing," and a blessing of creatures to the operation of some great effect in them: as when Christ took the five loaves and two fishes, to multiply them, he blessed them, Luke ix[2]. What say they to this, think

MARTIN, 1.

εὐλογήσας. εὐχαριστήσας. Bib. 1562. 1577.

Great difference in the scriptures between "blessing," and "giving of thanks."

Benedixit eis, εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς. Annot. in Luke ix. 16.

[1 λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας, Matt. xxvi. 26. "Accepit Jesus panem, et benedixit, et fregit," Vulg. "Accepit Jesus panem; et quum benedixisset, fregit," Beza. "Jesus took bread and blessed and brake," Wiclif. "Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and said," Tyndale, Geneva. "Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it," Cranmer. "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake," Rheims. "Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it," Authorised version.

λαβὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασε, Marc. xiv. 22. "Accepit Jesus panem; et benedicens fregit," Vulg. "Quum accepisset Jesus panem, et benedixisset, fregit." "Jesus took bread and blessed and brake," Wiclif, Tyndale. "Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it," Cranmer. "Jesus took bread, blessed, brake, and gave to them," Geneva. "Jesus took bread, and blessing brake, and gave to them," Rheims. "Jesus took bread, and blessed and brake it," Authorised version.]

[2 εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς, Luc. ix. 16. "Blessed," all the versions. λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον εὐλόγησε, Luc. xxiv. 30. "He took bread and blessed," Wiclif, Rheims. "He took bread and blessed it," Cranmer, Authorised version. "He took bread, blessed it," Tyndale, Geneva.

ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκε τοῖς μαθη-

you? Doth not the Greek word here plainly signify, "blessing of creatures?" "No," saith Beza, "no doubt but here also it signifieth giving thanks." How, Beza? He addeth, "Not as though Christ had given thanks to the bread, for that were too absurd: but we must mollify this interpretation thus, that he gave thanks to God the Father for the loaves and the fishes." Is not this a notable exposition of these words, *benedixit eis?*

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ being a matter of some great weight and controversy between us, you might not omit but note our false translations against it. But because we have dealt so sincerely as malice hath nothing to blame therein, you must feign a quarrel and forge a controversy, where none is between us, namely, that we take away Christ's blessing pronounced upon the bread and wine, making it only a thanksgiving unto God: which is a false and impudent slander, as in that which followeth concerning this matter most plainly shall appear, even by testimony of him whom you do most slander in this case. But let us see what fault is in our translation, Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv. Two of our translations for εὐλογήσας say, "when he had given thanks." To this I answer, that Beza telleth you that in seven Greek copies the word is εὐχαριστήσας, which signifieth "giving of thanks," without controversy; as also εὐλογήσας doth, but not only so, expressing rather the Hebrew word ברך, which signifieth both "to bless and to give thanks." But seeing Saint Luke and Saint Paul, reporting the institution of the supper, do use the word εὐχαριστήσας, which signifieth "giving of thanks;" we count them the best interpreters of the other two evangelists, which plainly teach us that by "blessing" they mean "giving of thanks," or that the Greek word doth here signify "giving of thanks," as in many other places. The place, Luke ix., where Christ blessed the loaves, is also interpreted by St John, who reporting the same miracle (as Beza sheweth) useth the word which signifieth only thanksgiving: but because εὐλόγησεν is in Luke used as a verb transitive, which cannot signify thanksgiving or prayer made

ταῖς, John vi. 11. "Jesus therefore took the loaves, and when he had given thanks, he distributed to them that sat," Rheims. We find the Rhemish version translating in Matt. xxvi. 26. εὐχαριστήσας, "blessed it," in John vi. 11. "and when he had given thanks."]

to the creatures, we must understand that he "blessed the loaves, that is, he gave thanks to God for them, and withal prayed that so small a quantity of bread and fish might feed so great a multitude, and that his whole feast might be referred to the glory of God[1]." This is Beza's interpretation; which, because it was too long for your quarrel, you cut off the better part of it, and like a grinning hypocrite, scoff at a piece as though it were the whole exposition of these words, *benedixit eis*, "he blessed them."

Martin. We ask him in the like cases, when God blessed Adam and Eve, Gen. i. and ix. Noe and his children, saying, "Increase and multiply;" when he blessed the children of Israel, and they multiplied exceedingly; when he blessed the latter things of Job more than the first, Job xlii.; was this also a giving of thanks, and not an effectual blessing upon these creatures? What will they say, or what difference will they make? As God blessed here, so he was God and man that blessed the loaves and fishes there. If they will say, he did it as man, and therefore it was a giving of thanks to God his Father: to omit that he blessed them as he multiplied them, that is, rather according to his divine nature than human, we ask them, when he blessed as man, was it always giving of thanks? He blessed the little children, he blessed his disciples, when he ascended: was this giving thanks for them, as Beza expoundeth his

MARTIN, 2. εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς. Psal. cvi. εὐλόγησεν τὰ ἔσχατα.

Luke xxiv. Beza, loco citato.

[1 Apud Johannem vero in hujus historiæ narratione, vi. 11, scriptum est καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκε, *et gratiis actis dedit.* Itaque non dubium est, quin εὐλογεῖν hoc loco significet τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν, id est, *gratias agere.* Quia tamen additur relativum αὐτοὺς, et nimis absurdum fuerit cogitare Christum egisse panibus gratias, aut precatum esse panes et pisces, emollienda est hæc interpretatio. Dicitur ergo panibus benedixisse, id est, de his panibus ac piscibus gratias egisse Deo Patri, et simul eum precatus ut tantilla panum ac piscium copia tantam multitudinem pasceret: denique ut totum hoc convivium ad Dei gloriam referretur. Sic de Samuele dicitur, 1 Sam. ix. 13. יברך הזבח id est, benedicere solet sacrificio; et a Paulo, 1 Tim. iv. 5. cibus dicitur sanctificari verbo et oratione, sive gratiarum actione. Utrumque enim ibi conjungit Apostolus, ut hic quoque conjungendum est. Nam partim pro cibo præstito aguntur Dei gratiæ, partim autem potitur ut pure et sobrie eo uti liceat, ut reliquam vitam in Dei cultu consumamus. Inde factum ut Christiani dicantur benedicere mensæ et consecrare mensam, quum tamen hæc benedictio non ad ipsos cibos sed ad Deum potius et convivas pertineat. In poculo vero benedictionis, cui benedicimus, ut scribitur 1 Cor. x. 16. ut ipsum benedicendi verbum possit eodem modo explicari, tamen prorsus diversus est benedictionis finis, ut suo loco explicabimus. Bezæ Nov. Test. p. 86.]

blessing of the loaves and fishes? When we bless the table or the meat upon the table; when St Paul saith, 1 Timothy iv. "all meat is lawful that is sanctified by the word and by prayer;" is all this nothing but giving thanks? So saith Beza in express words.

ἁγιάζεται, which word can never signify giving thanks.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* When I see those often most impudent invectives against Beza and other, I muse with myself whether you have read Beza and the other yourself, or whether you give credit to some malicious caviller, who is set on work to pick quarrels out of other men's writings to serve your turn. But when I consider all circumstances of every place, and namely how you object against Beza that which he saith of the blessing, or consecrating of our ordinary meats and drinks, I think it is not like but that you have read the places yourself. And then, of all that ever I knew, I must esteem you the furthest from sincerity and honest dealing, that so often, so openly, so confidently, so purposedly commit so vile and shameful forgery. Beza saith that "our meat is sanctified by the word of God, and prayer and thanksgiving. For the 1 Tim. iv., the apostle joineth both, as here, Luke ix., we must join both together. For partly for the meat given to us thanks is given to God; partly petition is made that we may use it purely and soberly, that we may spend the rest of our life in the worship of God. Hereof it cometh that Christians are said to bless the table, and to consecrate the table, whereas yet this blessing pertaineth not to the meats themselves, but to God rather, and them that shall be partakers of them. But in the cup of blessing which we bless, as it is written, 1 Cor. x. 16, although the word of blessing may be expounded after the same manner, yet the end of the blessing is altogether diverse, as in due place we shall expound[1]." These are the words of Beza. Is all this nothing but giving of thanks?

MARTIN, 3. *Martin.* We go forward, and prove the contrary yet more manifestly in the very matter of the blessed sacrament, for the which they multiply all the aforesaid absurdities. We tell them that St Paul saith thus, "The chalice of blessing, which we bless, is it not," &c.[2]

τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας.

[1] See the preceding note.]

[2] Τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, 1 Cor. x. 16. Upon which words Beza annotates thus: *Benedictionis, τῆς εὐλογίας·* Id est, gratiarum actionis, sive quod adhibetur in solenni illo epulo quo Domino gratias agimus; unde etiam Eucharistia dicitur. *Cui benedicimus,* ὃ

How could he speak more plainly, that the chalice or cup (meaning that in the cup) is blessed? Which St Cyprian *de Cœn. Dom.* explicateth thus, *Calix solemni benedictione sacratus*, "The chalice consecrated by solemn blessing." Œcumenius thus, "The chalice which blessing we prepare," that is, which we bless and so prepare; for so it must signify, and not as Beza would have it, "which with thanksgiving we prepare." And that I prove by his own words immediately before, where he saith that the Greek word being used of the apostle transitively, that is, with a case following, cannot signify giving thanks. How then can it so signify in Œcumenius' words, who doth interpret the apostle's meaning by the apostle's own words and phrase? Yea, (that you may note a notorious contradiction,) how doth Beza then in the place of Luke before alleged (where the same Greek word is a plain transitive as in this place) expound it of giving thanks for the bread and fishes? A liar (they say) must be mindful to make his tale agree in every point. He that before forced the word in every sentence to be nothing else but thanksgiving, even when it was a plain transitive, now confesseth that he never read it in that signification, when it is a transitive. And so we have that the blessing of the cup or of the bread is not giving thanks, as they either translate or interpret it.

ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν. ὃ εὐλογοῦντες κατασκευάζομεν. Annot. in 1 Cor. x. 16.

εὐλόγησεν αὐτούς.

Fulke. I must continue my admiration of your impudence; for Beza saith expressly in this place, 1 Cor. x., that to bless here is "to sanctify or consecrate, because that the ordinance of God being rehearsed and set forth, the bread and wine are appointed to this holy use, that they should be the sacraments of the true and natural body and blood of Christ, FULKE, 3.

εὐλογοῦμεν. Id est, quod cum gratiarum actione sumimus, ut interpretatur Chrysostomus. Sed nusquam legi εὐλογεῖν transitive usurpatum pro *gratias agere*, de quo verbo pluribus diximus Matt. v. 44. Item xxv. 34. Item xxvi. 26. Item Luc. ix. 16. ubi eadem constructione ac significatione accipitur atque hoc in loco, quamvis in diversum finem. Puto enim εὐλογεῖν idem hic declarare atque infinitis locis veteris testamenti קדש, id est ἁγιάζειν καὶ καθιεροῦν, sanctificare seu consecrare, quia scilicet recitata et exposita Dei ordinatione, panis et vinum huic usui sacro destinatur, ut sint veri et naturalis corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramenta, id est, symbola et tesseræ, et ita quidem ut una cum signo etiam id quod significatur vere nobis offeratur et exhibeatur a Deo. Quia vero cum Dei laude et solenni gratiarum actione conjuncta est tota hæc actio, idcirco Paulum existimo verbo εὐλογεῖν rem totam significasse, ut meo quidem judicio Œcumenius plane et breviter exposuerit ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, id est, ὃ εὐλογοῦντες κατασκευάζομεν, id est quod cum laude et gratiarum actione adornamus; nequis nos putet consecrationis vocabulo magicam aliquam incantationem intelligere. Bezæ Nov. Test. pp. 212, 213.]

that is, the signs and pledges thereof, and that in such sort, that the same thing which is signified is offered to us to be received spiritually. And because this whole action is joined with the praise of God and solemn thanksgiving, therefore I esteem that St Paul signified this whole matter in the verb εὐλογεῖν. So that in my judgment Œcumenius hath plainly and briefly expounded ὃ εὐλογοῦμεν, that is, 'which with praise and thanksgiving we prepare.' Which I admonish, lest any man should think that by the term of consecration we mean any magical incantation." That you would prove by Beza's words, that he hath not justly explicated the meaning of Œcumenius, it is too, too beyond all measure of impudence. For Beza, not contrarying that which he said before, sheweth how the cup is blessed, sanctified, consecrated, namely, by prayer, praise of God, and thanksgiving. For which he citeth Chrysostom, who expoundeth these words of St Paul, "which we bless," to mean "which we receive with thanksgiving." As for the place of St Luke ix., Beza himself citeth it, and many other like, to prove that εὐλογεῖν, with an accusative case, signifieth "to bless," "to sanctify," "to consecrate," as also in that place, Luke ix., he expoundeth it. And yet you will make him a liar, forgetting what tale he told before. Indeed that rule you give is meet for a crafty liar, that hath some care to maintain his credit: but such an impudent liar and shameless forger as you are, hath no regard of any thing, but to deceive them whose ignorance and simplicity is such, as they neither can nor care to examine your slanders.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* And surely in the word εὐλογεῖν this is most evident, that it signifieth in this case the blessing and consecration of the creature or element; insomuch that S. Basil and S. Chrysostom in their liturgies or masses say thus by the same Greek word: "Bless, O Lord, the sacred bread, and bless, O Lord, the sacred cup." And why, or to what effect? It followeth, "changing it by the Holy Spirit[1]." Where is signified the transmutation and consecration thereof into the body and blood. But in the other word εὐχαριστεῖν there may be some question, because it signifieth properly "to give thanks;" and therefore

εὐλόγησεν τὸν ἄρτον, τὸ ποτήριον, μεταβαλὼν.

[1 εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον. Ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Τὸ δὲ ἐν ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εὐλόγησον, δέσποτα, μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ. Chrys. Opp. Sav. Tom. VI. p. 908.]

may seem to be referred to God only, and not to the element and creature. But this also we find contrary in the Greek fathers, who use this word also transitively, saying, *panem et calicem eucharistisatos,* or *panem in quo gratiæ actæ sunt,* that is, "the bread and the cup made the eucharist, the bread over which thanks are given;" that is, "which by the word of prayer and thanksgiving is made a consecrated meat, the flesh and blood of Christ," as St Justin, in fine 2. Apolog. and St Irenæus, lib. iv. 34. in the same places expound it[2]. Whereas it may also signify "that for which thanks are given" in that most solemn sacrifice of the eucharist, as St Denis in one place seemeth to take it, Eccl. Hier. c. 3. in fine, who in the selfsame chapter speaketh of the consecration thereof most evidently.

τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστηθέντα.

ἀξίων εὐχαριστεῖσθαι τῶν ὡρεῶν.

Fulke. That the creatures or elements are blessed and consecrated, that by the working of God's Spirit they should be changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a divine and spiritual manner, unto the worthy receivers, Beza and we agree with the Greek liturgies. But that this blessing is performed by the word of God, prayer, and thanksgiving, both Justinus and Irenæus do most plainly testify with Beza and us. "When the mixed cup and bread," saith Irenæus, "receiveth the word of God, it is made the eucharist[3]," &c. "The bread on which, or for which, thanks is given. The bread which is of the earth, receiving the vocation or invocation of God." So saith Justinus: "The meat for which thanks are given by the word of prayer, which is received from him." And speaking of the very manner of the consecration used in his time: "When the bread and wine with water is offered, the chief minister sendeth forth

FULKE, 4.

Lib. v. c. 2. Lib. iv. c. 34.

Apolog. 2.

[2 Nostra autem consonans est sententia eucharistiæ, et eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem prædicantes carnis et Spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia, et duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti; sic et opera nostra percipientia Eucharistiam jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes donationi ejus, et sanctificantes creaturam. Irenæi adv. Hæres. Lib. IV. cap. 34. Edit. Lutet. Paris. p. 363, 1639.]

[3 Sic autem, secundum hæc videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est..... Quando ergo et mixtus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi. Iren. Lib. v. cap. 2, p. 434.]

prayers and thanksgiving with all his might, and the people consenteth, saying, Amen[1]. Then followeth the distribution and participation of those things, for which thanks was given, to every one, &c." As for the magical mysteries of Dionyse, although in this behalf they make nothing against us, we make not so great account of, that we will stand to his judgment any more than you to his practice.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* Whereby we have to note, that the heretics in urging the word "eucharist," as mere thanksgiving, thereby to take away blessing and consecration of the elements of the bread and wine, do unlearnedly and deceitfully, because all the fathers make mention of both; St Paul also calleth it "blessing of the chalice," which the evangelists call "giving of thanks." Whose words Theophylact explicateth thus: "The chalice of blessing, that is, of the eucharist: for holding it in our hands, we bless it, and give thanks to him that shed his blood for us." See here both blessing and eucharist, blessing the chalice, and thanksgiving to Christ. St James, and the Greek fathers in their liturgies, put both words in the consecration of each element, saying thus, "Give thanks, sanctifying, breaking;" and, "giving thanks, blessing, sanctifying;" and, "taking the cup, giving thanks, sanctifying, blessing, filling it with the Holy Ghost, he gave it to us his disciples." St Chrysostom, who in many places of his works speaketh much of thanksgiving in these holy mysteries, doth he not as often speak of the blessing, consecration, yea, and the transmutation thereof, and that with what words, and by what power it is done? Doth not St Augustine say of the same, *Benedicitur et sanctificatur*, "It is blessed and sanctified,"—who often speaketh of the solemn giving of thanks in the sacrifice of the church? Doth not the church at this day use the very same terms as in St Augustine's time, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, "Let us give thanks to the Lord our God;" and, *Vere dignum et justum est semper et ubique tibi gratias agere &c.* "It is very meet and right, always and in all places to give thee thanks;" which the Greek church also in their li-

Liturg. S. Jac. Basil. Chrys. εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας.. Hom. 2. in Tim. ii. Hom. 83. in Matt. Hom. de Juda proditore. Aug. ep. 59. De bono viduit. c. 16.

[1 Ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἀμήν· τὸ δὲ ἀμὴν τῇ Ἑβραίδι φωνῇ τὸ γένοιτο σημαίνει. εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. Justini Martyris, Apol. II. Opera, Vol. II. p. 97, edit. Paris, 1636.]

turgies express most abundantly? Yet doth there follow blessing and consecration, and whatsoever St Ambrose describeth to be done in this holy sacrifice touching this point, writing thereof most excellently in his book *De iis qui initiantur mysteriis*, c. 9.

Fulke. If it were to prove anything that we deny, you would be as bare and hungry, as now you are frank and plentiful, of your testimonies. Theophylact saith the same that Beza said out of Chrysostom and Œcumenius. The Greek liturgies, falsely intituled to St James, Basil, and Chrysostom, have no other thing, nor any other author whom you name. But your popish church doth not either as the Greek liturgies, or as the churches in Ambrose and Augustine's time. For they hold that the elements are consecrated by prayer and thanksgiving; whereof although you use some terms in your mass, yet you hold, that the consecration consisteth only in a magical murmuration of the words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, over the bread by a priest, with intent of consecration: wherefore you are far from the judgment that the ancient fathers had, and we have, of the consecration of the bread and wine to be the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ. FULKE, 5.

Martin. Of all which this is the conclusion, that the eucharist is a solemn name, taken of the word εὐχαριστεῖν, so called because this sacrament and sacrifice is blessed and consecrated with prayer and thanksgiving, as St Justin speaketh, and because in this sacrifice, so blessed and consecrated into the body and blood of Christ, him we offer up a most acceptable oblation of thanksgiving, and a memory of all God's marvellous benefits toward us. In this sense the fathers and the holy church speak of the eucharist, including all the rest, to wit, sacrament, sacrifice, blessing, and consecration, without which this were no more to be called eucharist than any other common giving of thanks; as St Irenæus doth plainly signify, when he declareth, "that being before bread, and receiving the invocation of God over it, now is no more common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the earthly and the heavenly." So that it is made the eucharist by circumstance of solemn words and ceremonies, and therefore is not a mere giving of thanks. And further we learn, that St Justin's and St Irenæus' words before alleged, *panis et calix eucharistisatus*, signify, "the bread and chalice made the eucharist;" and consequently we learn, that the active thereof is by thanksgiving to make the eucharist. And because the other word of blessing, and this of thanksgiving, are used indifferently one for another in Christ's action about this sacrament, we learn undoubtedly, MARTIN, 6. Lib. 4. c. 34. εὐχαριστηθεὶς. εὐχαριστεῖν.

that when it is said εὐλογήσας, or εὐχαριστήσας, the meaning is, Blessing and giving thanks, he made the eucharist of his body and blood, that is, the sacrament and sacrifice of a singular thanksgiving, which (as St Augustine often is wont to say) the faithful only do know and understand in the sacrifice of the church; and because the faithful only understand, therefore the protestants and Calvinists are so ignorant in this mystery, that to take away all the dignity thereof they bend both their expositions and translations.

FULKE, G. *Fulke.* That the elements are blessed and consecrated by prayer and thanksgiving, as Justin, Irenæus, and other ancient fathers write, it is the thing that we contend for. But you (except you be a schismatic from all other papists) do teach that they are consecrated by these words, pronounced by a priest, "This is my body;" which are words neither of prayer nor of thanksgiving. Nevertheless, to prick us with a pin, you have wounded yourself with a sword, and say "the sacrament is blessed and consecrated with prayer and thanksgiving:" except you have some sophistical meaning, that it is consecrated with them, but not by them. The signification of the active, which you gather out of the passive, used by Justinus, sheweth what a learned clerk you are. Justinus writeth to the gentiles or heathen men, of whom he could not have been understood, if he had not used the passive, εὐχαριστηθεὶς, in that signification that all other men did use it in in that time. What we understand of the mystery of the Lord's supper, and the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, which is the only sacrifice of Christians, as Justinus writeth, the church of God doth acknowledge, though the synagogue of antichristian heretics will not confess it.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* After they have turned blessing or consecration into bare thanksgiving, which is one step toward the denying of the real presence, they come nearer, and so include Christ in heaven, that he cannot be withal upon the altar, translating thus: "Whom heaven must contain until the times that all things be restored[1]," Acts iii. 21;

ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέξασθαι.

[1 ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, Acts iii. 21. "Whom the heaven must contain until the time that all things be restored," Geneva, 1557. "To wit, Jesus Christ which must receive heaven," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Whom the heaven must (truly, Rheims) receive," Authorised version, 1611.]

and yet Beza worse, and he that allegeth him, M. Whitakers, "who must be contained in heaven." Which is so far from the Greek, that not only Illyricus the Lutheran, but Calvin himself doth not like it. Beza protesteth, that he so translateth of purpose, to keep Christ's presence from the altar; and we marvel the less, because we are well acquainted with many the like his impudent protestations. M. Whitaker only do we marvel at, that he should be either so deceived by another man's translation, or himself be so overseen in the Greek word, that he knoweth not a mere deponent and only deponent from a passive. Ad Rat. Cam. p. 43. δέξασθαι.

Fulke. The answer to this cavil is at large contained cap. i. sect. 36. Your own translation is, "whom heaven must receive." If there be now such difference between receiving and containing, *capere* and *recipere*, it is very strange to learned ears, however sottish papists will accept whatsoever proceedeth from you. But forasmuch as this section, with two other following, are directed principally against Master Whitakers, I shall need to say little, seeing he hath fully answered for himself. This one thing I may say concerning his knowledge in the Greek tongue, which you make to be so small "that he knoweth not a deponent from a passive," he is well known to be so well learned therein, that many of your seminary may marvel at him, as you say; but neither you, nor any of you all, is able to match him therein. FULKE, 7.

Martin. This doth not become him that objecteth ignorance of the Greek to another man, and that after he had well tried by public conference, that he was not ignorant; and so objecteth it, as though he knew not three words in that tongue, whereas he had heard him read and interpret St Basil, not the easiest of the Greek doctors. This is palpable impudency, and a face that cannot blush, and full of malice against the saints of God; who, if they knew not a word in the Greek tongue, were never the worse, nor the less learned, but among fools and children, that esteem learning by such trifles, which grammarians know far better than great divines. For were not he a wise man, that would prefer one Master Humfrey, Master Fulke, Master Whitakers, or some of us poor men, because we have a little smack in the three tongues, before St Chrysostom, St Basil, St Augustine, St Gregory, or St Thomas, that understood well none MARTIN, 8. Ibid. p. 84. [Ad Rat. Camp.] If he had not yet tried him, he presumed to belie him, before he knew him.

[3 Quare nativum Christi atque humanum corpus in cœlo collocamus, scripturam secuti magistram, non novam sectam ingressi. Sic enim Petrus: *Quem* oportet cœlo capi usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium. Ad Rationes Campiani Resp. p. 43.]

but one? Howbeit, if they esteem learning by knowledge of the tongues, they will not (I trow) compare with catholics either of former time, or of these later age, specially since their new gospel began: and if they will compare with us herein for their simple credit, we may perhaps give them occasion ere it be long to muster their men all at once, if they dare shew their face before our camp of excellent Hebricians, Grecians, Latinists, of absolute linguists in the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, &c., whom they must needs confess to have been, and to be, even at this day, their masters and teachers.

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* It becometh you, that have cast off all fear of God and duty to your prince, to cast off all civil honesty and human modesty also, if you speak of such matters, as you might not be controlled in them; yet if you forbear the truth, it were somewhat tolerable. But when you speak of Campion's learning in the Greek tongue, wherein you may be so manifestly convicted by hundreds of witnesses, you stop the way from any credit to be given you in other matters. All Oxford knew that Campion was no Grecian, when he departed from that university. His time spent in Ireland, and other places where he travelled, would not yield him great knowledge since his departure, except he had wholly applied it; which he could not do, nor any other serious study in such sort, as he travelled in divers places. But admit he might have knowledge by extraordinary means or miracle, if you will; how shall he be tried, but by reading and understanding that which greatly concerneth his cause in disputation and conference? You said, "he did read and interpret St Basil, not the easiest of the Greek doctors." I was not present at that conference, and therefore have the less to say. But I myself, making trial of his skill by a place of Epiphanius, both read it to him, and offering him the book, he understood no more the matter thereof than if I had cited it in the Arabic or Persian language. And therefore, upon the acknowledging of his dissembled ignorance, with great laughter of the hearers, I was content to expound it to him in English, before I could receive any answer to the argument taken from that authority. Wherefore I verily think, and am certainly persuaded, that if he pretended to interpret any thing out of St Basil, it was altogether by artificial conjecture, either of the place which he knew, and had read in

Latin, or else by surmising of some one common word, he gathered what the sense of the whole should be. Indeed, if he had never known a word of Greek, although he had been no meet man to challenge a whole realm to disputation, yet he might have been an honest man, and otherwise meanly learned, so he had not pretended knowledge, when he was in a manner altogether ignorant. For mine own part, though it please you to name me with Master Humfrey, Master Whitakers, and others, I never took upon me but a mean knowledge in the tongues; neither desire I in comparison to be preferred before any learned man, whose travails have been profitable to the church, although he were ignorant in the tongues. Yet this I must freely say, that he which shall profess to be an absolute learned divine without the knowledge of three tongues at the least, may think well of himself; but hardly he shall get and retain the credit he seeketh among learned men in this learned age. And therefore Campion, if disputation had been meant rather than sedition, for all his arrogance and impudence, was an unmeet apostle to be sent from Gregory of Rome to challenge all the wise and learned in England. Neither do I say this as though I measured all learning by knowledge of the tongues; but whereinsoever any papist in the world shall be bold to challenge the name of learning, in any knowledge that ever was or is accounted good learning, God be praised! there are many of God's true catholic church, whereof we are members, able to match them therein; that I say not to excel them. And whereas you would make us beholden to papists for such knowledge as any of us hath in the Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Arabic tongues, &c., it is well known the papists are more beholden to us. And although I confess that some papists of late days have bestowed fruitful pains in setting forth some of the oriental tongues; yet are they not the first, nor all, that have travailed profitably that way. But many have attained to competent skill in those languages many years before any papists had written anything that might further them therein. You were wont to bear ignorant men in hand, that we were a sight of English doctors, understanding no languages but our mother tongue, which hath enforced divers men to shew their skill in the tongues, which otherwise they would never have openly

professed. But now that the world seeth, to your shame, how richly God hath blessed us with the knowledge and interpretation of divers tongues, you exprobrate to us our knowledge in the tongues, and traduce us among the ignorant, as though we esteemed all learning by knowledge of tongues, and that we were but mere grammarians, and often tell us of that stale jest, that the kingdom of grammarians is past; as though it were but a little grammar whereof we make a shew. But for that general muster which you threaten to drive us unto ere it be long, if you come as learned men should do, armed with books, pen, ink, and paper, I doubt not by the grace of God but you shall find them that dare confront you, and chase you out of the field also. But if you come under the pope's banner, with such blessing as he sent lately into Ireland, I hope you shall be met withal as those his champions were, and find that promotion for your good service which you have long ago deserved by your travails for upholding of his kingdom.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* But to return to you, M. Whitakers, greater is your fault in divinity than in the tongues, when you make your argument against the real presence out of this place, as out of the scripture and St Peter; whereas they are Beza's words, and not St Peter's. Again, whether you take Beza's words, or St Peter's, your argument faileth very much, when you conclude that Christ's natural body is not in the sacrament, because it is placed and contained in heaven. For St Chrysostom telleth you, that "Christ ascending into heaven, both left us his flesh, and yet ascending hath the same[1]." And again, "O miracle!" saith he, "he that sitteth above with the Father, in the same moment of time is handled with the hands of all." This is the faith of the ancient fathers, M. Whitakers, and this is the catholic faith; and this is (I trow) another manner of faith and far greater, thus to believe the presence of Christ in both places at once, because he is omnipotent and hath said the word, than your faith (whereof you boast so much), which believeth no further than that he is ascended, and that therefore he cannot be present upon the altar, nor dispose of his body as he list.

Hom. 2. ad po. Antioch.

Lib. 3. de Sacerdotio.

FULKE, 9. *Fulke.* Master Whitaker is not so young a divine, but he knoweth that Chrysostom speaketh of the ineffable

[1 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἠλίας μηλωτὴν ἀφῆκε τῷ μαθητῇ, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνων τὴν σάρκα ἡμῖν κατέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἠλίας ἀποδυσάμενος, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμῖν κατέλιπε, καὶ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀνῆλθε. Chrysost. Hom. II. Opera, Vol. VI. p. 472, edit. Saville.]

manner of Christ's presence spiritually, though he be absent corporally: as in the place by you cited, *de sacerdotio*, it is most manifest, where he saith that we may "see the people dyed and made red with the precious blood of Christ;" which as it is not with the eye of the body, but with the eye of faith, so is Christ that is corporally present in heaven, spiritually present unto the faith of the worthy receiver[2].

Martin. Again, it is a very famous place for the real presence of the blood (which we have handled at large elsewhere*, but here also must be briefly touched), when our Saviour saith, Luke xxii. "This is the chalice the new testament in my blood, which (chalice) is shed for you[3]." For so 'which' must needs be referred according to the Greek. In which speech, 'chalice' must needs be taken for that in the chalice, and that in the chalice must needs be the blood of Christ, and not wine; because his blood only was shed for us. And so we do plainly prove the real presence, according as St Chrysostom also said, *Hoc quod est in calice, illud est quod fluxit de latere:* "That which is in the chalice, is the same that gushed out of his side." All which most necessary deduction Beza would defeat, by saying the Greek is corrupted in all the copies that are extant in the world, and by translating thus clean otherwise than the Greek will bear, "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which (blood) is shed for you."

MARTIN, 10.

*Chap. i. num. 38.

τὸ ποτήριον τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον.

In 1 Cor. x. Hom. 24.

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον.

Fulke. "It is a famous place" indeed, that never a one of the ancient writers could consider for any real presence to be drawn out of it. How Beza hath translated it, I have at

FULKE, 10.

[2 ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃς τὸν Κύριον τεθυμένον, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἐφεστῶτα τῷ θύματι, καὶ ἐπευχόμενον, καὶ πάντας ἐκείνῳ τῷ τιμίῳ φοινισσομένους αἵματι, ἆρα ἔτι μετὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶναι νομίζεις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἑστάναι, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐθέως ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μετανίστασαι, καὶ πᾶσαν σαρκικὴν διάνοιαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκβάλλων, γυμνῇ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ νῷ καθαρῷ περιβλέπεις τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς; ὦ τοῦ θαύματος, ὦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας. ὁ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνω καθήμενος, κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ταῖς ἁπάντων κατέχεται χερσὶ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις περιπτύξασθαι καὶ περιλαβεῖν. ποιοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο πάντες διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς πίστεως. Chrysost. de Sacerdot. Lib. III. Opera, Vol. VI. pp. 15, 16.]

[3 Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυνόμενον, Luke xxii. 20. "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you," all the Protestant versions. "This is the chalice the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you," Rhemish version.]

large declared before, cap. i. sect. 37, 38, 39. That which Chrysostom saith, we confess to be most true, after a spiritual and heavenly manner; and so he doth expound himself in the same place, where he saith that Christ suffereth himself to be broken for us in the oblation which he suffered, not on the cross, where no bone of his was broken: which none but a madman would take otherwise than spiritually to be done, as he is present after a spiritual manner.

MARTIN, 11.

Ad rat. Camp. p. 34.

Against D. Sand. Rock, p. 309.

Martin. But what pertaineth this to the English heretics, who translate, "which is shed," so indifferently that it may signify, "which cup," or, "which blood" is shed? Thus far it pertaineth, because they do not only defend this translation by all means, but they tell us plainly, namely Fulke, that they refer "which" to the word "blood," and not to the word "cup;" even as Beza doth, asking us what grammarian would refer it otherwise. In which question he sheweth himself a very simple grammarian in the Greek, or a mad heretic; that either knoweth not, or will not know, that in the Greek it cannot be so referred, and consequently neither in Latin nor English, which in true translation must follow the Greek. But of these and other their foul and manifold shifts to avoid this place, I have spoken in another place of this book.

Chap. i. num. 37, 38, &c.

FULKE, 11.

Fulke. As you have placed your crimination in the first chapter, to be sure that it should be read of every man that taketh your book in hand; so have I, observing your order, answered you in the same place, and in such sort, I hope, discharged myself, that you shall have little lust hereafter to insult against mine ignorance, before you be able to weigh the matter yourself with sounder knowledge.

MARTIN, 12. p. 35.

Præf. in Nov. Test. an. 1556.

Martin. Only M. Whitakers, to say truly, hath brought somewhat to the purpose, to wit, that St Basil readeth the Greek as they translate. But he doth well to make light of it, because it is evident that St Basil cited not the text of the evangelist, but the sense; which Beza noteth to be the custom of the ancient fathers, telling us withal that therefore the reading of the fathers is no certain rule to reform or alter the words of scripture according to the same: and it is very like, that if Beza or Fulke his advocate had thought St Basil's reading of any importance, they would have used it long since, rather than so many other shifts and so absurd, as they do: unless we may think they knew it not, and therefore could not use it. But for St Basil, according to the sense, he citeth it very truly: for whether we say, "the cup that is shed," or, "the blood that is shed," both signifieth

the blood of Christ shed for us, as St Basil citeth it. The difference is, that referring it to the "cup," as St Luke hath it, it signifieth the "blood" both present in the "cup," and also then shed in a sacrament at the last supper: but referring it to the word "blood," as St Basil doth, and as they translate, it may signify the "blood" shed on the cross also, yea, (as these translators mean and would have it,) only that on the cross, not considering that the Greek word is the present tense, and therefore rather signifieth the present shedding of his blood then in mystical sacrifice, than the other visible shedding thereof, which was to come in the future tense. Lastly, they translate St Luke's gospel, and not St Basil: and therefore, not following St Luke, they are false translators, howsoever St Basil readeth.

Fulke. The reading of St Basil, whereof Beza maketh mention in his annotation upon this text of St Luke, is also handled before. As the reading of the doctors is no perpetual rule to reform the text of the scripture by, so is it not to be neglected, but that sometimes also the present reading may be corrected thereafter. True it is, that Beza supposeth it rather to have been added out of the margin: and I, as I have before declared, do think that either it is to be read as Basil did read it, or else that the verb substantive is to be understood, and the article taken for the relative; as it is often both in profane writings, and in the New Testament itself, as by sundry examples I have made it manifest. FULKE, 12.

Martin. As this falsehood is both against sacrament and sacrifice, so against the sacrifice also of the altar it is, that they control St Jerome's translation in the Old Testament, concerning the sacrifice of Melchisedec, who "brought forth bread and wine[1];" Gen. xiv. 18; that is, offered, or sacrificed bread and wine; which we prove to be the true sense and interpretation, (and that this bringing forth of bread and wine was sacrificing thereof,) not only by all the fathers' expositions, that write of Melchisedec's priesthood, (Cypr. *epist.* 63. Epiph. *hær.* 55, and 79. Jero. in Matt. xxvi. and in *epist. ad Evagrium*,) and by the Hebrew word, which is a word of sacrifice, Judg. vi. 18.; and by the greatest rabbins and Hebricians that write thereof: but we prove it also by these words of the very text itself, "He brought forth bread and wine, for he was the priest of God most high." Which reason MARTIN, 13. The sacrifice of Melchisedec. הוֹצִיא See Pet. Gal. lib. x. c. 4. & 5. Chro. Gerebrardi, p. 13.

[1 Καὶ Μελχισεδὲκ βασιλεὺς Σαλὴμ ἐξήνεγκεν ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον. Gen. xiv. 18. "At vero Melchisedech rex Salem, proferens panem et vinum," Vulg.]

immediately following, "because he was God's priest," proveth evidently that he brought it not forth in common manner, as any other man might have done, but as "God's priest," whose office is to offer sacrifice. This consequence is so plain, that for avoiding thereof the adversaries will not have it translated in any wise, "for he was the priest," as though the scripture gave a reason, why he brought forth bread and wine; but, "and he was a priest," &c. wrangling about the signification of the Hebrew conjunction.

ἦν δὲ ἱερεύς. וְהוּא כֹהֵן

FULKE, 13. *Fulke.* That St Jerome was author of the vulgar Latin interpretation of the Old Testament, it is more boldly affirmed than ever it can be sufficiently proved by you. But what do we control? Your vulgar interpreter saith, that Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine, and so say we; which how St Jerome and other understandeth, I have before declared, cap. i. sect. 42.

Against all the fathers that expound that bringing forth of bread and wine to pertain to his priesthood, I oppose the apostle to the Hebrews, who could not have omitted it, if it had been so. That "the Hebrew word is a word of sacrifice," it is most impudently affirmed of you. For Judg. vi., it signifieth no more to offer than here, although there Gideon desire the angel to stay, until he return and bring from his house with him a gift or oblation. But if you will contend that whatsoever is brought forth, wheresoever this Hebrew word is used, is a sacrifice, you shall make an hundred sacrifices more than ever God ordained. Neither will Galatinus or Gerebrardus, for their credit, once affirm that it signifieth to offer sacrifice: though it may be used in bringing forth of sacrifices, as well as of all other things that are brought forth. But the conjunction causal "maketh it clear, that this bringing forth was in respect of his priesthood." Indeed, if the Hebrew conjunction were causal and not copulative, we were driven to the wall; but seeing the Hebrew conjunction copulative must be expounded according to the sense, you do very unskilfully to conclude the sense, which is in controversy, upon the conjunction which is indefinite: and we without partiality have translated the conjunction copulative, as it doth most commonly and ordinarily signify.

MARTIN, 14. *Martin.* Wherein the reader may see their exceeding partiality and wilfulness. For, besides infinite like places of scripture, whereby we do easily shew that this Hebrew particle is used to give a reason

or cause of a thing, themselves also in another place prove it for us, and that by the authority of Theophylact, and allegation of examples out of the scripture, and translate accordingly thus: "Blessed art thou among women, because the fruit of thy womb is blessed." Let them give us a reason, why the said conjunction is here by their translation *quia*, or *enim*, where it was never so translated before; and it must not be in any case in the other place of Genesis, where it hath been so translated and generally received, even in the primitive church. In other places of scripture also, which Theophylact allegeth, (and many more may be alleged,) they confess, and like very well it should so signify: only in the place of Genesis, they cannot abide any such sense, or translation thereof; but, "He brought forth bread and wine, and he was the priest," &c. not, "because he was the priest:" what is the cause of this their dealing? None other undoubtedly, (and in all these cases I knock at their consciences,) but that here they would avoid the necessary sequel of Melchisedec's sacrifice upon such translation; which typical sacrifice of bread and wine if it should be granted, then would follow also a sacrifice of the New Testament, made of bread and wine, answering to the same, and so we should have the sacrifice of the altar, and their bare communion should be excluded.

Beza, annot. in Luke i. 42.

Nov. Test. anno 1580. Benedicta tu, &c. et benedictus, &c. καὶ εὐλογημένος.

Gen. xiv. 18.

Fulke. Because we will not falsely translate to maintain a colour of your popish sacrifice, we shew great "partiality." Wherein, I pray you? The conjunction copulative, we know, may often be resolved into the causal, where the sense so requireth; but it never hath any force in itself to breed such a sense, or to conclude such a sense by it. It is against all reason therefore, that you would urge us to translate contrary to that which in our consciences before God we take to be the sense. Where you say, that "the sacrifice of Melchisedec, if it were granted, would bring in your mass, and exclude our communion," it is altogether untrue. For none of the ancient fathers (who were deceived to imagine a sacrifice, where the apostle seeking all things pertaining to Melchisedec's priesthood could find none) doth allow your propitiatory sacrifice; but contrariwise, by those only speeches that they use about Melchisedec's oblation of bread and wine, we are able to prove that they did speak of a sacrifice of thanksgiving only. And your sacrifice, in which you say is neither bread nor wine, should hardly resemble Melchisedec's oblation made of bread and wine.

FULKE, 14.

Martin. For which purpose also their partial translation about "altar," and "table," is notorious. For the name of "altar," (as they

MARTIN, 15.

θυσιαστήριον. מזבח

know very well,) both in the Hebrew and Greek, and by the custom of all peoples, both Jews and Pagans, implying and importing sacrifice, therefore we, in respect of the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, say "altar," rather than "table," as all the ancient fathers (Chrys. Hom. 53 *ad pop. Antioch.* and Hom. 20 in 2 *Cor.* and in *Demonst. quod Christus sit Deus*, tom. v. Nazianz. *de Gorgonia sorore.* Basil *in Liturg.* Socrat. Lib. I. *Hist.* c. 20, and 25. Theodoret. *Hist.* Lib. IV. c. 20. Theophyl. in 23 Matt. Cypr. *epist.* 63. Optat. *cont. Parm.* Aug. *ep.* 86. and Lib. IX. Confess. c. 11. and 13. *et alibi sæpe*) are wont to speak and write, (namely when St Jerome calleth the bodies or bones of St Peter and Paul the "altars" of Christ, because of this sacrifice offered over and upon the same,) though in respect of eating and drinking the body and blood it is also called a "table;" so that with us it is both an "altar" and a "table," whether it be of wood or of stone. But the protestants, because they make it only a communion of bread and wine, or a supper, and no sacrifice, therefore they call it "table" only, and abhor from the word "altar," as papistical. For the which purpose, in their first translation (Bible, an. 1562), when altars were then in digging down throughout England, they translated with no less malice than they threw them down, putting the word "temple" instead of "altar;" which is so gross a corruption, that a man would have thought it had been done by oversight, and not of purpose, if they had not done it thrice immediately within two chapters, 1 Cor. ix. and x., saying: "Know you not, that they which wait of the temple are partakers of the temple?" and, "Are not they which eat of the sacrifice partakers of the temple?"—in all which places the apostle's word in Greek is "altar," and not "temple." And see here their notorious peevishness: where the apostle saith "temple," there the same translation saith "sacrifice;" where the apostle saith "altar," there it saith "temple[1]."

θυσιαστήριον. c. ix. v. 13. ἱερόν.

[1 οἱ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσεδρεύοντες τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ συμμερίζονται, 1 Cor. ix. 13. "Qui altari deserviunt, cum altari participant," Vulg. "Witen ye not that they that work in the temple, and they that serve to the altar, are partners of the altar," Wiclif. "They which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar," Tyndale, Geneva, Bishops' bible, 1584, Authorised version. "They which wait of the temple, are partakers of the temple," Cranmer, 1539, 1562. "They that serve the altar are participators of the altar," Rheims.

Οὐχὶ οἱ ἐσθίοντες τὰς θυσίας κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου εἰσί; 1 Cor. x. 18. "Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris?" Vulg. "Were they that eat sacrifices not partners of the altar?" Wiclif. "Are not they which eat of the sacrifice partakers of the altar?" Tyndale, Geneva, Bishops' bible, 1584, Authorised version. "Partakers of the temple?" Cranmer, 1539, 1562. "They that eat the hosts, are they not partakers of the altar?" Rheims.]

Fulke. That the ancient fathers used the name of "altar," as they did of "sacrifice," "sacrificer," "levite," and such like, improperly, yet in respect of the spiritual oblation of praise and thanksgiving, which was offered in the celebration of the Lord's supper, we do easily grant: as also, that they do as commonly use the name of table, and that it was a table indeed, so standing as men might stand round about it, and not against a wall, as your popish altars stand, it is easy to prove, and it hath oftentimes been proved, and it seemeth you confess as much, but that it is with you both an "altar" and a "table;" with us indeed it is, as it is called in the scripture, only a "table." That we make the sacrament a communion of bread and wine, it is a blasphemous slander, when we believe, as the apostle taught us, that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, and the Lord's supper: as for the corruption you pretend, I cannot think, as I have answered before, it was anything else but the first printer's oversight. For why should the name of "altar" mislike us in that place more than in an hundred other places, when it is certain, wheresoever it is used in the scriptures, in the proper sense it signifieth the altars of the Jews, or of the gentiles, and never the communion-table, or that at which the Lord's supper is prepared and received? FULKE, 15. 1 Cor. x. 11. Chap. i. Sect. 11.

Martin. Thus we see how they suppress the name of "altar," where it should be: now let us see how they put it in their translation, where it should not be. This also they do thrice in one chapter, and that for to save the honour of their "communion-table;" namely, in the story of Bel, where we have it thrice called the "table" of that idol, under which Bel's priests "had made a privy entrance," and "that the king looked upon the table," and "that they did eat up such things as were upon the table;" these wicked translators, fearing lest the name of Bel's "table" might redound to the dishonour of their communion-table, translate it "altar" in all these places[s]. Wherein I cannot but pity their folly, and wonder exceedingly how they could imagine it any disgrace, either for "table" or "altar," if the idols also MARTIN, 16. Dan. xiv. 12. 17. 20. τράπεζα. See the Bib. 1562. & 1577

[s "The priests thought themselves sure enough, for under the altar they had made a privy door." In the margin, "table." Story of Bel and the Dragon, v. 12, Bishops' bible, 1584. "The king looked unto the altar," v. 17. "Table" in margin. "Such things as were upon the altar," v. 20. The Geneva bible, 1560, and Authorised version have "table" in the text of these three passages. Cranmer's bible of 1562 has "altar."]

had their "tables" and "altars;" whereas St Paul so plainly nameth
1 Cor. x. 21. both together, "the table of our Lord," and "the table of devils." If the "table" of devils, why not the "table" of Bel? if that be no disgrace to the "table" of our Lord, why are you afraid of Bel's "table," lest it should disgrace yours. Or if you had no such fear, then you must tell us some other good reason of your unreasonable translation in this place, why you translate "altar" for "table," that is, chalk, for cheese.

FULKE, 16. *Fulke.* That the authors of the first translation in the fabulous story of Bel for "table" translated "altar," as I cannot excuse them of error, so I dare discharge them of any partiality or favour of the communion-table. For in king Henry the eighth's time, when that translation was first printed, there was never a communion-table in any church of England. It is like therefore, they respected similitude of the placing thereof, so as a privy door might be under it; which could not be conveyed in tables of such forms as now-a-days are in use. The bible 1577, in the margin, placeth the word "table," which is in the Greek, signifying that there is no great matter whether word you use; and that story being of no credit, the translators could have no purpose either to prove or improve by authority thereof.

MARTIN, 17. *Martin.* And here, by the way, the reader may note another exceeding folly in them, that think the name of "table" maketh against "altar" and "sacrifice," their own translation here condemning them, where they call Bel's table an "altar;" and St Paul, having said to the Corinthians, "The table of our Lord," saith to the Hebrews of the selfsame, "We have an altar;" and again, he saith, "the table of devils," which, I am sure, they will not deny to have been a true "altar" of idololatrical sacrifice; and Malachi i. 7. in one sentence it is called both "altar" and "table," whereupon the Jews offered their external and
Haimo. Œcumen. true sacrifices; and all the fathers, both Greek and Latin, speaking of the sacrifice of the New Testament, call that whereupon it is offered both "altar" and "table;" but the Greeks more often "table," the Latin fathers more often "altar:" and why, or in what respects, it is called both this and that, we have before declared; and here might add the very same out of St Germanus, archbishop of Constantinople, in his Greek commentaries (called *Mystica Theoria,*) on the liturgies or masses of the Greek fathers; but to proceed.

FULKE, 17. *Fulke.* It were an infinite matter to note, not only all the follies that you commit, but also the impudent assertions

that you make, upon your own surmise, without all proof. Who made you so privy of our thought, that you affirm us to think the name of "table" maketh against "altar" and "sacrifice?" We know the name of "table" proveth no sacrifice; but that the fathers call the same both a "table" and an "altar," we do never deny unto you. Yet, that the apostle to the Hebrews xiii., calleth that same "an altar," which St Paul to the Corinthians nameth "a table," you shall never be able to prove; howsoever Œcumenius and Haimo, two late writers, dote upon that place, which is evident, even by the text, to be understood of the only sacrifice of Christ's death upon the cross. That the people whom the prophet Malachi reproveth, calleth the Lord's altar his "table," is no sufficient proof that it might be called by the one name as well as the other. And although in respect of the meat-offerings and drink-offerings it was also a "table," at which God vouchsafed to be entertained by the people, as their familiar friend: but what is this to the purpose of any controversy between us? The altar was called a "table" in the Old Testament; but the "table" is never called an "altar" in the New Testament, although by the ancient fathers oftentimes.

Martin. There are also some places less evident, yet such as smack of the like heretical humour against the blessed sacrament. In the prophet Jeremiah xi. 19. we read thus, according to the Latin and the Greek: "Let us cast wood upon his bread," that is, saith St Jerome, *in comment. hujus loci,* "the cross upon the body of our Saviour[1]. For it is he that said, 'I am the bread that descended from heaven.'" Where the prophet, so long before saying "bread," and meaning his "body," alludeth prophetically to his "body" in the blessed sacrament made of "bread," and under the form of "bread," and therefore also called "bread" of the apostle. So that both in the prophet and apostle his "bread" and his "body" is all one; and lest we should think, that the "bread" only signifieth his "body," he saith: "Let us put the cross upon his bread," that is, upon his very natural body, which hung on the cross. Now for these words of the prophet, so usual and well known in the church and all antiquity, how think you do these new

MARTIN, 18.

Lignum in panem ejus. ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ.

1 Cor. x.

[1 *Qui quum non cognovisset peccatum, pro nobis peccatum factus est;* et dixerint, *Mittamus lignum in panem ejus,* crucem videlicet in corpus Salvatoris. Ipse est enim qui ait: *Ego sum panis qui de cœlo descendi.* Comment. Hieronymi, Lib. II. in Jeremiam xi. 19. Opera, Vol. III. p. 585.]

masters translate? In one bible thus: "Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof." Another, "We will destroy his meat with wood;" or as they should have said rather, "the wood with his meat." Do you see how properly they agree, whiles they seek novelties, and forsake the ancient usual translation?

FULKE, 18. *Fulke.* The phrase or manner of speech which the prophet Jeremiah useth, being somewhat obscure and unusual, hath bred divers translations. The most simple meaning, and agreeable unto the Hebrew, is this: "Let us destroy him with wood instead of bread;" that is, "Let us famish him in a close prison, or in the stocks," &c.: and so may the Greek and vulgar Latin be expounded, "Let us give him wood for bread," rather than that violent exposition of St Jerome is to be admitted, which referreth it to his crucifying: where, beside it were an intolerable figure in that place to understand his body by bread, it is clean contrary to that you said; for the cross was not put upon Christ, but Christ upon the cross. Such wresting of the scripture, where no need is, maketh the Christians ridiculous to the Jews. And yet it is more far-fetched to draw it to the sacrament, which is called bread, and is not bread; neither doth St Jerome extend his interpretation so far.

MARTIN, 19. *Martin.* They will say, the first Hebrew word cannot be as St Jerome translateth, and as it is in the Greek, and as all antiquity readeth; but it must signify, "Let us destroy." They say truly, according to the Hebrew word which now is. But is it not evident thereby, that the Hebrew word now is not the same which the Septuaginta translated into Greek, and St Jerome into Latin? and consequently the Hebrew is altered and corrupted from the original copy which they had: perhaps by the Jews, (as some other places,) to obscure this prophecy also of Christ's passion, and their crucifying of him upon the cross. Such Jewish rabbins and new Hebrew words do our new masters gladly follow in the translation of the Old Testament; whereas they might easily conceive the old Hebrew word in this place, if they would employ their skill that way, and not only to novelties. For who seeth not that the Greek interpreters in number seventy, and all Hebrews of best skill in their own tongue, St Jerome also, a great Hebrician, did not read as now we have in the Hebrew, *nashchita*, but, *nashitha*, or, *nashlicha?* Again, the Hebrew word that now is, doth so little agree with the words following, that they cannot tell how to translate it; as appeareth by the diversity and difference of

ἐμβάλωμεν. Mittamus.

נַשְׁחִיתָה

Psal. xxi.

Destruamus. Ponamus. Mittamus.

their translations thereof before mentioned, and transposing the words in English otherwise than in the Hebrew, neither of both their translations having any commodious sense or understanding.

Fulke. If we should acknowledge the Hebrew word to be altered in so many places, as the Seventy depart from it, we should not only condemn the Hebrew text, that now is, in many places, but your vulgar Latin text also; the translator whereof, differing oftentimes from the Greek, followeth the truth of the Hebrew, or at least cometh nearer unto it. Your argument of the number of the seventy interpreters, all Hebrews, is very ridiculous and childish. Jerome himself will laugh you to scorn in it, who acknowledged for certainty no more than the books of the law translated by them. And Lindanus proveth manifestly unto you, that some parts of the Old Testament in Greek, which we now have, are not the same that were counted the Seventy translation in the ancient fathers' time. Whether Jerome in this place did consider the Hebrew text, we know not: for he doth not, as his manner is, shew the diversity of the Hebrew and the Septuaginta in this chapter; beside, he professeth great brevity in treating upon so long a prophet. But whether a letter in this word have been altered or no, נַשְׁחִיתָה or whether it were corrupt in the copy which the Greek translator and Jerome did read, for the true or simple sense thereof there is no great difference: no, nor for that sense which Jerome brings; which, although it seemeth to be far from the prophet's meaning, yet it may have as good ground upon the word *naschita*, as upon the word *nashlicha*. FULKE, 19.

Martin. But yet they will pretend, that for the first word at the least they are not to be blamed, because they follow the Hebrew that now is. Not considering that if this were a good excuse, then might they as well follow the Hebrew that now is, Psal. xxi. 18., and so utterly suppress and take out of the scripture this notable prophecy, "They pierced my hands and my feet:" which yet they do not, neither can they do it for shame, if they will be counted Christians. So that indeed, to follow the Hebrew sometime, where it is corrupt, is no sufficient excuse for them, though it may have a pretence of true translation, and we promised in the preface in such cases not to call it heretical translation. MARTIN, 20.

FULKE, 20. *Fulke.* To this cavil against the certain truth of the Hebrew text, I have sufficiently answered in my confutation of your preface, sect. xliv.,[1] shewing that the true reading of this word, as Felix Pratensis, Johannes Isaak, Tremelius, and other do acknowledge, is still remaining and testified by the Mazzorites.

MARTIN, 21. That water and wine ought to be mingled in the chalice, Prov. ix.

Martin. But concerning the blessed sacrament, let us see once more how truly they follow the Hebrew. "The Holy Ghost (saith St Cyprian, Ep. lxiii. nu. 2.) by Salomon foresheweth a type of our Lord's sacrifice, of the immolated host of bread and wine, saying, 'Wisdom hath killed her hosts, she hath mingled her wine into the cup. Come ye, eat of my bread, and drink the wine that I have mingled for you[2].' Speaking of wine mingled (saith this holy doctor), he foresheweth prophetically the cup of our Lord, mingled with water and wine." So doth St Jerome interpret this mixture or mingling of the wine in the chalice; so doth the author of the commentaries upon this place among St Jerome's works; so do the other fathers. So that there is great importance in these prophetical words of Salomon, "she hath mingled her wine into the cup," and, "the wine which I have mingled," as being a manifest prophecy of Christ's mingling water and wine in the chalice at his last supper, which the catholic church observeth at this day, and whereof St Cyprian writeth the foresaid long epistle[3].

See S. Augustine De Civit. Dei, lib. 17. c. 20.

FULKE, 21. *Fulke.* It had been to be wished that St Cyprian, when he goeth about to prove the necessity of wine in the celebration of the Lord's supper against the heretics, called *Aquarii*, that contended for only water, had retained the precise institution of Christ in wine only, which the scripture mentioneth, and not allowed them a mixture of water,

[1 p. 79, 80.]

[2 "Sapientia ædificavit sibi domum, excidit columnas septem: immolavit victimas suas, miscuit vinum, et proposuit mensam suam." Prov. ix. 1, 2, Vulg.]

[3 Sed et per Salomonem Spiritus sanctus typum Dominici sacrificii ante præmonstrat, immolatæ hostiæ, et panis et vini, sed et altaris et apostolorum faciens mentionem: Sapientia, inquit, ædificavit sibi domum, et subdidit columnas septem: mactavit suas hostias, miscuit in cratera vinum suum, et paravit mensam suam; et misit servos suos, convocans cum excelsa prædicatione ad craterem, dicens: Qui est insipiens declinet ad me, et egentibus sensu dixit, Venite, edite de meis panibus, et bibite vinum quod miscui vobis. Vinum mixtum declarat, id est, calicem Domini aqua et vino mixtum prophetica voce prænuntiat. Cypriani Epist. lxiii.]

and for that purpose driven himself to such watery expositions, as this of Proverbs ix., which, without good warrant, he draweth to represent the Lord's supper: where if he had been urged by the adversaries, whereto the beasts slain were referred in this sacrament, he must have been driven to some violent comment. But whereto tendeth this preparation?

Martin. But the protestants, counting it an idle superstitious ceremony, here also frame their translation accordingly, suppressing altogether this mixture or mingling, and instead thereof saying, "She hath drawn her wine,[4]" and, "drink the wine that I have drawn;" or (as in other of their bibles), "She hath poured out her wine," and, "the wine which I have poured out;" neither translation agreeing either with Greek or Hebrew. Not with the Greek, which doth evidently signify "mingling" and "mixture," as it is in the Latin, and as all the Greek church from the apostles' time hath used this word in this very case whereof we now speak, of mingling water and wine in the chalice; St James and St Basil in their liturgies expressly testifying that Christ did so, as also St Cyprian in the place alleged; St Justin, in the end of his second apology, calling it of the same Greek word κρᾶμα, that is (according to Plutarch), wine mingled with water; likewise St Irænеus, in his fifth book near the beginning. See the sixth general council most fully treating hereof, and deducing it from the apostles and ancient fathers, and interpreting this Greek word by another equivalent, and more plain to signify this mixture.

MARTIN, 22.
Bibl. 1579.
An. 1577.
ἐκέρασεν. Miscuit.
κεκέρακα, Miscui.
λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, κεράσας. Mixtus calix.
Conc. Constantinop. vi. can. 32.
μιγνύναι.

Fulke. The authority of the holy scriptures with us is more worth than the opinion of all the men in the world. In the scripture we find "the fruit of the vine," water we find not; therefore we account not water to be of any necessity in the celebration of the Lord's supper. In the primitive church we know water was used first of sobriety, then of ceremony, and at length it grew to be counted of necessity. The Armenians therefore are commendable in this point, that they would never depart from the authority of the scriptures, to yield to the custom, practice, or judgment of any man. But against this mixture, as you surmise, we have translated "poured out" or "drawn." I confess, our

FULKE, 22.

[4 "She hath drawen her wine," Geneva, 1560. "Drink of the wine that I have drawen," Id. v. 5.]

[5 Geneva bible, 1560.]

translators should more simply, according to the word, have said, "mingled his wine," and "the wine that I have mingled;" but because that speech is not usual in the English tongue, it seemeth they regarded not so much the property of the word, as the phrase of our tongue. But that they had no purpose against the mixture of the wine with water in the sacrament, it is manifest by this reason, that none of them did ever think that this place was to be interpreted "of the Lord's supper," but generally, of such spiritual food as wisdom giveth to men's souls. Therefore it is certain they had no meaning to avoid the word of "mixing," for any such intent as you surmise.

MARTIN, 23. *Martin.* Thus then the Greek is neither "drawing of wine," nor "pouring out thereof," as they translate, but "mingling." But the Hebrew perhaps signifieth both, or at the least one of the two, either "to draw," or "to pour out." Gentle reader, if thou have skill, look the Hebrew Lexicon of Pagnine, esteemed the best: if thou have not skill, ask, and thou shalt understand, that there is no such signification of this word in all the bible, but that it signifieth only mixture and mingling. A strange case, that to avoid this mingling of the cup, being a most certain tradition of the apostles, they have invented two other significations of this Hebrew word, which it never had before!

מָסַךְ

FULKE, 23. *Fulke.* The dictionaries are more sure to teach what a word doth signify, than what it doth not signify. I confess, Pagnine giveth none other signification of that root מסך, but *miscuit.* But even the word *miscuit* may signify "a pouring out," when there is no respect of joining divers things together, but of serving one with the cup, as Tully useth the word: *Qui alteri misceat mulsum, ipse non sitiens:* "He that serveth another with sweet wine, when he is not athirst himself." So is the Hebrew word used, Esai. xix., where the prophet saith, "The Lord hath poured forth among them the spirit of error:" where the word of "mixture" is not so proper. Again, your own vulgar Latin interpreter, Prov. xxiii., translateth *mimsach,* a word derived from the same root, not for any mixture, but for drinking up, or making clean the cups: *et student calicibus epotandis,* "which study how to empty or drink up all that is in the cups." In Hebrew it is, "which go to seek strong wine," or "mingled wine." And if a mixture be granted

מִמְסָךְ

in the place you require, how prove you a mixture with water rather than with any thing else? Verily the circumstance of the place, if there must needs be a mixture, requireth a mixture of spices, honey, or some such thing to make the wine delectable unto which wisdom doth invite, and allure all men to drink it, rather than of water only, to abate the strength of it. As also in the text, Prov. xxiii., the drunkards that continued at the wine, and went to seek ממסך "mingled wine," went not to seek wine mingled with water, but some other delicate mixture. And Esai. v., where woe is pronounced to drunkards, the same word is used: "Woe be to them that are strong to drink wine, and men of might, *limsoch*, to mingle strong drink;" not to mingle it with water for sobriety, but with some other delectable matter to provoke drunkenness, as your vulgar interpreter translateth it. So that albeit the word did signify "to mingle" never so properly and certainly, you can make no good argument for mingling with water in that place, Prov. ix., where either it signifieth simply "to draw," "broach," or "pour out," or else to prepare with some other more pleasant mixture than of water only. לִמְסֹךְ

CHAPTER XVIII.

Heretical Translation against the honour of Saints, namely of our blessed Lady.

MARTIN, 1. *Martin.* LET us pass from God's holy sacraments to his honourable saints in heaven; and we shall find that these translations Ps. cxxxviii. pluck from them also as much honour as they may. In the psalm cxxxviii., where the catholic church and all antiquity readeth thus, *Nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus*[1], *&c.* "Thy friends, O God, are become exceeding honourable, their princedom is exceedingly strengthened;" which verse is sung and said in the honour of the holy Psal. xliv. apostles, agreeably to that in another psalm, *Constitues eos principes super omnem terram*, "Thou shalt appoint them princes over all the earth;" what mean they in all their English bibles to alter it thus, רֵעֶיךָ "How dear are thy counsels (or thoughts) to me, O God! O how great is the sum of them[1]!" Doth not the Hebrew make more for the old received Latin translation, than for theirs, because the Hebrew word is used more commonly for to signify "friends" than "cogitations?" Doth not St Jerome so translate in his translation of the Psalms according to the Hebrew? doth not the great Rabbin R. Salomon? οἱ φίλοι σου. doth not the Greek put it out of doubt, which is altogether according to the said ancient Latin translation?

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* The context of the verse going before, and also the verse following, not any envy against the saints of God, have moved our translators to depart from the vulgar translation, which is neither so proper for the words, and altogether impertinent to the matter of the text. For when the prophet had in the verse going before celebrated the wonderful work of God in the framing of his body in his mother's womb, in this verse he breaketh out into an exclamation to behold the marvellous and unsearchable wisdom of God's counsels, whose strength is above man's reach, whose number is as the sand of the sea. To answer R. Salomon, we have R. David Kimchi, as great a rabbin as he and

[1 "Nimis honorificati sunt amici tui, Deus," Vulg. "How dear are thy counsels unto me, O God: O how great is the sum of them," Psal. cxxxix. 17, Bishops' bible, 1584, and 1562. "How dear therefore are thy thoughts unto me, O God! how great is the sum of them," Geneva, 1560.]

a more sincere interpreter, that expoundeth the whole verse even as we do.

Martin. And you, my masters, that translate otherwise, I beseech you, is it in Hebrew, "How great is the sum of them, &c." and not rather, word for word, most plainly, "how are the heads of them strengthened, or their princedoms," as in the Greek also it is most manifest? Why do you then hunt after novelties, and forsake the trodden path of the ancient, and pass the bounds which our holy forefathers have set and appointed, preferring your own singularities and new devices, even there where you cannot justly pretend either the Hebrew or Greek? When the Hebrew Lexicon hath given the common interpretation of this place, and then saith, *Quidam exponunt,* "Some expound it otherwise;" why had you rather be of that lesser "some that expound otherwise," than of the great society of all ancient interpreters? MARTIN, 2. עָצְמוּ רָאשֵׁיהֶם αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν. Epito. Thesau. Pagn. an. 1570. in radice רָעָה

Fulke. The Hebrew is as we have translated, "How great is the sum of them!" So doth Kimchi expound it; so doth Pagnine; and to the same effect Justinian: and the same word, *yatsemu missapel,* "the sum of them is greater than can be numbered," Psal. xl.; where the prophet speaketh of the counsels, or thoughts of God, as in this place. Where you quarrel at us for following the lesser number, when Pagnine saith, *quidam,* &c., you may know, if you list, that Pagnine himself is one of those *quidam,* that translateth even as we do, "How precious are their thoughts unto me; how are the sums of them multiplied!" As for Jerome, whom you would have us to follow, instead of "princes" hath "poor men;" and therefore you do injuriously to require us to follow him, whom you follow not yourselves. You must therefore indict Pagnine of heretical translation, beside all protestants; or else you are very partial. FULKE, 2. עָצְמוּ מִסַּפֵּל

Martin. But this new-fangled singularity of teaching and translating otherwise than all antiquity hath done, shall better appear in their dealing about our blessed lady, whose honour they have sought so many ways to diminish and deface, that the defence and maintenance thereof against the heretics of our time is grown to a great book, learnedly written by the great clerk and Jesuit, father Canisius, intituled *Mariana.* MARTIN, 3.

Fulke. I think Canisius in all his great book, called Mariana, meddleth not with our English translations; and therefore very idly was this matter brought in, to tell us FULKE, 3.

of Canisius's book, called Mariana. I have seen a blasphemous book against (I may justly say, though it were pretended in the honour of) the blessed virgin, called *Mariale*. I have seen that horrible blasphemous Psalter of Bonaventure, perverting all the psalms unto the honour of the virgin Mary, with intolerable blasphemy against God and the holy mother of Christ, whose greatest honour is in the kingdom of her Son, and in his infinite glory.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* Concerning our purpose, what was ever more common, and is now more general and usual in all christian countries, than in the *Ave Marie*, to say, *Gratia plena*, "full of grace;" insomuch that in the first English bible it hath continued so still, and every child in our country was taught so to say, till the *Ave Marie* was banished altogether, and not suffered to be said, neither in Latin, nor English? What ancient father of the Latin church hath not always so read and expounded? What church in all the west hath not ever so sung and said? Only our new translators have found a new kind of speech, translating thus: "Hail thou that art freely beloved," and, "Hail thou that art in high favour." Why this, and that, or any other thing, rather than, "Hail, full of grace[1]?" St John baptist was full of the Holy Ghost, even from his birth; St Stephen was full of grace, as the scripture recordeth of them both: why may not then our Lady much more be called "full of grace," who (as St Ambrose saith) "only obtained the grace, which no other women deserved, to be replenished with the author of grace?"

Bib. 1579, & 1577.

Luke i. 28. Acts vii. 8.

Ambr. lib. 2. in Luke i.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* The salutation of the Virgin may be said still, either in Latin or English, as well as any part of the holy scripture beside; but not to make a popish orison of an angelic salutation. That we have translated "Hail, Mary, freely beloved," or, "that art in high favour," we have followed the truth of the Greek word, not so denying thereby, but that the virgin Mary, of God's special goodness without her merits, as she confesseth, was filled with all gracious gifts of the Holy Spirit, as much as any mortal creature might be, except our Saviour Christ, whose only privilege it is to be free from sin, and to have received the gifts of the Holy Ghost without measure in his manhood.

[1 Καὶ εἰσελθὼν ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπε, χαῖρε, κεχαριτωμένη· Luke i. 28. "Hail, full of grace," Wiclif, Tyndale, Cranmer, Rheims. "Hail, thou that art freely beloved," Geneva, 1557, 1560. "Hail, thou that art highly favoured," Authorised version, 1611.]

Martin. They will say, the Greek word doth not so signify. Doth it not? I make themselves witnesses of the contrary, and their own translation in other places shall confute them, where they translate another word of the self-same nature and form, and in all respects like to this, "full of sores." If ἠλκωμένος be "full of sores," why is not κεχαριτωμένη "full of grace?" Let any Grecian of them all make me a difference in the nature and significancy of these two words. Again, if *ulcerosus* (as Beza translateth) be "full of sores," why is not *gratiosa* (as Erasmus translateth) "full of grace?" or why doth Beza marvel that Erasmus translated *gratiosa*, when himself translateth the like word *ulcerosus*? All which adjectives in *osus* (you know) signify "fulness," as *periculosus, ærumnosus.* Yet what a stir doth Beza keep here in his annotations, to make the Greek word signify "freely beloved!" MARTIN, 5. Luke xvi. 20.

Fulke. The signification of the Greek word, with your foolish cavillation of *ulcerosus*, I have discussed sufficiently, cap. i. sect. 43. FULKE, 5.

Martin. But hath it indeed any such signification? Tell us, you that profess this great skill of the tongues, what syllable is there in this word that soundeth to that signification? St Chrysostom and the Greek doctors, that should best know the nature of this Greek word, say that it signifieth, to make gracious, and acceptable, and beloved, and beautiful, and amiable, and so to be desired; as when the psalm saith, "The king shall desire thy beauty." Beza himself saith, that it is word for word *gratificata*, "made grateful;" and yet he expoundeth it "accepted before God," and translateth it "freely beloved," because he will have no singular grace, or goodness, or virtue, resident in our blessed Lady, but all by imputation, and acceptation, whereof I have spoken before. St Athanasius, a Greek doctor, saith, that she had this title κεχαριτωμένη, because the Holy Ghost descended into the Virgin, filling her with all graces and virtues. And I beseech the reader to see his words, which are many more concerning this fulness of grace and all spiritual gifts. St Jerome, that knew the Greek word as well as the protestants, readeth *gratia plena*, and findeth no fault with this interpretation; but saith plainly, she was so saluted, "full of grace," because she conceived him in whom all fulness of the deity dwelt corporally. MARTIN, 6. χαριτῶσαι. Comment. in Eph. i. Psal. xliv. S. Athan. de S. Deip. Ep. 140. in expos. Psal. xliv.

Fulke. Look in the best Greek lexicons, and you shall find it the same signification that we translate, and none other. Chrysostom is of the same judgment, as I have shewed in the place above mentioned. That the virgin Mary was justified before God by faith, imputed to her for righteousness, without works or justice, as you will have it called, we doubt no more of her than of Abraham. But that she was FULKE, 6.

also sanctified with most excellent graces, and endowed in her soul with all christian virtues, Beza, and all that esteem Beza in the word, will confess as much as is convenient for her honour, so nothing be derogated from the honour of God. That which Athanasius saith, we do likewise admit; and that which Jerome writeth also. But this is all the controversy, whether the virgin Mary were freely accepted and beloved of God, and so by his Spirit endued with gracious virtues; or whether for her virtues which she had of herself she were worthy to be beloved of God, and deserved that honour whereof she was vouchsafed to become the mother of God. Athanasius saith expressly, "that all those graces and gifts were freely given her by the obumbration or overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which the angel promised should come upon her."

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* Now let the English Bezites come with their new term, "freely beloved," and control these and all other ancient fathers, both Greek and Latin, and teach them a new signification of the Greek word, which they knew not before. Let John Keltridge, one of their great preachers in London, come and tell us, that "the Septuaginta and the best translations in Greek have no such words as we use in the Ave Marie;" but that the word which the Septuaginta uses, is κεχαριτωμένη, &c. Who ever heard such a jest, that the preacher of the word of God in London, (so he is called in the title of his book,) and preacher before the Jesuits and Seminaries in the tower, which is next degree to the disputers there; whose sermons be solemnly printed, and dedicated to one of the queen's council; who seemeth to be such a Grecian, that he confuteth the vulgar Latin translation by the signification of the Greek word, and in other places of his book allegeth the Greek text; that this man for all this referreth us to the Septuaginta either as authors of St Luke's Gospel, which is too ridiculous, or as translators thereof, as though St Luke had written in Hebrew; yea, as though the whole New Testament had been written in Hebrew, (for so no doubt he presupposed,) and that the Septuaginta had translated it into Greek as they did the Old, who were dead three hundred years before St Luke's Gospel and the New Testament was written?

John Keltridge, preacher of the word in London. In his Sermons within the tower, printed, fol. 14. Gross ignorance and singular pride in many of the new clergy.

So he called the priests of the seminary, as if one would call a monk a monastery, or a nun a nunnery. Page 37 of part 2.

FULKE, 7. *Fulke.* Concerning John Keltridge, against whose ignorance and arrogance you insult, I can say nothing, because I have not seen his book. But knowing how impudently you slander me, M. Whitaker, Beza, and every man almost with whom you have any dealing, I may well suspect your fidelity in this case, and think the matter is not so hard against John

Keltridge as you make it seem to be. If he have overshot himself, as you say, he is the more unwise: if you slander him, as you do others, you are most of all to blame.

Martin. All this is such a pitiful jest as were incredible, if his printed book did not give testimony. Pitiful, I say, because the simple people count such their preachers jolly fellows and great clerks, because they can talk of the Greek and of the Hebrew text, as this man doth also concerning the Hebrew letter Tau, whether it had in old time the form of a cross or no, even as wisely and as skilfully as he did of the Septuaginta, and the Greek word in St Luke's Gospel. Whose incredible folly and ignorance in the tongues perhaps I would never have mentioned, (because I think the rest are sorry and ashamed of him,) but that he boasteth of that whereof he hath no skill, and that the people may take him for a very pattern and example of many other like boasters and braggers among them; and that when they hear one talk lustily of the Hebrew and Greek, and cite the text in the said tongues, they may always remember John Keltridge their preacher, and say to themselves, What if this fellow also be like John Keltridge? MARTIN, 8. Vol. II. part 2.

Fulke. Reserving John Keltridge to the trial and defence of himself, I say you have shewed yourself as ridiculous in this book divers times; and so have many that bear a greater countenance among you ten times than John Keltridge doth among us, howsoever it pleaseth you to make him the "next degree to the disputers." But if John Keltridge have shewed himself to be a vain boaster of that knowledge whereof perhaps he is ignorant, what reason is it that other learned men, which know the tongues indeed, should be drawn into suspicion of ignorance for his folly, but that you delight by all means to discredit their learning and good gifts of God in them?—to whom if you were comparable yourself, yet it were not tolerable that you should seek their reproach before their unskilfulness may plainly be reproved. FULKE, 8.

Martin. But to proceed: these great Grecians and Hebricians, that control all antiquity, and the approved ancient Latin translation, by scanning the Greek and Hebrew words; that think it a great corruption, Gen. iii., to read, *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*[1], "She shall bruise thy head," MARTIN, 9.

[1] The LXX. have Gen. iii. 15, αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλήν. The Vulgate renders the whole passage thus:

"Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et semen tuum et semen illius; ipsa conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus."]

Sand. Rock Disc. p. 145.

because it pertaineth to our Lady's honour, calling it a corruption of the popish church; whereas St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Gregory, St Bernard, and the rest read so, as being the common received text in their time, (though there hath been also always the other reading, even in the vulgar Latin translation, and therefore it is not any late reformation of these new correctors, as though the Hebrew and Greek text before had been unknown;) these controllers, I say, of the Latin text by the Hebrew, against our Lady's honour, are in another place content to dissemble the Hebrew word, and that also for small devotion to the blessed Virgin: namely, Jerem. vii. and xliv., where the prophet inveigheth against them that offer sacrifice to the "Queen of heaven." This they think is very well, because it may sound in the people's ears against the use of the catholic church, which calleth our Lady "Queen of heaven." But they know very well that the Hebrew word doth not signify "queen" in any other place of the scripture; and that the rabbins and later Hebricians, whom they gladly follow, deduce it otherwise, to signify rather the whole corps and frame of heaven, consisting of all the beautiful stars and planets; and the Septuaginta call it not only *βασίλισσαν*, "queen," but *τὴν στρατιὰν*, "the host of heaven," Jerem. vii.; and St Jerome not only *reginam*, but rather, *militiam cœli;* and when he nameth it *reginam*, "queen," he saith we must understand it of the moon, to which and to the other stars they did sacrifice and commit idolatry. But the protestants, against their custom of scanning the Hebrew and the Greek, translate here, "Queen of heaven," for no other cause in the world but to make it sound against her, whom catholics truly call and worthily honour as "Queen of heaven," because her son is King, and she exalted above angels and all other creatures. See the New Test. Annot. Acts i. 14.

See Pagn. in radice מלך and לאה

Fulke, 9.

Fulke. We think it indeed a shameful corruption of the scripture that your vulgar Latin text, for *ipsum* or *ipse*, as it is in the Greek, readeth *ipsa;* and blasphemous it is, to ascribe that to the mother of Christ, which is proper unto himself. But many of the ancient fathers did read so, and therefore Fulke did ignorantly belike in calling it a corruption of the popish church. The best property I find in you, for which I am beholding to you, is that when you have made a lie, and slandered me, you will note the place yourself, where I may be discharged, and your own impudency be convinced. My words in the place by you noted be these: "Finally, how the Romish church in these last days hath kept the scripture from corruption, although I could shew by an hundred examples, yet this one shall suffice for all. The very first promise of the gospel that is in the scripture, Gen. iii., 'that the seed of the woman should break the ser-

Disc. Sand. p. 146.

pent's head,' the popish church hath either wilfully corrupted, or negligently suffered to be depraved thus: *Ipsa conteret caput tuum,* 'she shall break thine head;' referring that to the woman which God speaketh expressly to the seed of the woman." Whether the mystery of iniquity, working in the Latin church long before the apostasy thereof into the kingdom of antichrist, began this corruption, I leave it in doubt: but that the popish church hath suffered this depravation to continue, it is out of all question, although you say you have the other reading also, which though some copies have, yet will you not admit it to be authentical. And whereas you brag that this reading hath been always in your vulgar Latin translation, Hentenius confesseth that of twenty-eight ancient copies, by which he revised the vulgar translation, he found it only in two. As for St Ambrose, how he did read, it is not certain: for in his book *De fuga sæculi,* cap. vii., where this text is cited, though the printed books have *ipsa,* yet there is nothing in his exposition that agreeth therewith; and seeing that he followed the Greek text, which hath the pronoun of the masculine gender, it is like he did read rather *ipse:* but because his Greek was very corrupt, so that for τειρήσει, *conteret,* he did read τηρήσει, *servabit;* there is no great account to be made of his reading. St Augustine in Psalm ciii. readeth *ipsa,* but he referreth it to the church, not to the virgin Mary; as also for *conteret,* out of the corrupt Greek he readeth *observabit*[1]. Gregory[2] followeth the same corrupt version out of the Greek, *Ipsa observabit;* but he referreth it to every christian man, which is the seed of the

[1] Nostis enim et quid dictum est mulieri, vel potius serpenti, cum audiret Deus peccatum primi hominis: *Ipsa tuum observabit caput, et tu ejus observabis calcaneum.* In magno mysterio dictum, in figura dictum ecclesiæ futuræ, factæ de latere viri sui, et hoc dormientis. Erat autem Adam forma futuri. Hoc apostolus dicit: *Qui est forma futuri.* Præfiguratum est quod futurum erat, facta est ecclesia de latere domini dormientis in cruce. Nam de latere crucifixi percusso, sacramenta ecclesiæ profluxerunt. Augustini Enarrat. in Psalm. ciii. Opera, Vol. IV. pp. 1668, 1669.]

[2] Cum vero antiquus hostis neque in exordio intentionis ferit, neque in itinere actionis intercipit, duriores in fine laqueos tendit. Quem tanto nequius obsidet, quanto solum sibi remansisse ad decipiendum videt. Hos namque fini suo appositos laqueos propheta conspexerat, cum dicebat: *Ipsi calcaneum meum observabunt.* Quia enim in

woman, not to the virgin Mary, *Mor.* Lib. II. cap. xxxviii.: by which it is evident that your vulgar Latin text was not received in the church of Rome for six hundred years after Christ; for you read *conteret*, and not *observabit*. Only Bernard indeed, a late writer, hath your reading, *ipsa conteret*[1], which he expoundeth as prophecy of the virgin Mary, who withstood the temptations of the devil; not understanding the promise of the overcoming of the devil by Christ, even as the apostle alludeth to it, "the Lord shall tread down Satan under your feet." Rom. xvi. The same Bernard, *Sermon. de Villic. Iniquo*[2], readeth the text, Gen. iv. *Si recte offeras, et non recte dividas*, after the Greek: by which also it is plain, as by other arguments, that your vulgar Latin translation was not received for a thousand years after Christ. How true therefore it is that you said, *Ipsa conteret caput tuum* was the common received text in the ancient fathers' time, the readers may see and judge.

But the chief complaint is behind: that in Jeremiah xliv. 7, we translate the "Queen of heaven," as the Septuaginta, Jerome, and the vulgar Latin translation doth; and we only do it in despite of the virgin Mary, because the papists blasphemously call her the Queen of heaven. The Hebrew word indeed may signify "queen," although with those points it be not elsewhere read for "a queen;" and it may signify the workmanship, but then you must supply *aleph* of

calcaneo finis est corporis, quid per hunc nisi terminus signatur actionis? Sive ergo maligni spiritus, sive pravi quique homines, illorum superbiæ sequaces, calcaneum observant, cum actionis bonæ finem vitiare desiderant. Unde et eidem serpenti dicitur: *Ipsa tuum observabit caput, et tu calcaneum ejus.* Caput quippe serpentis observare, est initia suggestionis ejus aspicere, et manu sollicitæ considerationis a cordis aditu funditus extirpare. Gregorii Moral. Lib. I. cap. xxxvi. Opera, Vol. I. p. 36, edit. Bened. 1705.]

[1 *Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem.* Et si adhuc dubitas quod de Maria non dixerit, audi quod sequitur: *Ipsa conteret caput tuum.* Cui hæc servata victoria est, nisi Mariæ? Ipsa procul dubio caput contrivit venenatum, quæ omnimodam maligni suggestionem tam de carnis illecebra, quam de mentis superbia, deduxit ad nihilum. Bernardi Homil. II. de Laudibus Virgin. Matris. Opera, Vol. I. p. 744, edit. Mabillon. 1719.]

[2 Edit. Paris. 1602. p. 241. Cave places this sermon among those wrongly ascribed to Bernard. Vol. II. p. 708. edit. Montf.]

the root, that is wanting, and resteth under no long vowel; and so some protestants do translate it, as Tremellius and Junius. But if we be accused of heretical translation, when we join with your vulgar Latin, with Jerome, with the Septuaginta, it is very strange that they should not bear the blame with us. Certain it is, no protestant did ever teach that the Jews did worship the virgin Mary for the queen of heaven; but the sun, the moon, or some great star, as Pagnine saith. How truly you call the virgin Mary "queen of heaven," and how well you prove it in your notes upon Acts i. 14, some other more convenient time and place may be granted to consider.

Martin. Again, why doth the Geneva New Testament make St. Matthew to say, that "he" (to wit, Joseph) "called his name Jesus[3]?" Why not "she," as well as he? For in St Luke the angel saith to our Lady also, "Thou shalt call his name Jesus[4]." St Matthew then, speaking indifferently, and not limiting it to him or her, why do they give this preeminence to Joseph rather than to the blessed Virgin? Did not both Zachary and also Elisabeth his wife by revelation give the name of John to John the Baptist? yea, did not Elisabeth the mother first so name him before Zachary her husband? Much more may we think that the blessed Virgin, the natural mother of our Saviour, gave him the name of Jesus, than Joseph his putative father: especially if we consider that the angel revealed the name first unto her, saying that she should so call him; and the Hebrew word, Isaiah vii., whereunto the angel alludeth, is the feminine gender, and referred by the great rabbins, rabbi Abraham and rabbi David, unto her, saying expressly in their commentaries, *Et vocabit ipsa puella*, "And the maid herself shall call." And surely, the usual pointing of the Greek text, (for Beza

MARTIN, 10. Ann. 1580. Cap. i. 25. Cap. i. 31. Luke i. 60. 63.

[3 *καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ· καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν, ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον· καὶ ἐκάλεσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, Matt. i. 24, 25. "And Joseph, as soon as he awoke out of sleep, did as the angel of the Lord bade, and took his wife unto him; and knew her not, till she had brought forth her firstborn son, and called his name Jesus," Geneva Test. 1557, v. 24, 25. "And Joseph, rising up from sleep, did as the angel of the Lord commanded him, and took his wife. And he knew her not till she brought forth her firstborn son, and called his name Jesus," Rhemish version, 1582.]

[4 *Μὴ φοβοῦ, Μαριάμ· εὗρες γὰρ χάριν παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ, συλλήψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν*, Luke i. 30, 31. "Fear not, Mary!" &c. "Thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and (shalt, Rhemish) bear a son, and (thou, Rhemish) shalt call his name Jesus," Geneva, 1557, Rhemish version, 1582.]

maketh other points of his own,) is much more for that purpose. Now, if they will say that Theophylact understandeth it of Joseph, true it is, and so it may be understood very well: but if it may be understood of our Lady also, and rather of her than of him, why doth your translation exclude this other interpretation?

FULKE, 10. *Fulke.* The matter is not worth the weight of an hair, whether we read "he called," or "she called;" for both called him so. But because Joseph had a commandment in the same chapter that he should call his name Jesus, it is more probable, that St Matthew in this place meant of him, rather than her: at the least, it is no heretical translation to say, that Joseph did that, which he was in a few verses before commanded to do; and it was more ordinary and usual, that the man gave the name rather than the woman, although in this case the woman had more right than the man. As for Elisabeth's example, [it] proveth nothing, because she spake when her husband was dumb.

MARTIN, 11. *Martin.* Where by the way I must tell you, and elsewhere perhaps more at large, that it is your common fault to make some one doctor's interpretation the text of your translation, and so to exclude all the rest that expound it otherwise; which you know is such a fault in a translator as can by no means be excused. Secondly, the reader may here observe and learn, that if they shall hereafter defend their translation of any place by some doctor's exposition, agreeable thereunto, that will not serve nor suffice them; because every doctor may say his opinion in his commentaries, but that must not be made the text of scripture, because other doctors expound it otherwise; and being in itself, and in the original tongue, ambiguous, and indifferent to divers senses, it may not be restrained or limited by translation, unless there be a mere necessity, when the translation cannot possibly or hardly express the ambiguity and indifferency of the original text.

See chap. i. num. 3. 43. Chap. x. num. 1, 2. Chap. xix. num. 1.

FULKE, 11. *Fulke.* The authority of one doctor, agreeing with the propriety of the original tongue, is more worth than an hundred against it. We never follow one doctor, as you falsely slander us, to make his interpretation the text, but where that one doctor did see the truth of the natural sense according to the tongue, that perhaps was hid from other doctors, whose writings we have. As for ambiguities, and indifferences unto diverse senses, [they] are better reserved to commentaries and lectures upon the scriptures, than that they either can or ought to be retained in the translations.

Martin. As for example, in this controversy concerning saints, St Peter speaketh so ambiguously, either that he will remember them after his death, or they shall remember him, that some of the Greek fathers gathered, and concluded thereupon, (Œcum. *in Caten.* Gagneius *in hunc locum,*) "That the saints in heaven remember us on earth, and make intercession for us[1]." Which ambiguity both in the Greek and the Latin should be also kept and expressed in the English translation; and we have endeavoured as near as we could possibly so to make it, because of the divers interpretations of the ancient fathers. But it may seem perhaps to the reader, that the said ambiguity cannot be kept in our English tongue, and that our own translation also can have but one sense. If it be so, and if there be a necessity of one sense, then, as I said, the translator in that respect is excused. But let the good reader consider also, that the Calvinists in restraining the sense of this place, follow not necessity, but their heresy, that saints pray not for us; which is evident by this, that they restrain it in their Latin translations also, where there is no necessity at all, but it might be as ambiguous and indifferent as in Greek, if it pleased them; yea, when they print the Greek Testament only without any translation, yet here they put the Latin in the margin, according as they will have it read, and as though it might be read no otherwise than they prescribe.

MARTIN, 12.

2 Pet. i. 15. μέμνηνται τῶν τῇδε, καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ζώντων.

Beza.

Nov. Test. Græc. Hen. Steph. ann. 1576.

Fulke. Œcumenius, who lived in a superstitious time, telleth, that "some men understood this saying of Peter by an hyperbaton, &c., meaning to shew that the saints, even after their death, do remember those things which they have done here for them that are alive: but other, handling this matter plainly, &c., do give the usual sense." First, Œcumenius counteth this an enforced exposition, because it cannot stand but by an hyperbaton. Secondly, he speaketh never a word of the intercession of saints for us. Thirdly, he preferreth the common sense, that all the fathers before him given of this text, as plain and simple: and yet this must be sufficient for us to change our interpretation, although we were put in fault immediately before, as though we made one doctor's interpretation a sufficient ground of our translation. Yet is not this an opinion approved, but reported only, by Œcumenius; and Œcumenius himself a doctor of as little

FULKE, 12.

[1 Τουτέστι, καθεκάστην καὶ διηνεκῶς τὴν τούτων μνήμην, βούλονται παριστᾶν ἀπὸ τούτου, ὅτι καὶ μετὰ θάνατον οἱ ἅγιοι μέμνηνται τῶν τῇδε, καὶ πρεσβεύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ζώντων. ἄλλοι δὲ ἁπλῶς μεταχειριζόμενοι τὸ ῥητὸν, οὕτω νοοῦσι, &c. Œcumen. in 2 Epist. Cathol. Petr. Comment. Vol. II. p. 534. Lut. Paris. 1631.]

authority as any other, in respect of the late season in which he lived.

As for Gagneius, that came after him, who seeth not how little we are to account of his credit, that would wrest the deciding of an unprofitable question out of this place, "whether saints make intercession for us?" which, if it were granted, it followeth not that we must make intercession to them.

CHAPTER XIX.

Heretical Translation against the distinction of *Latria* and *Dulia*.

Martin. In this restraining of the scripture to the sense of some one doctor, there is a famous example in the epistle to the Hebrews[1], where the apostle saith either, Jacob adored the top of Joseph's sceptre, as many read and expound; or else, that he adored toward the top of his sceptre, as other read and interpret; and beside these, there is no other interpretation of this place in all antiquity, but in St Augustine only, as Beza confesseth: yet are they so bold to make this exposition only, and his commentary peculiar to him alone, the text of the scripture in their translation, saying, "Jacob leaning on the end of his staff, worshipped God;" and so excluding all other senses, and expositions of all the other fathers, excluding, and condemning their own former translations, adding two words more than are in the Greek text, "leaning, God;" forcing *αὐτοῦ* to signify *αὐτοῦ*, which may be, but is as rare as *virgæ ejus* for *virgæ suæ;* turning the other words clean out of their order, and place, and form of construction, which they must needs have correspondent and answerable to the Hebrew text, from whence they were translated; which Hebrew words themselves translate in this order: "He worshipped toward the bed's head." If "he worshipped toward the bed's head," according to the Hebrew, then "did he worship toward the top of his sceptre," according to the Greek; the difference of both being only in these words, "sceptre," and "bed," (because the Hebrew is ambiguous to both,) and not in the order or construction of the sentence. MARTIN, 1. Heb. xi. 21. Quest. in Gen. Bib. 1579. Bib. 1562. 1577. Gen. xlvii. 31. יִשְׁתַּחוּ עַל־רֹאשׁ חַמַּטָּה *προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ.*

Fulke. The restraining of simple men from error is counted of you the restraining of the scripture; as though the scripture were a "nose of wax[2]," as some of you have called it, which might be writhed every way; and especially it pleaseth you when it may be wrested to some colour of your FULKE, 1.

[1 Πίστει Ἰακὼβ ἀποθνήσκων ἕκαστον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωσὴφ εὐλόγησε, καὶ προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, Heb. xi. 21. "Fide Jacob moriens singulos filiorum Joseph benedixit, et adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus," Vulg. "By faith Jacob when he was a dying blessed both the sons of Joseph, and bowed himself toward the top of his sceptre," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539. "And worshipped toward the top of his sceptre," Bishops' bible, 1584. "And leaning on the end of his staff worshipped God," Geneva, 1557. "And worshipped leaning on the top of his staff," Authorised version, 1611. "And adored the top of his rod," Rheims, 1582.]

[2 Pighius, Hierarch. Eccles. Assert. Lib. III. c. iii. fol. 80. ed. 1538.]

error. So have ye not one place of scripture clear on your side for any of your heresies, but you are glad to uphold ambiguities and diversities of senses; whereas, if you had the truth, you might have texts of infallible certainty, whereof there could not be divers interpretations without manifest violence offered unto the words and true signification of them. But concerning the place now in question, your vulgar text, omitting the preposition, which is both in the Greek and in the Hebrew, hath committed a manifest error in saying, "that Jacob worshipped the top of his rod or staff;" where St Augustine[1] hath rightly observed the true sense of the place, and saith, that "Jacob, as a weak old man, worshipped upon the top of his staff," that is, "leaning on his staff." The Hebrew is, "towards the bed's head." Although it is not unlike, that either the apostle did read the word *mattah*, which we read *mittah;* or else that *mittah* signifieth "a staff," as well as *mattah*. For it is not like, as Beza saith, "that Jacob kept his bed, when Joseph came first to him; for after it was told Joseph that his father was sick." That other translators observed not this matter, whereto shall it be imputed, but to human imperfection? That we add to the text, it is false: the words "leaning" and "God" are printed in the small letter, to signify that they are not of the original text, but added for plainness. And yet the sense may stand without them: "and he worshipped upon the end or top of his staff." That αὐτοῦ is "forced to signify αὐτοῦ," it is a forgery of you, and no enforcement by us; for it is in a manner as commonly taken so as otherwise, except there be another antecedent to whom it may be referred; then, to avoid ambiguity, it is αὐτοῦ, rather than αὐτοῦ, as Matth. iv., "his paths," "his meat," "his hand;" Matth. v., "his disciples," and elsewhere in every place[2].

MARTIN, 2. πρὸς ναόν. *Martin.* To make it more plain: when the prophet David saith, *Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum*, Psalm v. and cxxxvii. is not the true

[1 Nam facile intelligeretur senem, qui virgam ferebat eo more, quo illa ætas baculum solet, ut se inclinavit ad Deum adorandum, id utique fecisse super cacumen virgæ suæ, quam sic ferebat, ut super eam caput inclinando adoraret Deum. August. Quæstion. in Genesim. cap. clxii. Opera, Vol. III. pp. 661, 662.]

[2 The Vulgate reads αὐτοῦ, but the text of Stephens, Plantin, Griesbach, and Scholtz, αὐτοῦ; and αὐτοῦ is often put for ἑαυτοῦ.]

translation and grammatical sequel of the words thus, "I will adore toward thy holy temple?" Is it not a common phrase in the scripture, that the people of God adored toward Jerusalem, toward his holy mount, before the ark, toward the place where his feet stood? May any man be so bold, by adding and transposing to alter and obscure all such places of holy scripture, that there may appear no manner of adoration toward or before a creature; and for worshipping or "adoring" toward the things aforesaid, and the like, may we say, leaning upon those things to worship, or "adore" God? Were they afraid, lest those speeches of holy scripture might warrant and confirm the catholic and christian manner of "adoring" our Saviour Christ, toward the holy rood, at, or before the image and crucifix, before the altar, and so forth? For had they not feared this, why should they translate ἐπὶ, "leaning upon," rather than, "towards?" yea, why in Genesis, "towards his bed's head," and here not, "towards?"

εἰς ὄρος. Dan. vi. 3. 1 Kings viii. Psal. xcviii. Josh. vii.

εἰς τὸν τόπον. Psal. cxxxi.

Fulke. You abound in leisure, thus to trifle about nothing. We allow "worshipping toward the temple," "the holy hill," "the footstool," "the ark of God," and such like: yea, if you will have it, "toward the bed's head," or "the top of his staff," what gain you for the worshipping of images, forbidden by the second commandment, or before images? For so you would creep upon poor men's consciences, first, to worship before images, then to worship images, thirdly, to worship them with *dulia* and not with *latria*, at last to worship the image of God, of Christ, of the Trinity, with *latria*, even the same worship that is due to God himself.

FULKE, 2.

Martin. And, which is more, when the ancient Greek fathers, Chrys. Œcum. *in Collectan.* Damasc. Lib. I. *pro imaginibus*, Leont. *apud Damasc.* put so little force either in this preposition ἐπὶ, or the other alleged, that they expound all those speeches as if the prepositions were of phrase only, and not of signification, saying, "Jacob adored Joseph's sceptre, the people of Israel adored the temple, the ark, the holy mount, the place where his feet stood," and the like; whereby St Damascene proveth the adoration of creatures, named *dulia*, namely of the cross and of the sacred images: if, I say, they make so little force of the prepositions, that they infer not only adoration towards the thing, but adoration of the thing; how do these godly translators, of all other words, so strain and rack the little particle ἐπὶ, to signify "leaning upon," that it shall in no wise signify anything tending towards adoration?

MARTIN, 3.

πρὸς, εἰς.

τῇ ῥάβδῳ προσεκύνησε.

τοῖς τόποις Θεοῦ, τῷ ναῷ προσκυνεῖν.

Fulke. The worship that Chrysostom and Œcumenius speak of, is a civil reverence done to Joseph, or to his sceptre, in respect of the kingdom of Ephraim, that should

FULKE, 3.

be set up in his posterity. What Damascene gathereth hereof, to maintain idolatry, we regard not: certain it is, that Jacob worshipped none but God, and bowed himself either toward the bed's head, or leaning upon his staff, as St Augustine saith: "That they which follow constrained expositions, are enforced to neglect the prepositions, it is no warrant for us, when we see how the sense may best stand without making the prepositions, which the Holy Ghost useth, idle or unprofitable, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek." And if ἐπὶ should signify "toward," as it doth not properly, but "upon," your counterfeit distinction of *dulia* and *latria* should never the sooner be received.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* And if the Greek doctors suffice not to satisfy these great Grecians herein, tell me, you that have skill in the Hebrew, whether in the foresaid speeches cited out of the Psalms there be any force in the Hebrew prepositions? Surely, no more than if we should say in English, without prepositions, "Adore ye his holy hill:" "we will adore the place where his feet stood:" "Adore ye his footstool." For you know that there is the same preposition also, when it is said, "Adore ye our Lord;" or, as yourselves translate, "worship the Lord;" where there can be no force nor signification of the preposition. And therefore in these places also your translation is corrupt and wilful, when you say thus: "We will fall down before his footstool; fall ye down before his footstool, before his holy mount, or worship him upon his holy hill:" where you shun and avoid, first, the term of "adoration," which the Hebrew and Greek duly express by terms correspondent in both languages throughout the bible, and are applied for the most part to signify "adoring" of creatures. Secondly, you avoid the Greek phrase, which is at the least to "adore" towards these holy things and places; and much more the Hebrew phrase, which is, to "adore" the very things rehearsed: "to adore God's footstool," as the Psalm saith, "because it is holy," or, "because he is holy," whose footstool it is, as the Greek readeth.

לַהֲדֹם
Psal. xcviii. cxxxi.
לַהֲדוֹם
רַגְלָיו
Psal. xcv. or xcvi.
לַיהוָה
προσκυνεῖν.
לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* If the apostle had meant nothing by the preposition, he might, and would, as it is most like, have left it clean out: yea, if he had meant no more, but the adoration of Joseph's sceptre, what needed he to have added the top, or the extremity? or why was the top of his sceptre more to be adored, than all the other length of it? But certain it is, the apostle would express the Hebrew preposition, which must needs have some signification. And where you ask them that have skill in the Hebrew, whether there be any force in

the preposition, in those sayings out of the psalm, that speak of worshipping, or falling down before his footstool, his holy hill, &c. I answer, Yea, there is great force, for the hill was not to be worshipped, but he whose tabernacle or temple was on it. But you object, that we ourselves neglect the preposition, Psalm xcvi., and say, "worship the Lord." The fault is the less, because the worship is referred to none but the Lord; yet the precise translation in that place should be, "bow down," or "fall ye down before the Lord in the glorious sanctuary." And where you say we "shun the word of adoration, which the Hebrew and Greek duly do express by terms applied, for the most part, [to] signify adoring of creatures;" you have packed up a great number of untruths together, as it were in a bundle. First, that we shun the term of "adoring," for doubt of your *dulia:* which is utterly untrue; for it is avoided partly, because it is more Latin than English, partly because it doth not express either the Greek or the Latin terms, which the scripture useth. Secondly, you avouch, that both the Hebrew *lishtachavoth,* and the Greek לְשִׁתַּחֲוֹת *προσκυνεῖν*[1],.....whereas all that be learned in both the tongues do know, that the Hebrew word doth signify properly to "bow down," and therefore is used of such bowing down as is not to the end of adoration, as Psalm xlii. 5, 6, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul?" and in divers other places: the Greek word also signifieth, to use some gesture of body in worshipping, and sometimes to fall down, as Herodotus, *προσκυνέειν προσπίπτοντας* "they must worship the king falling down before him." Finally, where you say, they "are applied to the adoring of creatures," if you call it adoration, which is used in civil manner to princes and other persons of authority, I grant it is often so applied; but if you mean of religious adoration, it is expressly forbidden to any creature or image of creature, by the second commandment in the Hebrew term, and by the words of our Saviour Christ to the devil, Matth. iv., in the Greek word, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" where Satan desired not to be worshipped as God with divine honour, but that our Saviour Christ would fall down before him and worship him, as an excellent minister of God, to

[1 The old editions read without a hiatus. Supply from the preceding page, *express adoration.*]

whom the disposition of all the kingdoms of the world, as he falsely said, were by God committed, Luke iv. 6: which utterly overthroweth your bold distinction of *dulia* and *latria*, seeing it was that which you call *dulia*, that the devil required, but our Saviour Christ telleth him, that all religious worship and service pertaineth only to God. Touching the adoration of God's footstool, I have spoken sufficiently before, cap. i. sec. 41.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* This being most manifest to all that have skill in these tongues, it is evident that you regard neither Hebrew nor Greek, but only your heresy; and that in St Paul's place aforesaid of "adoring" Joseph's sceptre, you alter it by your own fancy, and not by St Augustine's authority; whom I am sure you will not admit reading in the psalm, "Adore ye his footstool," and so precisely and religiously reading thus, that he examineth the case, and findeth thereby that the blessed sacrament must be "adored," and that no good Christian doth take it before he "adore" it. Neither will you admit him when he readeth thus of David, "He was carried in his own hands," and interpreteth it mystically of Christ, that he was carried in his own hands, when he gave his body and blood to his disciples[1]. Yet are St Augustine's interpretations, howsoever you like or mislike them, very good; as also that above named, of Jacob's leaning upon his staff and adoring, may be one good sense or commentary of that place; but yet a commentary, and one doctor's opinion, not the sacred text of scripture, as you would make it by so translating.

Præf. in Ps. xxxiii.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* Let Pagnine for the Hebrew word, the Greek lexicons for the other, be judge between us. For you are the most impudent advoucher, I think, that ever became a writer. That we lean to Augustine's judgment in this case, it is not because we make him an author of truth, but a witness of the same against such venomous tongues and pens as yours is, that call every thing heretical that savoureth not of your own drowsy dreams of antichristian heresy. Neither is it reason, that by using the testimony of Augustine, where he beareth witness to the truth, we should be

[1 *Et ferebatur in manibus suis.* Hoc vero, fratres, quomodo posset fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Quis enim portatur in manibus suis? Manibus aliorum potest portari homo, manibus suis nemo portatur. Quomodo intelligatur in ipso David secundam literam, non invenimus; in Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum, ait: *Hoc est corpus meum.* Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis. Ipsa est humilitas Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ipsa multum commendatur hominibus. Augustini Enarrat. in Psalm. xxxiii. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 305.]

bound to every interpretation of his, when he declineth therefrom. Where you say that, "by adoring the footstool of God," he findeth "that the blessed sacrament must be adored," you say untruly: he gathereth that Christ's humanity or body must be adored, but not the blessed sacrament thereof. Likewise when he saith, upon a feeble ground of a false interpretation, "that Christ was carried in his own hands in the sacrament;" he affirmeth it not so absolutely as you allege it, but *quodam modo*, "after a certain manner, he bare himself in his hands," when he said, "this is my body." Yea, in that place Augustine, as in many other, declareth his judgment, that he acknowledged not the corporal manner of presence, and eating of Christ's body, in the sacrament, for which you papists so greatly contend: that you are content to make so many senses of the scripture, it declareth that you acknowledge none certain, and so derogate all credit and authority from the word of God, which may have so many meanings, as there be divers doctors that have commented upon it: whereas divers interpretations may have all a true sense; but it is impossible that they should all be senses of the same scripture.

Martin. And if St Jerome like not the Greek doctors' interpretation in this place, of "adoring" Joseph and his sceptre; yet he also saith, that Jacob "adored" toward Joseph's rod, or toward the bed's head, and not, "leaning upon his staff he adored," which you make the text of scripture. And though he think, that in this place is not meant any "adoration" of Joseph; yet, I am sure, for "adoration" of holy things, namely relics, the holy land, and all the holy places and monuments of Christ's being and doing upon the earth, you will not be tried by St Jerome. And again, why St Paul should say, that by faith he "adored," and "in respect of things to come," it is not otherwise easy to understand, but that he partly foresaw the kingdom of Ephraim in the posterity of Joseph; partly the kingdom of Christ prefigured in Joseph then prince of Egypt, and so by faith "adored" his sceptre or toward his sceptre, which is all one, as the Greek fathers for the most part expound it. But let us hasten toward an end. MARTIN, 6.

Fulke. St Jerome indeed denieth that Jacob did worship his staff or sceptre, or toward the top of his son's sceptre, but only toward the bed's head, as the Hebrew text is. For reverent estimation "of relics, the holy land, and the monu- FULKE, 6.

ments of Christ's doing and being," as he sometimes upon contention perhaps was immoderate, so for adoration of such things, after such idolatrous manner as is used in the popish church, he was far off: yea, he saith expressly, "that he doth not allow the adoration of any creature," and that "to adore any creatures, is plain idolatry." *Has autem non dico martyrum reliquias*, &c. "But we do worship and adore, I say not the relics of martyrs, but neither the sun truly, nor the moon, &c.; not angels, not archangels, not cherubin, not seraphin, or any name that is named in this world, or in the world to come; lest we should serve the creature rather than the Creator, which is blessed for ever. But we honour the relics of martyrs, that we might adore him, whose martyrs they are[1]."

Do you not hear how Jerome alloweth the adoring of creatures? I see no cause therefore, why we may not be tried by his judgment for adoration of holy things, and namely relics, and whatsoever you will name beside, seeing he maketh adoration proper only to God.

Finally, the apostle saith not, "that Jacob adored in respect of things to come," but that "by faith he blessed his son concerning things to come," and worshipped God, whom no man can worship truly but by faith. And Jacob's faith was the more commendable, that being near his end, and in that infirmity of body, he doth believe the promises of God made to him concerning his sons, and also gave thanks unto God for those benefits which he should never taste of in the flesh; but was assured by them, as tokens of God's favour towards him, to the attainment of the land of eternal life, whereof the land of Canaan was but a holy figure and sacrament.

[1 Nos autem non dico martyrum reliquias, sed ne solem quidem et lunam, non angelos, non archangelos, non cherubim, non seraphim, et omne nomen quod nominatur, et in præsenti sæculo et in futuro, colimus et adoramus: ne serviamus creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in sæcula. Honoramus autem reliquias martyrum, ut eum cujus sunt martyres adoremus. Epistola XXXVII. Hieronymi ad Ripar. Opera, Vol. IV. p. 279. Edit. Martianay.]

CHAPTER XX.

Heretical Translation by adding to the Text.

Martin. BECAUSE in the last corruption I spake of adding to the text, though it be their common and universal fault in every controversy, as is to be seen in every chapter of this book; yet here I will add certain places not yet mentioned. As, "The rest of the acts of Jehoakim, and his abominations which he did, and carved images that were laid to his charge, behold they are written, &c." these words, "carved images laid to his charge," are more than is either in the Greek, or the Hebrew. MARTIN, 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8. in Bib. 1562. Against images.

Fulke. You forget yourself in the first place, whereof is made mention, Chap. III. sect. 9; where I have answered, that our first translators added that which is the common interpretation and supply of them that write upon this place; but because that had been better in the note, than in the text, it is corrected in two later translations[2]. FULKE, 1.

Martin. Again, "Saul confounded the Jews, proving (by conferring one scripture with another), that this is very Christ[3]." These words, "by conferring one scripture with another," are added more than is in the Greek text; in favour of their presumptuous opinion, that conference of scriptures is enough for any man to understand them, and so to reject both the commentaries of the doctors, and exposition of holy councils, and catholic church: it is so much more, I say, than is in the Greek text, and a notorious corruption in their bible, read daily in their churches as most authentical. See the rest of their bibles, MARTIN, 2. Acts ix. 22. Bib. 1577. For conference of scriptures, against fathers, councils, &c.

[2 Omitted in the Bishops' bible, 1584, Genevan, 1560, Authorised version, 1611.]

[3 Σαῦλος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, καὶ συνέχυνε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Δαμασκῷ συμβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, Acts ix. 22. "Saulus autem multo magis convalescebat, et confundebat Judæos, qui habitabant Damasci, affirmans quoniam hic est Christus," Vulg. "But Saul increased in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this was very Christ," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, (confirming). "Affirming that this is Christ," Rheims. "Proving that this is very Christ," Authorised version. The part included within brackets, which is cavilled at by Martin, is only found in one edition, the Bishops' bible of 1584. The passage seems to have crept in from the margin of the Genevan version.]

συμβιβάζων. c. ii. v. 16. τίς συμβιβάσει. συμβιβάσεις. יוֹרֵעַ

and thou shalt find no more, for all those words, but, "affirming," or "confirming;" and the self-same bible in the first epistle to the Corinthians translateth the same Greek word thus, "Who shall instruct?" And indeed, that is the true and usual signification of the word, both in the Old Testament, and in the New, as Deut. iv. "Thou shalt teach them thy children." And Isaiah xl. "Who shall instruct our Lord?" the Hebrew word also in both places signifying no more, but instructing and teaching. And so doth the apostle cite it to the Corinthians out of Isaiah, and he useth it to the Colossians, ii. 2. in the same signification as the church readeth and expoundeth it: and so consequently St Luke, in the place whereof we now treat, saith nothing else, but that St Paul earnestly taught or instructed them that Jesus is Christ. And yet our new translators, without respect of Hebrew or Greek, have coined a new signification, of conferring one scripture with another. So ignorant they are in the signification of Greek words, or rather, so wilfully malicious.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* Either you make a loud lie, or else some one print which you have of the Bishops' bible, which you call Bib. 1577, hath put that into the line, that should be the note in the margin. For, of four translations that I have, never a one hath that addition. The Bishops' bible hath that, chap. ix. 22, thus: "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this was very Christ." The Geneva bible thus: "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews that dwelt at Damascus, confirming that this was the Christ," where the note in the margin upon the word, "confirming," is this: "proving by the conference of the scriptures." Thomas Matthew's bible translateth that verse thus: "But Saul increased in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this was very Christ." Master Coverdale's bible, 1562, hath it thus: "But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, affirming that this was very Christ." Thus are all our translations without that addition; which, although it is not to be borne in the text, yet is no heretical addition, except you count it heresy to prove a thing by conference of scriptures.

MARTIN, 3. 1 Pet. i. 25. Bib. 1562. 1577. Against traditions.

Martin. Again, in the first epistle of St Peter they translate thus[1]: "The word of the Lord endureth ever; and this is the word which

[1 τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα Κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν εἰς ὑμᾶς, 1 Pet. i. 25. "And this is the word which by the

by the gospel was preached unto you." Where these words, "by the gospel," are added deceitfully and of ill intent to make the reader think that there is no other word of God but the written word; for the common reader hearing this word "gospel," conceiveth nothing else. But indeed all is the gospel, whatsoever the apostles taught, either by writing, or by tradition and word of mouth, as St Paul speaketh, 2 Thess. ii.; and St Peter saith nothing else in the place alleged, but, "This is the word which is preached among you," as the Geneva bibles translate; or more significantly, "which is evangelized among you," as we translate: for though there be greater significancy in the Greek word than is expressed by bare preaching or telling a thing, as having a goodly relation and allusion to the word *evangelium*, "gospel;" yet neither do they in any other place, neither can they translate it, "to preach by the gospel," but simply, "to preach," "to tell," "to shew," as, "preaching peace by Jesus Christ," Acts x. 39., (so themselves translate it,) and Psal. xcv. (or xcvi. 2.) "Be telling of his salvation from day to day." Which in other places is spoken by other Greek words that have no signification at all of gospel, as immediately in the said Psal. xcv., (or xcvi. 3.) and Psal. civ., (or cv. 1.) and Acts xiii. 5., and xvii. 3., and John i. 3.

τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ εὐαγγελισθέν.

Evangelizo. εὐαγγελιζόμενος. εὐαγγελίζεσθε. ἀναγγείλατε. ἀπαγγείλατε, κατήγγελον, καταγγέλλω, ἀπαγγέλλομεν.

Fulke. The other before is not a more lewd slander, than this is a foolish cavil. The Greek word signifieth not simply "to preach," [but "to preach[2]] the gospel," or "good tidings," which both may, and ought to be expressed, where the phrase of our tongue will abide it. And therefore the Geneva translation is imperfect in this place, rather than the other. When you say "evangelized," you do not translate, but feign a new word, which is not understood of mere English ears; as you do in an hundred places beside, to make the scripture dark and unprofitable to the ignorant readers. And if the word signifieth no more but "to preach," "to tell," "to shew," as you would seem to prove by a number of quotations, why do you use that new word "evangelize?" which, if it were understood and in use, is more than simply "to preach," "to tell," "to shew." But of all other your mad surmises, this is the most monstrous, that this is "added to make the reader think that there is no other word of God, but the written word." Doth "gospel," I pray you, signify the written word? The common hearer, you say, hearing this word

FULKE, 3.

gospel was preached among you," Tyndale, Geneva. "Preached unto you," Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Authorised version.]

[2 These words are supplied as necessary to the sense.]

"gospel," conceiveth nothing else. I am persuaded there is no such reader in England, except it be some of your viperous brood, that thinketh the gospel to be nothing but the story written by the four evangelists: whereas all true Christians know the gospel to be contained, not only in those stories, but also in other writings of the apostles; and that the gospel is preached, whensoever a good sermon teaching the way unto salvation is preached. Howsoever the Septuaginta used the word *evangelizo* in the Old Testament, we are not to learn the signification thereof out of their translation, but out of the scribes of the Holy Ghost in the New Testament.

MARTIN, 4. *Martin.* All which words signify only "to tell," "to shew," "to declare," and are used indifferently for and with the other word which they here only translate, "to preach by the gospel." Whereas in all other places, when they will translate it most significantly, they express it by "bringing glad tidings;" and in some places where it should be expressed most significantly in respect of evangelising or preaching the gospel, there they translate it barely "preachers," and "preaching." Only St Peter's place aforesaid must be stretched to signify, "the word preached by the gospel," to insinuate and uphold their heresy of the written gospel only, or only written word, against apostolical traditions not written. If this be not their meaning, let them give us a good reason why they translate it so in this one place only.

Luke ii. 10. Acts xiii. 32. Gal. iii. 8. Dominus dabit verbum. evangelizantibus. Qui evangelizas Hierusalem. Psal. lxvii. Isai. xl.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* When we vary about the signification of the word εὐαγγελίζειν, or indeed when we vary not in substance, though you must brabble about it for a countenance, what mean you to teach us the signification of other words, except you would make folk believe that we know nothing but what we learn of you? I say again, if in the New Testament we have not fully expressed the signification of the Greek word, εὐαγγελίζειν, either it is because our English phrase could not express it, or else it is a fault of negligence. But in the Old Testament, where we have not that word, because we translate out of Hebrew, what reason is there that you should exact the significancy of that word when we do not translate it? The senseless insinuation that you dream of, I am sure was far from the translators' minds, seeing we have manifest and inevitable scriptures to confound your heretical blasphemy of the imperfection and insufficiency of the word and gospel

of God written unto eternal salvation. And if the word "gospel," when it is added to the text out of the verb of *evangelizing*, do insinuate the heresy of the written gospel only, why do you, Matt. ii. 5, translate, *pauperes evangelizantur*, "to the poor the gospel is preached?" Would you think it were an honest surmise of me to say you avoid the name of the gospel, so often as you express it not in translating that word, for hatred you bear the gospel? And yet it hath more likelihood than many that you have invented and prosecuted against us.

Martin. It is written of Luther, that he for the self-same heresy, in his first translation into the German tongue, left out these words of St Peter altogether, "This is the word which is evangelized, or preached to you." Why so? Because St Peter doth here define what is the word of God, saying, "that which is preached to you," and not that only which is written: which false dealing of Luther is no small presumption against the like heretical meaning of our English Protestants, who, I am sure, in this point of controversy of the word written and unwritten, will not deny that they agree with the Lutherans. MARTIN, 5. Lind. Dubit. p. 88.

Fulke. That any such sentence was upon any purpose left out by Luther in his translation, for my part, I believe it not, neither upon your report, nor upon your author Lindanus' credit. If the printer did omit a line, yet what reason were it to think that Luther did it upon such a cause? which were to no purpose for him, except he should have left out all those texts of scripture, where preaching of the gospel or word of God is mentioned. What you have left out, I have noted before; and yet I have not pronounced the cause why, so confidently as you do of that omission, which you know not whether it be so or no. FULKE, 5.

Martin. Again, in the Epistle of St James, they add the word "scripture" into the text, saying[1], "But the scripture offereth more MARTIN, 6. Jam. iv. 6.

[1] ἢ δοκεῖτε ὅτι κενῶς ἡ γραφὴ λέγει; πρὸς φθόνον ἐπιποθεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὃ κατῴκησεν ἐν ἡμῖν; μείζονα δὲ δίδωσι χάριν, James iv. 6. "Either do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, the Spirit that dwelleth in you (in us, Cranmer) lusteth even contrary to envy: but giveth more grace," Tyndale, Cranmer. "Either do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, the Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth after envy? but the scripture offereth more grace," Geneva, 1557, 1560,

grace:" where the apostle may say as well, and indifferently, "The Spirit or Holy Ghost giveth more grace;" and it is much more probable, and is so expounded of many. Let the good reader see the circumstance of the place, and abhor their sauciness in the text of holy scripture.

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* The nominative case in the Greek is wanting, which is expressed in the verse before, and in this verse is supplied by the translators, yet printing it so in another letter, that the reader may know it is not in the Greek; as they do in five hundred places beside, where a verb or a noun, or a pronoun, or any other word, must of necessity be understood to fill up the sense, which you in your precise translation observe not, when you add any such thing, beside many imperfect sentences that you make, because you will not seem to add that which in translation is no addition, but a true translation. But here you say "the apostle may as well understand the Holy Ghost," as the scripture. When there is a nominative case before that agreeth with the verb and the sense, it is far-fetched to understand a nominative case of him that is not spoken of. I will set down the whole text, that the reader may judge what perilous addition is here committed by our translators. "Do you think that the scripture saith in vain, the spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth after envy? But (the scripture or) it giveth more grace, and therefore saith, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble." In grammar schools they use to examine it thus, "who, or what giveth, who, or what saith?" Doth not the scripture, mentioned immediately before, answer to these questions most aptly? Yet men must "abhor our sauciness," or rather your spiteful maliciousness.

MARTIN, 7. *Martin.* One addition of theirs I would not speak of, but only to know the reason why they dō it, because it is very strange, and I know not what they should mean by it. This I am sure, if they do it for no purpose, they do it very foolishly and forgetfully, and

1580, Bishops' bible, 1584. In all which editions the words "the scripture" are printed in such a way as to indicate that they are merely added to make the text more intelligible. "Do ye think that the scripture saith in vain, The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace; wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud," &c., Authorised version.]

contrary to themselves. In the gospel of St Mark[1], in the reckoning of the apostles, they add these words, "And the first was Simon," more than is in their Greek text. Which addition they learned of Beza, whose contradictions in this point are worthy noting. In St Matthew, where these words are, he suspecteth that "first" was added by some papist, for Peter's primacy: here, where the word is not, he avoucheth it to be the true text of the gospel, and that because Matthew readeth so. There he alleged this reason, why it could not be said, "the first, Simon,"—because there is no consequence nor coherence of second, third, fourth, &c.: here he saith that is no impediment, because there be many examples of such speech; and namely in the said place of St Matthew. There he saith it is not so, though all Greek copies have it so: here it must needs be so, though it be only found in certain odd Greek copies of Erasmus, which Erasmus himself (as Beza confesseth) allowed not, but thought that these words were added in them out of St Matthew. What these contradictions mean, I know not; and I would learn the reason thereof of his scholars, our English translators, who by their master's authority have made the self-same addition in their English translation also.

Mark iii. 16. Bibl. 1579. St. Matt. x. 2.

Fulke. It seemeth, you like the addition well enough, because it importeth a shadow of Peter's primacy; but yet your malice is so great against Beza, (whose sincerity in this case you should rather commend, if there were any spark of honest equity in you,) that you cannot pass it over without quarrelling and cavilling. But your pretence is to know the reason why they do it. I have some marvel that you should be ignorant of such things as are counted so material for the maintenance of the pope's

FULKE, 7.

[1 καὶ ἐπέθηκε τῷ Σίμωνι ὄνομα Πέτρον, Mark iii. 16. "Et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrus," Vulg. "Primum Simonem (et imposuit Simoni nomen Petrum)," Bezæ versio, edit. 1556, p. 47. The Geneva Testament of 1557 has it thus: "And he named Simon, Peter." The Testament appended to the first edition of the Geneva Bible, 1560, has it thus, from Beza's version: "And the first was Simon, and he named Simon Peter." Upon this verse Beza has the following note, shewing upon what authority he so translated it: "Primum Simonem, πρῶτον Σίμωνα, Hæc verba testatur Erasmus in nonnullis Græcis codicibus extare, neque tamen ea admittit, sed ex Matthæo resumpta arbitratur. Ego vero non dubito quin hæc sit germana lectio. Nam præterquam quod ita loquitur Matthæus et Lucas, nisi ita legas, versiculus proximus incipiens a particula καὶ, cum duobus sequentibus, nullum prorsus verbum habebit cum quo connecti possit. Nov. Test. p. 47, 48.

The word "first" is omitted in the Genevan Testament of 1557, and all the other English versions.]

primacy, especially since Beza telleth you so plainly the reason of it. Trüe it is, that the common printed books have not that addition. But Beza taketh Erasmus to witness, that in divers Greek copies these words are expressed; and because they agree best with the context, Beza translateth them out of those copies. For except you so read, saith Beza, the next verse, beginning of the particle *καὶ*, shall have no word at all with which it may be knit. But in St Matthew, you say, he "suspected that the word 'first' was added by some papist for Peter's primacy." He only objecteth, What if it were so? and answereth the objection himself out of St Mark; as upon St Mark, for the coherence with that which followeth. Wherefore it is not without great and malicious impudence, that you charge him with contradiction where there is none, and where he saith more toward your cause than any of you could say for yourselves.

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* There is also another addition of theirs, either proceeding of ignorance, or of the accustomed humour, when they translate thus[1]: "If ye continue stablished in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard how it was preached to every creature;" or, "whereof ye have heard how that it is preached;" or, "whereof ye have heard, and which hath been preached to every creature," &c. For all these varieties they have, and none according to the Greek text, which is word for word as the vulgar Latin interpreter hath most sincerely translated it: "Unmoveable from the hope of the gospel, which you have heard, which is, or hath been preached among all creatures," &c. So that the apostle's exhortation is unto the Colossians, that they continue grounded and stable in the faith and gospel, which they had heard and received

Col. i. 23.

οὗ ἠκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθέντος.

[1 *Εἴγε ἐπιμένετε τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι, καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὗ ἠκούσατε, τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν*, Col. i. 23. "Si tamen permanetis in fide fundati et stabiles, et immobiles a spe evangelii, quod audistis, quod prædicatum est in universa creatura, quæ sub cœlo est," Vulg. "If ye continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof ye have heard, how that it is preached (how it was preached, Bishops' bible, 1584) among all creatures which are under heaven," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539. "Whereof ye have heard and which hath been preached to every creature," Geneva, 1557, 1560. "If ye continue in the faith grounded and settled, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, which ye have heard, and which was preached to every creature which is under heaven," Authorised version.]

of their first apostles; as in the Epistle to the Romans, and to the Galatians, and to the Thessalonians, and to the Hebrews, and to Timothy, and St John in his first Epistle, ii. 24., and St Jude, 3. and 20., all use the like exhortations. Rom. xvi. Gal. i. & ii. 2 Thess. ii. Heb. xiii. 1 Tim. vi. 2 Tim. i. & ii.

Fulke. Here is no addition of any word that may not be comprehended in the Greek. For οὗ, being the genitive case, signifieth not only "which," but also "whereof," or "of which," and κηρυχθέντος, "that hath been, or which hath been preached." Here is only the poor word "how," which is a superfluous word, even in our English; for the sense is all one if you leave it out: "unmoveable from the hope of the gospel, of which you have heard that it hath been preached among, or to all creatures." Here is therefore no addition to the text, but a sense differing from that which pleaseth you best; and yet your vulgar Latin may well bear that sense which our translators do follow. FULKE, 8.

Martin. But this doth not so well like the protestants, which with Hymenæus and Alexander, and other old heretics, have fallen from their first faith; and therefore they alter the apostle's plain speech with certain words of their own, and they will not have him say, "Be unmoveable in the faith and gospel which you have heard and received," but, "whereof you have heard how that it is preached;" as though he spake not of the gospel preached to them, but of a gospel which they had only heard of, that was preached in the world. Certain it is, these words, "whereof you have heard how it was preached," are not so in the Greek; but, "which you have heard, which hath been preached:" which is as much to say, as that they should continue constant in the faith and gospel which themselves had received, and which was then preached and received in the whole world. So say we to our dear countrymen, "Stand fast in the faith, and be unmoveable from the hope of the gospel, which you heard of your first apostles, which was, and is preached in all the world." If the protestants like not this exhortation, they do according to their translation. MARTIN, 9. 1 Tim. i. & vi.

Fulke. The Lord is witness, there is nothing liketh the protestants better than that all nations should continue grounded and stable in that faith and gospel which they had heard and received of their first apostles: but in this place our translators understand, not only that continuance in the gospel; but also they comprehend the mystery of the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, whereof the apostle in this text beginneth to speak, that the Colossians might know FULKE, 9.

that they have been instructed in that gospel, which at such time as the apostle did write unto them, had been spread by preaching, according to our Saviour Christ's commandment, over all the world. As for your brutish collection, "as though he spake not of the gospel preached to them, but of a gospel, which they had only heard of, that was preached in the world;" what ground can it have of our translation, according to the sense I shew that the translators followed? Is it possible they should continue in a gospel that was not preached unto them, but whereof they had heard only a fame, that it was preached to others? The whole context before enforceth as much as you say is the sense of the place. And the vulgar translator seemeth to favour this sense that our translators follow, rather than that bare translation of yours, because he saith not, *a spe evangelii quod audistis prædicati in universa creatura*, &c.; but *a spe evangelii quod audistis, quod prædicatum est in universa creatura.* The words of the exhortation you make to your countrymen are well to be liked, if your meaning were as good. But when by "the gospel" you mean popish traditions, by "your first apostles," not the apostles of Christ, but of the bishop of Rome, by "which was preached in all the world" the doctrine of antichristian apostasy; we are so to consider, that under so good and holy words so devilish and detestable a meaning is craftily covered and cloked with hypocrisy.

CHAPTER XXI.

Certain other Heretical Treacheries and Corruptions, worthy of observation.

Martin. THEY hold this position, that the scriptures are not hard to be understood, that so every one of them may presume to interpret and expound them. And because St Peter saith plainly, that St Paul's epistles are hard, and other scriptures also, which the unlearned (saith he) pervert to their own destruction[1]; therefore they labour tooth and nail to make this subtle difference, that St Peter saith not, "Paul's epistles are hard," but "some things in St Paul's epistles are hard," (as though that were not all one;) and therefore they translate so, that it must needs be understood of the things, and not of the epistles, pretending the Greek, which yet they know in some copies cannot be referred to the things, but must needs be understood of the epistles. Wherefore, the Greek copies being indifferent to both, and

MARTIN, 1.

2 Pet. iii. Corruption concerning the easiness of the scriptures. Beza in Annot.

ἐν οἷς Test. Gr. Crisp.

[1 ὡς καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς, λαλῶν ἐν, αὐταῖς περὶ τούτων, ἐν οἷς ἐστι δυσνόητά τινα, ἃ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀστήρικτοι στρεβλοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς γραφὰς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν, 2 Pet. iii. 16. "Sicut et in omnibus epistolis, loquens in eis de his, in quibus sunt quædam difficilia intellectu," Vulg. "Ut qui in omnibus fere epistolis loquatur de istis, inter quæ sunt nonnulla difficilia intellectu," Beza. "Yea, almost in every epistle, speaking of such things: among which are many things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do (also other, Cranmer; also the other, Bishops' bible, 1584) other scriptures, unto their own destruction," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539. "As one (that in all his epistles speaketh of these things, Geneva, 1560) almost in every epistle speaking of such things: among (the which some things, Geneva, 1560) which things some are hard to be understand, which they that are unlearned and unstable pervert, as they do also other scriptures, unto their own destruction," Geneva, 1557. "As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things, in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, unto their own destruction," Authorised version, 1611. The Alexandrine class of MSS. has ἐν αἷς: the received reading by Griesbach and Scholtz is ἐν οἷς.

Inter quæ, ἐν οἷς. Relativum οἷς, ut recte observat doctissimus interpres, non cohæret cum τούτων. Beza in locum.]

the thing also in very deed being all one, whether the hardness be in the epistles, or in the matter, (for when we say the scripture is hard, we mean specially the matter,) it is not only an heretical, but a foolish and peevish spirit that maketh them so curious and precise in their translations, as here to limit and abridge the sense to the things only; Beza translating, *inter quæ sunt multa difficilia*, and not, *in quibus*, as it is in the old vulgar translations, most sincere, and indifferent both to epistles and things.

ἐν οἷς. ἐν αἷς.

FULKE, 1. *Fulke.* We hold of the scriptures, as St Augustine teacheth[1], *de Doct. Chr.* Lib. II. cap. vi. that "the Holy Ghost hath so magnifically and wholesomely attempered the holy scriptures, that with open and clear places he hath provided against famine, and in dark and hard places he hath wiped away loathsomeness; and that nothing almost is gathered out of those dark places, which is not found elsewhere to be uttered most plainly, specially if it contain matter necessary unto salvation." But that every one may presume to interpret and expound the scriptures, it is one lie of an hundred that Martin hath made in this book, and hath feigned of us, never held or maintained by us. But St Peter, you say, "plainly saith, that St Paul's epistles are hard, and other scriptures also." Howbeit, St Peter saith neither the one nor the other, especially not the latter. For albeit in the most approved Greek copies the relative be of the neuter gender, limiting that which St Peter speaketh, not to any matter at large in St Paul's epistles, but to those things which St Paul hath written concerning the second coming of Christ; yet of the other scriptures he saith not that they are hard, although he might say there is hard things in them, but that "the unstable and unlearned pervert them to their own destruction," which they do oftentimes when they be most plain and easy, and not only where they be difficult and hard. That you can understand no difference between the sense which is made of the neuter gender, and that which the feminine gender doth yield, I know not whether it be to be imputed to the dulness of

[1 Magnifice igitur et salubriter Spiritus sanctus ita scripturas sanctas modificavit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia obtergeret. Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi reperiatur. Augustini de Doctrina Christiana, Lib. II. cap. vi. Vol. III. p. 45.]

your wit, but rather I think it proceedeth of the crafty malice of your mind: as also, that you charge us with "an heretical, foolish, and peevish spirit," when we translate according to the most usual Greek copies, and according to that which is most agreeable to the place. For to accuse all St Paul's epistles of difficulty and hardness had not been agreeable to that excellent commendation which St Peter before did give him. For every man that desireth to teach, as St Paul did by his epistles, ought to frame his speech to be as plain and easy to be understood as the matter whereof he speaketh will admit. But that some things about that high mystery of the second coming of Christ are hard to be understood, dischargeth Paul of affectation of difficulty, or not regard of perspicuity, shewing the cause of the hardness to be in the height of the matter, not in the handling of the writer. And that some did misunderstand the apostle St Paul writing of that matter, it is apparent by the second epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. 2.

Martin. Another fashion they have, which cannot proceed of good meaning; that is, when the Greek text is indifferent to two senses, and one is received, read and expounded of the greater part of the ancient fathers, and of all the Latin church, there to follow the other sense, not so generally received and approved; as in St James' epistle[2], where the common reading is, *Deus intentator malorum est*, "God is no tempter to evil," they translate, "God cannot be tempted with evil," which is so impertinent to the apostle's speech there, as nothing more. But why will they not say, God is no tempter to evil, as well as the other? is it because of the Greek word, which is a passive? Let them see their Lexicon, and it will tell them that it is both an active and passive. So say other learned Grecians, interpreters of this place. So saith the very circumstance of the words next going before, "Let no man say that he is tempted of God."

MARTIN, 2.

Corruption to make God the author of sin.

ἀπείραστος κακῶν.

Gagneius.

[2 Ὅτι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πειράζομαι· ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἀπείραστός ἐστι κακῶν, πειράζει δὲ αὐτὸς οὐδένα, James i. 13. "Let no man say when he is tempted, that he is tempted of God. For God tempteth not unto evil, neither tempteth he any man," Tyndale, 1534. "For God cannot tempt unto evil, because he tempteth no man," Cranmer, 1539. "For God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man," Geneva, 1557. "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man," Geneva, 1560, Bishops' bible, 1584, Authorised version, 1611.]

Why so? "Because God is not tempted with evil," say they. Is this a good reason? Nothing less: how then? "Because God is no tempter to evil," therefore let no man say, that he is tempted of God.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* You have a fashion, common to you with many of your fellows, to snatch all occasions that you can get, to make a shew, for your heinous slanders, wherewith you seek to overwhelm the saints of God, and especially those whose labours have been most fruitful to his church. Whereof you give us an evident example in this translation, which you follow with such eagerness in three large sections, that the ignorant reader, which cannot examine the matter, might think you had great and urgent cause so to do. The Greek of St James, ἀπείραστος κακῶν, we translated passively, as the word signifieth, and as words of that form do signify: "God is not, or cannot be tempted with evil." But against this translation you oppose the Lexicon; which following the judgment of the vulgar interpreter, that hath translated it actively, doth indeed make it indifferent to both significations, but example giveth none thereof, but this now in controversy. You allege further learned Grecians, interpreters of this place, and namely Gagneius, a late writer; to whom I may oppose Hentenius, who, translating Œcumenius upon St James, turneth this place of scripture thus: *Deus enim malis tentari nequit.* And Œcumenius in his commentary is plain of the same judgment; for repeating the text as before, he saith: *Juxta eum qui dixit* (*quanquam externus sit a nobis et a fide alienus*), *divina beataque natura neque molestias sustinet neque aliis præbet*[1]. "God cannot be tempted with evil, according to him which said, (although he be a foreigner from us, and a stranger from the faith,) 'the divine and blessed nature neither suffereth griefs nor offereth to other.'" And this judgment of Œcumenius is collected out of a great number of Greek doctors. But "the very circumstance of the words next before," say you, doth require it should be taken actively. A good interpreter will consider the circumstances of the words following, as well as of the words going before. For the words following declare that

[1 Ἀπείραστος δὲ ὁ Θεὸς κακῶν, κατὰ τὸν εἰρηκότα, (κἂν τῶν θύραθέν ἐστιν ἡμῖν,) τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ μακάριον οὔτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει, οὔτε ἑτέροις παρέχει. Œcumen. in Epist. Cathol. Jacobi Comment. Vol. II. p. 446.]

it must be taken passively; or else the apostle speaketh one thing twice together, without any cause why: whereas the passive taking of that word agreeth to the circumstance, as well going before, as following after. The whole context is this: "Let no man say, when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted of evils, neither doth he tempt any man." The meaning is plain: God is so far from tempting unto evil, as his divine nature is uncapable of any temptation of evil. For temptation to evil could not come from God, except it were first in God: but seeing it cannot be in God, it cannot proceed from him; and so doth Œcumenius interpret the place. ,,

Martin. This reason is so coherent and so necessary in this place, that if the Greek word were only a passive (as it is not), yet it might beseem Beza to translate it actively, who hath turned the active into a passive without scrupulosity, as himself confesseth, and is before noted, against the real presence. Much more in this place might he be bold to translate that actively, which is both an active and a passive; specially, having such an example, and so great authority as is all the ancient Latin church till this day. But why should he not? Surely, because he would favour his and their heresy, which saith clean contrary to these words of the apostle, to wit, "that God is a tempter to evil." Is that possible to be proved? Yea, it is possible and plain: Beza's words be these, *Inducit Dominus in tentationem eos quos Satanæ arbitrio permittit, aut in quos potius Satanam ipsum inducit ut cor eorum impleat, ut loquitur Petrus,* Acts v. 3: that is, "The Lord leadeth into tentation those whom he permitteth to Satan's arbitrement, or into whom rather he leadeth or bringeth in Satan himself to fill their heart, as Peter speaketh." Mark that he saith, God bringeth Satan into a man to fill his heart, as Peter said to Ananias, "Why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie unto the Holy Ghost?" So then, by this man's opinion, God brought Satan into that man's heart to make him lie unto the Holy Ghost, and so led him into tentation, being author and causer of that heinous sin. MARTIN, 3. Annot. Nov. Test. an. 1556. Matt. vi. 33.

Fulke. How necessary the coherence is with the former words, that it maketh an absurd repetition in the words following, I have noted before. And therefore there is no cause that should drive Beza to translate a word of passive signification actively, as you slander him to have translated an active passively against the real presence; for that you mean of Acts iii., he translateth not passively, so as the FULKE, 3.

passive is opposite to the active, but as the one may be resolved into the other, the same sense remaining, which every child in the grammar school knoweth. *Ego amo te, tu amaris a me,* "I love thee," "thou art loved of me;" and not as they may disagree, "I love thee," but "I am not loved of thee."

But Beza, you say, would not follow the vulgar interpreter, whose antiquity I have shewed, for universal receiving, not to have been above five hundred years; seeing Bernard, which lived a thousand and one hundred years after Christ, useth it not always. And why did Beza leave the vulgar translation in this place? "Surely, in favour of our heresy, that God is a tempter to evil." The Lord himself be judge, whether we abhor not that heresy! Yet you say, it is "both possible and plain to be proved by Beza's own words." In his later edition, anno 1565, his words are these, upon that petition of the Lord's prayer, "Lead us not into temptation:" *Inducit autem Dominus in tentationem eos quos Satanæ arbitrio permittit, ut cor eorum impleat, sicut loquitur Petrus,* Acts v. "The Lord leadeth into temptation them whom he permitteth to the will of Satan, that he may fill their heart, as Peter speaketh[1]." These words declare that God leadeth some men into temptation, and how he leadeth them into temptation, namely, by giving them over to Satan, who filleth their heart with all iniquity. But hereof it cannot be proved, that he tempteth unto evil. He sent the lying spirit into the mouth of Achab's prophets for a punishment unto Achab and them; yet he neither tempted Achab to evil, nor his prophets to lie. But you grate upon these words in the first edition, "God bringeth Satan into a man." Beza meaneth no otherwise, than for a punishment they are delivered to Satan, as the lying spirit was sent to deceive Achab: not that God filleth their hearts, but that Satan filleth their hearts to their destruction, as Peter saith; where you do slanderously apply that which Peter saith of Satan filling the heart of Ananias, to the whole sentence, as though Peter

[1] Ἀνανία, διατί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου, Acts v. 3. "Anania, cur tentavit Satanas cor tuum," Vulg. "Anania, cur implevit Satanas cor tuum," Beza. Also the same in Edit. 1556. In that of 1582, after "eos quos" is added, "ut justus judex, non ut peccatorum auctor, Satanæ arbitrio," &c.]

were alleged to say, that God sendeth Satan into a man's heart. That God did lead Ananias into temptation for his hypocrisy, and gave him over to Satan, who filled his heart and possessed him, so that he lied unto the Holy Ghost, we may safely affirm; and yet it followeth not that God either tempted Ananias to his sin, or else was author and causer of that heinous sin, otherwise than he is the good author and causer of all things, which as they are caused by him, they are good. And yet of such things, as St Augustine saith, he is no evil author; he may be, and is a just revenger. Wherefore you can no better gather of this saying, that God is the author of sin, than when we say, that God created the devil or man to be of free will; for if they had not been of free will to sin, they should not have sinned. Or if God had not suffered and ordained the devil first to fall, he could not have tempted Eve, and so have brought man to sin. But as God is clear from the sin of the devil, and of Adam, which yet he might have kept from sinning; so is he clear from the sin of them whom, for a just plague, he leadeth into temptation, and giveth into the power of Satan, to work his wicked will in them, to their eternal destruction.

Martin. Is not this to say, "God is a tempter to evil," clean contrary to St James the apostle? or could he that is of this opinion translate the contrary, that "God is no tempter to evil?" Is not this as much to say as, that God also brought Satan into Judas to fill his heart, and so was author of Judas' treason, even as he was of Paul's conversion? Let Beza now, and Master Whitaker, or any other heretic of them all, wrest and wring themselves from the absurdity of this opinion, as they endeavour and labour to do exceedingly, because it is most blasphemous; yet shall they never be able to clear and discharge themselves from it, if they will allow and maintain their foresaid exposition of God's leading into temptation. Doth not Beza for the same purpose translate "God's providence," for, "God's prescience?" which is so false, that the English Bezites in their translation are ashamed to follow him. MARTIN, 4. See Beza, Annot. in Rom. i. 24. Acts ii. 23. Whit. ad Rat. Camp. pp. 139. 145. προγνώσει. Acts ii. 23.

Fulke. Beza, that said the one, defieth the other. For St James saith, "that God tempteth no man to evil, as he himself is not tempted of evil." Therefore it is most ridiculous that you imagine, that Beza should not translate the word actively, to avoid that sentence, "God is no tempter to FULKE, 4.

evil," which followeth in the very next words, "God tempteth no man." That God gave over Judas unto Satan, it implieth not that God was the author of Judas' treason, no more than when the apostles say, that "Herod and Pontius Pilate came together with the gentiles and people of Israel against Jesus Christ, to do whatsoever the hand and counsel of God had determined." Acts iv. 27, 28. Behold, all they that murdered Christ, Herod, Pilate, Judas, Annas, Caiphas, with all the rest, did whatsoever the hand and counsel of God had before determined to be done. Was God then author of their sin? God forbid. And yet without horrible sin those things could not be done which God had determined to be done by those wicked instruments, yet necessary by God's appointment for our redemption. Beza therefore needed not for any such end, as you slander him, to have translated "God's providence," for "God's prescience," which I have answered before. Neither is there any need for Mr Whitaker or other to "wrest and wring themselves from this absurdity," which they never granted, but may easily be avoided by them that hold the doctrine of God's eternal providence and foreappointment of all things, as we do.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* Another exceeding treachery to deceive the reader is this, that they use catholic terms and speeches in such places where they may make them odious, and where they must needs sound odiously in the people's ears. As for example, this term, "procession," they put very maliciously and falsely, thus: "When the feast of Bacchus was kept, they were constrained to go in the procession of Bacchus[1]." Let the good reader see the Greek lexicon, if there be any thing in this word like to the catholic church's procession; or whether it signify so much as "to go about," as their other bibles are translated, which meant also heretically, but yet durst not name "procession."

Corruption in abusing catholic words.

2 Mach. vi. 7.

Bib. 1570.[2] πομπεύειν τῷ Διονύσῳ. Procession. Bib. 1562. 1577.

FULKE, 5. *Fulke.* Your popish ceremonies are many of them so heathenish and idolatrous, that they may well be resembled to the customs and solemnities of the gentiles, from whom they were taken. And as for the Greek word πομπεύειν, it signifieth to go in a solemn pomp, such as your processions are; and so doth our lexicon teach us, *in pompa incedere,*

[1 γενομένης δὲ Διονυσίων ἑορτῆς ἠναγκάζοντο κισσοὺς ἔχοντες πομπεύειν τῷ Διονύσῳ, 2 Macchab. vi. 7.]

[2 Geneva Bible, 1560.]

"to go solemnly in a pomp[3]." And if it signifieth not so much as "to go about," as you say, I pray you tell us, why your vulgar Latin interpreter hath translated it by *circumire*, or whether *circumire* doth not signify "to go about;" or whether the worshippers of Bacchus did not go about with garlands of yew on their heads, as your priests went with garlands of flowers at some time of the year.

Martin. Again, "He put down the priests (of Baal) whom the kings of Judah had founded to burn incense[4]," 4 Reg. xxiii. 5. So they translate (the Hebrew being simply "to give," "make," "appoint,") נָתְנוּ כְּמָרִים because in the catholic church there are foundations of chantry-priests, chapels, diriges, &c. Neither is it sincerely, and without ill meaning, that they say here the "priests" of Baal, whom &c.; because the Hebrew word signifieth all those that ministered in the temples of false gods. MARTIN, 6. Founded.

Fulke. A childish folly! As though we were enemies to good and godly foundations, because we mislike idolatrous and superstitious foundations. The Hebrew word, which signifieth "to give," according to the circumstances of this place may well be translated "to found," because the text speaketh of a gift of perpetuity, intended by those wicked kings. That *Chemarim* were the priests of Baal, the story doth declare, although they had that name of their black garments, which they did wear superstitiously, as your black monks do: or if you doubt whether Baal had *sacerdotes*, sacrificing priests, you may read 4 Reg. xi. 18, where Mattan, Baal's priest, was killed before his altar. And if "the Hebrew word signify all those that ministered in the temples of false gods," your vulgar Latin translator, by your own judgment, hath erred in translating it *aruspices*, which is a kind of soothsayers. FULKE, 6.

[3 Numerous instances are adduced by Stephens in his Thesaurus where πομπεύω has this signification. Vol. III. pp. 199, 200.]

[4 καὶ κατέκαυσε τοὺς χωμαρὶμ οὓς ἔδωκαν βασιλεῖς Ἰούδα, 4 [2] Reg. xxiii. 5. "Et delevit aruspices, quos posuerant reges Juda," Vulg. "And he put down the Chemerim whom the kings of Juda had founded to burn incense," Geneva, 1560. "And he put down the priests (of Baal) whom the kings of Juda had founded," &c., Bishops' bible, 1584. "He put down the ministers of Baal whom the kings of Juda had founded," Cranmer, 1562.]

MARTIN, 7. Shrines. ναούς.

Martin. Again, "silver shrines for Diana[1]," Acts xix. 24., because of the shrines and tabernacles made to the image of our blessed Lady; the Greek word signifying "temples," and Beza saith he cannot see how it may signify shrines.

FULKE, 7.

Fulke. The word in that place is taken neither for shrines nor temples, but for pieces of coin, in which was stricken the similitude of Diana's temple: indeed such a thing as your shrines and tabernacles are, or rather such as your broaches and leaden coins are, which are used at your solemn pilgrimages and idolatrous festivities; such as I have seen a number at Amiens in France, prepared on St John Baptist's eve, having the print of St John's head in a platter on them, and I know not what beside. But of this place I have spoken before, cap. i. sec. 16.

MARTIN, 8. Devotions. σεβάσματα. σέβασμα.

Martin. Again, "As I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar[2]," Acts xvii. 23. So they call the superstition of the Athenians toward their false gods, because of catholic people's devotions toward the true God, his church, altars, saints, &c.; the Greek word signifying the things that are worshipped (as 2 Thess. ii. 4, and Sap. xv. 17), not the manner of worshipping.

FULKE, 8.

Fulke. Of this also I have spoken in the place above mentioned. The word may signify "the exercise of their religion." And seeing St Paul accounteth the altar, which he found dedicated to the unknown God, among their σεβάσματα, it seemeth he taketh the word more generally than to signify their gods. For the altar was not worshipped as God, but dedicated to the unknown God. Again, what folly is it to think our translators had respect to your popish devotions, by the name of "devotion," so applied to discredit them, when the term of "devotion" is indifferent, as the term of "religion," either to true or to false devotion and religion!

[1 Ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος, Acts xix. 24. "Silver houses," Wiclif. "Silver shrines," Tyndale, Cranmer, Bishops' bible, Geneva, Authorised version.]

[2 διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν, εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν, &c., Acts xvii. 23. "Præteriens enim, et videns simulachra vestra," Vulg. "For as I passed by and beheld the manner how ye worship your gods," Tyndale, 1534, Cranmer, 1539, Geneva, 1557, Bishops' bible. "For as I passed by and beheld your devotions," Geneva, 1560, Authorised version, 1611.]

Martin. Again, "The Jews had agreed, that if any man did confess that he was Christ, he should be excommunicated[3]," John ix. 22. "And Jesus heard that they had excommunicated him," v. 35: to make the Jews' doing against them that confessed Christ sound like to the catholic church's doing against heretics in excommunicating them, and so to disgrace the priest's power of excommunication; whereas the Jews had no such spiritual excommunication, but (as the Greek must needs only signify) they did "put them out of the synagogue;" and so they should have translated, the Greek word including the very name of synagogue. But they, as though the church of Christ and the synagogue of the Jews were all one, so translate "excommunicating," and "putting out of the synagogue," as all one. MARTIN, 9. ἵνα ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται. Excommunication. Aposynagogum facere.

Fulke. The like discipline to the church's excommunication had the Jews, in excluding men from their synagogues or assemblies; and therefore of the similitude the one hath to the other in the thing, as well as in the end, our translators have used the word of "excommunicating" in this place; and yet not of "excommunicating" alone, for they all add, "out of the synagogue," to make it more plain, which you do fraudulently suppress. But how vain a thing it is that we should have any purpose against the discipline of excommunication, all the world may see, when we practise it ourselves, and teach that it is necessary to be perpetual in the church, against them that hold it was but temporal. And what we are to esteem of the excommunication of heretics, both out of this place, and divers other, we may be sufficiently instructed. FULKE, 9.

Martin. I omit here, as spoken before, that they call an idol "the queen of heaven," because we call our Lady by that title; so to make both seem alike. Also, that they say "Bel's altar" thrice, for "Bel's table," to disgrace altars; and that for "idols" they say "images," in despite of the church's images; that they say "tradition" duly in the ill part, yea, sometime when it is not in the Greek, to make traditions odious; and such like. Thus by similitude and like sound of words they beguile the poor people, not only in their false expositions concerning Judaical fasts, meats, observation of days (as is elsewhere shewed), but also in their translations. So doth Calvin's MARTIN, 10. Altars. Images. Traditions.

[3 ἵνα ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ὁμολογήσῃ Χριστὸν, ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται, John ix. 22. "He should be excommunicate out of the synagogue," Tyndale, Cranmer, Geneva, Bishops' bible. "He should be put out of the synagogue," Rhemish, Authorised version.]

Matt. xxiii. New Testament in French for, *nolite vocari Rabbi,* translate, "be not called *nostre maistre,*" or *magister noster;* in derision and disgrace of this title and calling, which is peculiar to doctors of divinity in the catholic universities beyond the seas; even as Wickliff their grandfather did upon the same words condemn such degrees in universities. But their Rabbins can tell them that *rabbi* signifieth *magister,* and not *magister noster.* And St John telleth them so, chap. i. 38, and chap. iii. 2, and chap. xx. 16; and yet it pleaseth them to translate otherwise, and to abuse Christ's own sacred words against catholic doctors and schools; not considering that as Christ forbad them to be called *rabbi,* so he forbad them the name of father and fathers; and yet I trow they will not scoff at this name either in their own fathers, or in themselves so called of their children; though in religious men, according to their heretical humour, they scoff also at this name, as they do at the other in doctors.

FULKE, 10. *Fulke.* And "I omit here, as answered before," the queen of heaven, altars, images, and traditions. But now, as though we had any thing to do therewith, we are charged with Calvin's New Testament in French, which translateth Matt. xxiii. *Nolite vocari rabbi,* "be not called *nostre maistre,*" or *magister noster.* I suppose it is not credible that any man would translate *rabbi, nostre maistre,* or *magister noster:* specially seeing it is made a great difference among dunstical[1] doctors between *noster magister* and *magister noster;* as also it is a like jest between *noster magistrande* and *nostrande magister.* Wherefore, except I see the book of Calvin's translation, I must think you feign. For I have two New Testaments printed at Geneva, the one 1555, the other 1559, and in both them *rabbi* is translated consonantly *maistre,* and not *nostre maistre,* or *magister noster.* That the text may be well applied against your pompous titular doctors, that desire to be called *nostre maistres;* as also that which followeth against your Jebusites, that must be called "fathers," though they be but young and light persons, I will not deny. And yet I think the titles of "doctor," and "master," in the universities, and of "fathers," ascribed to any ancient and grave personage, in respect of civility, and not of superstition, may be well used without transgression of our Saviour Christ's commandment, Matt. xxiii.

[1 Dunstical, a word probably invented by the Thomists against Duns Scotus and his followers. See Todd's Johnson's Dictionary, v. *Dunce.*]

Martin. Contrariwise, as they are diligent to put some words odiously where they should not, so they are as circumspect not to put other words and terms where they should. In their first bible, (printed again, anno 1562,) not once the name of "church;" in the same, for "charity," "love;" for "altar," "temple;" for "heretic," "an author of sects;" and for "heresy," "sect:" because in those beginnings all these words sounded exceedingly against them. The church they had then forsaken, christian charity they had broken by schism, altars they digged down; heresy and heretic they knew in their conscience were like in the people's ears to agree unto them, rather than to the old catholic faith and professors of the same. Again, in all their bibles indifferently, both former and later, they had rather say, "righteous," than "just;" "righteousness," than "justice;" "gift," than "grace," specially in the sacrament of holy orders; "secret," rather than "mystery," specially in matrimony; "dissension," than "schism." And these words not at all: "priest," (to wit, of the New Testament,) 'sacrament," "catholic," "hymns," "confession," "penance," "justifications," and "traditions" in the good part; but instead thereof, "elders," "secret," "general," "praises," "acknowledging," "amendment of life," "ordinances," "instructions:" and, which is somewhat worse, "carcase" for "soul," and "grave" for "hell." We may say unto you, as Demosthenes said to Æschines, τί ταῦτα; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; "What are these? words or wonders?" Certainly they are wonders, and very wonderful in catholic men's ears; and whether it be sincere and not heretical dealing, I appeal to the wise and indifferent reader of any sort.

MARTIN, 11.

A heap of corruptions.

Demosth. περὶ στεφάνου.

Fulke. For all the terms quarrelled at in this section, we have answered before; except perhaps for the term of "love," which is used instead of "charity," expressing what charity is indeed, and not as it is commonly taken of the common people, for an effect of charity, when they call "alms" "charity." No man that patiently could abide the people to be instructed, would cavil at the explication of the word "charity" by "love," when in the English tongue the word "charity" of the common people is either not understood, or taken for another thing than the Latin word *charitas* doth signify. As for the "wonders of words," that Demosthenes spake of, I know not where more properly they shall be found than in your affected novelties of terms, such as neither English nor Christian ears ever heard in the English tongue: *Scandal, prepuce, neophyte, depositum, gratis, parasceve, paraclete, exinanite, repropitiate,* and a hundred such like inkhorn[2] terms. Yea, I would gladly

FULKE, 11.

[2] Ink-horn: pedantic, such as "smell of the ink-horn." Gascoigne.]

know why, among so many Greekish and Latinlike terms, *gazophylacium* is not a "gazophilace," but "a treasury;" *encænia*, "the dedication," and not "the encænes;" as well as *pasce*, "Pentecost," *azymes*, *parasceve*. Belike the church must have treasure, and the "feast of dedication" must not lie hid in a new-found term. Why should *adventus* be sometime "the coming," and sometime "the advent," except it were for the sound of the time of advent, before the feast of the nativity of Christ? Why should Latin words be translated in Greekish terms? as *scissuras* into "schisms," *æmulatores*, "zelators," and such like? These, and such other, be "wonders of words," that wise men can give no good reason why they should be used.

Rom. ii. Acts xx.

CHAPTER XXII.

Other Faults, Judaical, Profane, Mere Vanities, Follies, and Novelties.

Martin. Now leaving matters of controversy, let us talk a little with you familiarly, and learn of you the reason of other points in your translation, which to us seem faults, and savour not of that spirit which should be in christian catholic translators. MARTIN, 1.

Fulke. Our translations, as near as the translators could see the truth, are even and just with the original text; the sense whereof, if it do not always contain such excellent matter as the Septuaginta or vulgar Latin translation have supposed, there is no cause why our translators should be blamed, whose office is to regard what the original truth is, and not to draw it for any respects to another meaning than the Spirit of God expresseth in those words. FULKE, 1.

Martin. First, you are so profane, that you say, "The ballad of ballads of Solomon," so terming that divine book, *Canticum canticorum*, containing the high mystery of Christ and his church, as if it were a ballad of love between Salomon and his concubine, as Castaleo wantonly translateth it. But you say more profanely thus: "We have conceived, we have borne in pain, as though we should have brought forth wind[1]." I am ashamed to tell the literal commentary of this your translation: why might you not have said, "We have conceived, and, as it were, travailed to bring forth, and brought forth the spirit?" Is there anything in the Hebrew to hinder you thus far? Why would you say "wind," rather than "spirit?" knowing that the Septuaginta in Greek, and the ancient fathers, and St Jerome himself, who translateth according to the Hebrew, yet for sense of the place, all expound it both according to Hebrew and Greek, of the Spirit of God, which is first conceived in us, and beginneth by fear, which the scripture calleth the beginning of wisdom; insomuch that in the Greek there are these goodly words, famous in all antiquity: "Through the fear MARTIN, 2. Isai. xxvi. 18. Ambr. lib. 2. de interpel. c. 4. Chryso. in Psal. vii. prope finem. See S. Jerome upon this place

[1 Διὰ τὸν φόβον σου, Κύριε, ἐν γαστρὶ ἐλάβομεν, καὶ ὠδινήσαμεν, καὶ ἐτέκομεν πνεῦμα σωτηρίας σου, Isai. xxvi. 18.]

of thee, O Lord, we conceived, and have travailed with pain, and have brought forth the spirit of thy salvation, which thou hast made upon the earth." Which doth excellently set before our eyes the degrees of a faithful man's increase, and proceeding in the spirit of God, which beginneth by the fear of his judgments, and is a good fear, though servile, and not sufficient; and it may be, that you, condemning with Luther this servile fear, as evil and hurtful, mean also some such thing by your translation. But indeed the place may be understood of the other fear also, which hath his degrees, more or less.

FULKE, 2. *Fulke.* I marvel why this word "ballad" should seem to you to be profane, more than this word "song," or "canticle." Songs and canticles be many as ill as any ballads. But the other matter is of great weight, Esai. xxvi., where, for "the spirit," we translate "wind," which is such an absurdity, that you are "ashamed to tell the literal commentary of this our translation." Belike you are afraid of such a fault as St Lambert, in your legend, is reported to have committed. But except you had a profane mind, you would never have imagined any such matter thereof, which you are ashamed to utter. The circumstance of the place requireth, that we should translate the word in this place for "wind," and not "the spirit:" for the prophet's purpose was to shew that people were in desperate case, without hope of help, till God did raise them, even as it were from death. The similitude is taken of a travailing woman, whose womb if it be full of wind, she is in great torments. But you ask us whether there be anything in the Hebrew that hindereth us to say, "we have conceived, and as it were travailed, and have brought forth the spirit." Yea, verily; the context of the Hebrew words will not bear that translation; for the word *chemo, quasi*, "as it were," is placed before the word *jaladhenu*, which signifieth "bringing forth," and not before *chalnu*, which signifieth "travailing in pain." Therefore the text is word for word as we have translated it. And the word following, "We could make no help to the land," or "there was no help in the earth," declareth a continuance of their misery; and cannot agree with that sense, which you would have, because they which have received the Holy Ghost have found help, and are able to help. Beside that, it is a monstrous phrase, that the godly should

כְּמוֹ יָלַדְנוּ חָלָנוּ

say, "they have conceived, travailed, and brought forth the Holy Ghost," by which they are born again to be the children of God, rather than that they have conceived or brought forth God's spirit. And therefore, howsoever Jerome like your interpretation, it agreeth neither with the words of the Hebrew, nor with the circumstance of the place; and it is scarce tolerable to make such a conception and generation of God's spirit in men. That "servile fear" is to be reproved in the children of God, which should fear him as sons, and not as slaves, we are content to acknowledge with Luther. But what place is this for us to mean anything against servile fear, when there is no mention of fear in the Hebrew text? and the Greek hath such licentious additions, that Jerome is fain to strike them through with a spit, and note them to be wiped out.

Martin. But to say "we have brought forth wind," can admit no such interpretation; but even as if a mere Jew should translate or understand it, who hath no sense of God's spirit, so have you excluded the true sense, which concerneth the Holy Ghost, and not the cold term of "wind," and whatsoever naked interpretation thereof. And it is your fashion in all such cases, where the richer sense is of God's holy Spirit, there to translate "wind," as Psalm cxlvii. 18., as you number the Psalms. MARTIN, 3.

Fulke. We must say in English, as the prophet hath said before us in Hebrew, and so truly translate the scripture, that never a Jew in the world may have just cause to accuse our falsehood or partiality. And how cold soever the term of "wind" seem to your crooked mind, and how naked soever the interpretation be thought of your cloaked hypocrisy, it is the word of the everliving God, and the true sense thereof, as it is expressed by the prophet. Likewise, Psal. cxlvii., the prophet sheweth who doth execute the commandment of God, in thawing and dissolving the frost, namely, the wind, which being southerly, we see the effect of it. What need we here to cause the Holy Ghost to be sent to melt the ice? FULKE, 3.

Martin. And it is not unlike to this, that you will not translate for the angel's honour that carried Abacuck, "He set him into Ba- MARTIN, 4.

ἐν ῥοίζῳ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῦ.

bylon, over the lake by the force of his spirit[1];" but thus, "through a mighty wind,"—so attributing it to the wind, not to the angel's power, and omitting clean the Greek pronoun αὐτοῦ, "his," which sheweth evidently, that it was the angel's spirit, force, and power.

FULKE, 4. *Fulke.* That we have translated in the story of Abacuck's taking up, that it was through a mighty wind, it hath good probability by the circumstance of the place; and the signification of ῥοῖζος, which is a force with a noise, is more apt to the wind, than to the Spirit: and in other writers πνευμάτων ῥοῖζος is taken for the vehement noise of winds. But the pronoun, I confess, should not have been omitted, and then it may be referred, either to the wind, or Spirit of God, whose angel this is said to be, rather than to the angel. For the angel being nothing but a spirit, it is not so convenient to say, by his spirit, as by his own force: again, the pronoun is not αὐτοῦ, but αὐτοῦ, whereof you made great difference, as indeed there is difference, in another case.

MARTIN, 5. *Martin.* Again, where the prophets speak most manifestly of Christ, there you translate clean another thing, as Isaiah xxx. 20.; when St Bib. 172. Jerome translateth thus, and the church hath always read accord- Vulg. ingly: *Non faciat avolare a te ultra doctorem tuum;* and, *Erunt oculi tui videntes præceptorem tuum*[2]: that is, "And (our Lord) shall not cause מוֹרֶיךָ thy doctors to fly from thee any more, and thine eyes shall see thy master." Which is all one in effect with that which Christ saith, "I will be with you unto the end of the world." There you translate thus, "Thy rain shall be no more kept back, but thine eyes shall see thy rain." So likewise Joel ii. 23, where the holy church readeth, "Rejoice, you children of Sion, in the Lord your God, because he hath given you the doctor of justice[3];" there you translate, "the rain

[1 Bel and the Dragon, v. 39.]

[2 Καὶ δώσει Κύριος ὑμῖν ἄρτον θλίψεως, καὶ ὕδωρ στενὸν, καὶ οὐκ ἔτι μὴ ἐγγίσωσί σοι οἱ πλανῶντές σε· ὅτι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὄψονται τοὺς πλανῶντάς σε, Isai. xxx. 20. "And when the Lord hath given you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, thy rain shall be no more kept back, but thine eyes shall see thy rain," Geneva, 1560. "And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers," Authorised version, 1611.]

[3 Καὶ τὰ τέκνα Σιὼν χαίρετε καὶ εὐφραίνεσθε ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ Θεῷ ὑμῶν, διότι ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν τὰ βρώματα εἰς δικαιοσύνην, Joel ii. 23. "Quia

of righteousness." Doth the Hebrew word force you to this? You know that it signifieth a teacher or master. And therefore the Jews themselves partly understand it of Esdras, partly of Christ's divinity. Why are you more profane (I will not say, more Judaical) than the Jews themselves? Why might not St Jerome, a christian doctor, and lacking no skill in the Hebrew, as you well know, satisfy you, who maketh no doubt but the Hebrew in these places is "doctor," "master," "teacher"? who also, in Psal. lxxxiv. 7., translateth thus[4], "With blessings shall the doctor be arrayed," meaning Christ: where you, with the latter rabbins, the enemies of Christ, translate, "The rain covereth the pools." What cold stuff is this in respect of that other translation, so clearly pointing to Christ, our master and doctor!

See יָרָה

Lyra in Isai. xxx.

Fulke. I have told you in the beginning of this chapter, we must not, neither is it safe for the strengthening of our faith, to draw places of scripture unto Christ, which by the Holy Ghost had another meaning: so shall the Jews laugh us to scorn; and the faith of the ignorant, which is grounded upon such translation, if it shall be opened unto them that it is untrue, shall be mightily shaken, and brought in doubt of all other places of scripture, applied to the like end. God be thanked! there be plain and evident testimonies of Christ in the scripture, which no malice of Jewish or heathenish enemies can wrest out of our hands, which are sufficient for instruction and confirmation of our faith. Now concerning those places, where you would have מורה to signify a "doctor," "teacher," or "master:" first, it seemeth you have your Hebrew but from hand to mouth: for chap. iii. sect. 25, where as we translate, *moreh shaker*, מוֹרֵה שָׁקֶר "a teacher of lies," Abacuck ii. you say, we translate another

FULKE, 5.

dedit vobis doctorem justitiæ," Vulg. "For he hath given you the rain of righteousness," Geneva, 1560. "For he hath given you the former rain moderately," Authorised version.]

[4 Εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος, εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔθετο· καὶ γὰρ εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν, Psal. lxxxiii. 6. "In valle lacrymarum in loco, quem posuit," Vulg. Psal. lxxxiv. 6. "They, going through the valley of Baca, make wells therein: the rain also covereth the pools," Geneva, 1560. "Who passing through the valley of Baca, make it a well; the rain also filleth the pools.

πορεύσονται ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν, Psal. lxxxiii. 7. "Etenim benedictionem dabit legislator," Vulg. Psal. lxxxiv. 7. "They go from strength to strength," Geneva version, 1560, Authorised version.]

thing, without any necessary pretence of Hebrew or Greek; and here you would have it of the necessity of the Hebrew, that we should translate a "teacher:" yet Pagnine in the root יָרָה, whereunto you refer us, saith, that Esay, the xxx. 20. this word is taken either for rain, or for a teacher: Joel ii. he maketh no question, but it signifieth rain; saving that some think it to be the name of a place. In the third place, Psalm lxxxiv. after he hath told you how Jerome translateth it, he telleth you how R. David and other do translate it for rain, as we do: and in all these places the sense is more proper for "rain," than for "a teacher," saving that in Esay, perhaps, it may signify more aptly "a teacher," and so the Geneva translation noteth it. In Joel, where the prophet before had threatened famine through drought, nothing is so convenient to be understood as seasonable rain. In the Psalm lxxxiv. where the prophet commendeth the courage of the people that travelled to Jerusalem through the dry deserts and places that wanted water, it is most apt to understand that God filled their pits with rain for their comfort. This, how cold soever it is counted of you, that care not whereon faith should be grounded, yet is it an hundred times more comfortable to a godly conscience that desireth to be established in truth, than any violent wresting of the scripture from the true and natural sense to any other interpretation, how good in shew soever it be.

MARTIN, 6. Isai. xxxiii. *Martin.* And again, where St Jerome translateth, and the church readeth, and all the fathers interpret and expound accordingly, "There shall be faith in thy times," to express the marvellous faith that shall be then, in the first Christians specially, even unto death, and in all the rest concerning the hidden mysteries of the New Testament; there you translate, "There shall be stability of thy times." The prophet joineth together there "judgment," "justice," "faith," "wisdom," "knowledge," "the fear of our Lord"; you, for a little ambiguity of the Hebrew word, turn "faith" into "stability."

FULKE, 6. *Fulke.* The word "stability[1]," Esai. xxxiii. 6. excludeth not faith, but sheweth wherein faith is grounded.

[1 Ἐν νόμῳ παραδοθήσονται, Isaiah xxxiii. 6. "Et erit fides in temporibus tuis," Vulg. "And there shall be stability of thy times,"

And therefore this is, as all the rest, a fond quarrel, without any good ground at all; seeing our translation may stand with the truth of the words and of the matter, and comprehendeth as much as you would have, and more also. Yea, it sheweth that faith is settled upon stability and stedfastness of truth, which shall flourish in the time of Christ.

Martin. If I should burden you with translating thus also concerning Christ, "Cease from the man whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be esteemed[2]?" you would say I did you wrong, because it is so pointed now in the Hebrew: whereas you know very well by St Jerome's commentary upon that place, that this is the Jews' pointing or reading of the word against the honour of Christ; the true reading and translation being as he interpreteth it, "For he is reputed high, and therefore beware of him." Otherwise, as St Jerome saith, what a consequence were this, or who would commend any man thus, "Take heed ye offend not him who is nothing esteemed?" yet that is your translation. Neither doth the Greek help you, which (if the accent be truly put) is thus, "because he is reputed for somebody or some thing;" as St Paul speaketh of the chief apostles, and it is our phrase in the commendation of a man. MARTIN, 7. Isai. ii. בְּמֹה ἐν τινὶ ἐλογίσθη. Gal. ii. 6.

Fulke. So long as you acknowledge we have translated truly according to the Hebrew text that we read, there is no reason that you should burden us with false interpretation. The Septuaginta, as Jerome confesseth, did read as we do; and plain it is, not only by the vowels, but also by the context, that so it must be read. For the prophet dissuadeth the people from putting affiance in any mortal man, for God will bring down the pride of all such as they trust most in, as it followeth in the next chapter, whereof this verse should be the beginning; the dismembering whereof, by the ill division of the chapter, deceived Jerome, to think the prophet spake of Christ, when he spake of a proud man, "whose FULKE, 7.

Geneva, 1560. "And wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times," Authorised version, 1611.]

[[2] Geneva Bible, 1560. Παύσασθε ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ ἀναπνοὴ ἐν μυκτῆρι αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἐν τίνι ἐλογίσθη αὐτός; Isaiah ii. 22. "Quiescite ergo ab homine, cujus spiritus in naribus ejus est, quia excelsus reputatus est ipse," Vulg. "Cease therefore from man, in whose nostrils there is wrath: for wherein is he to be accounted of?" Bishops' bible, 1584. "Fear not ye then any man, whose breath is in his nostrils. For what is he of reputation?" Cranmer, 1562.]

breath was in his nostrils," and therefore he was of no strength, even as David useth the same argument, Psalm cxlvi. for the purpose. The Chaldee paraphrase also did read even as the Septuaginta.

MARTIN, 8. *Martin.* The like excuse you would have by alleging the Hebrew vowels, if you were told that you much obscure a notable saying of the prophet concerning Christ, or rather the speech of Christ himself by his prophet, saying: "I have spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied vision, and in the hand of the prophets (that is, by the prophets) have I been resembled[1]." Which latter words do exceedingly express that all the prophets spake of Christ, as our Saviour himself declareth, "Beginning from Moses and all the prophets to interpret unto the two disciples the things that concerned him;" and as St Peter saith in these words, "All the prophets from Samuel, and that spake after him, did tell of these days." This prophecy then being so consonant to these speeches of the New Testament, the Greek also being word for word so, the Hebrew by changing one little prick (which the latter Jews have added at their own pleasure) being fully so, as we read with the Catholic church; why pretend you the Jews' authority to maintain another less christian translation, which is thus, "I use similitudes by the ministry of the prophets;" as though there were nothing there concerning Christ, or the second Person peculiarly?

Hos. xii. 10.

Luke xxiv. 27. Acts iii.

ἐν χερσὶ προφητῶν ὡμοιώθην. אֲדַמֶּה אֲדִמֶּה

FULKE, 8. *Fulke.* Seeing our Saviour Christ hath promised that never a prick of the law shall perish[2], we may understand the same also of the prophets, who have not received the vowels of the latter Jews, but even of the prophets themselves, howsoever that heathenish opinion pleaseth you and other papists.

MARTIN, 9. *Martin.* You will also perhaps allege not only the later Jews, but also some later Catholic men, that so translate the Hebrew. But the difference between them and you is, that they, with reverence and

The Hebrew text is no certain rule to interpretate by.

[1 Καὶ λαλήσω πρὸς προφήτας, καὶ ἐγὼ ὁράσεις ἐπλήθυνα, καὶ ἐν χερσὶ προφητῶν ὡμοιώθην, Hosea xii. 10. "Et locutus sum super prophetas, et ego visionem multiplicavi, et in manu prophetarum assimilatus sum," Vulg. "I have spoken through the prophets, and have multiplied visions, and shewed similitudes by the ministry of the prophets," Bishops' bible, 1584. "I have spoken through the prophets, and shewed divers visions, and declared myself by the ministration of prophets," Cranmer, 1562. "I have also spoken by the prophets, and I have multiplied visions, and used similitudes by the ministry of the prophets," Geneva, 1560.]

[2 See p. 55.]

preferment always of St Jerome's and the church's ancient translation, tell us how it is now in the Hebrew; you, with derogation and disannulling the same altogether, set down your own as the only true interpretation according to the Hebrew; avouching the Hebrew that now is, and as now it is printed, to be the only authentical truth of the Old Testament. Where you can never answer us, how that in the Psal. xxii., "As a lion my hand and my feet" (as now it is in the Hebrew) can כַּאֲרִי be the true and old authentical Hebrew; which none of the fathers knew, the ancient rabbins condemn as a corruption, yourselves translate it not, but after the old accustomed reading, "They have pierced my hands and my feet:" which is a notable prophecy of our Saviour's kind and manner of passion, being crucified on the cross. Only the later Jews, and such heretics as think he died upon a gallows or gibbet, and not upon the cross, they like this Hebrew text well, and stand upon it, as you do upon all without exception; and yet when it cometh to certain particulars, you are compelled to forsake it, as in certain other places for example.

Fulke. Isidorus Clarius, retaining the word *assimulatus sum*, doth thus expound it in his note: *Hoc est voluntatem meam similitudinibus et variis locutionis generibus elocutus sum:* that is, "I have uttered my will by similitudes and divers kinds of speech." You see therefore how you are deceived in advouching this matter of your own pseudo-catholics, when this bishop, not departing from your reading, yet expoundeth this text according to the Hebrew, and was allowed in so doing by the deputies of the Council of Trent, whose censure was observed in printing this bible. Where you repeat yet once again, that we "can never answer" that of a lion, Psalm xxii. you shew your skill and great reading. I have answered before in the preface, sect. xliv.[3]: that we forsake the Hebrew in this, or in any other, it is utterly false; for we follow no text but the Hebrew, so near as we can understand it and express it. FULKE, 9.

Martin. Where the Hebrew saith, "Achaz, king of Israel," 2 Paralip. xxviii. 19., which is not true, you are compelled to translate, "Achaz, king of Judah," as the truth is, and as it is in the Greek and the vulgar Latin; yet some of your bibles follow the falsehood of the Hebrew. MARTIN, 10. Faults in the Hebrew text. Bib. 1579.

Fulke. While you take upon you to discover faults in the Hebrew text, you bring three examples, which, if they were all faults, contain no matter of doctrine whereby we FULKE, 10.

[3 pp. 79, 80.]

may be deceived in any article of faith. The first is, that Achaz, 2 Chron. xxviii. 19, is called king of Israel, whereas he was king only of Juda. But I pray you, sir, was not Juda part of Israel? why might he not then be called a king, or one of the kings, of Israel? The queen of England may well be called *Regina Britanniæ*, although there be a king in Scotland. Although there may be another cause why Achaz is called king of Israel, because in his days, when Pekah the son of Remaliah was slain, the kingdom of Israel, that had continued from Jeroboam's time until then, was now in a manner decayed. For Hosea was of small power, and made tributary to the king of Assyria, and peradventure also in the time of Achaz was kept in prison, as it is certain he was imprisoned, 2 Reg. xvii. 4.; so that when there was none other king of Israel to account of, Achaz might be called king of Israel, as also in the same chapter, the last verse, though he were buried at Jerusalem, and in the city of David, it is said, that he was not laid in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel, where your vulgar Latin text hath "Israel," and not "Juda."

MARTIN, 11. Bib. 1579.

Martin. Likewise, where the Hebrew saith, "Zedechias his brother," meaning the brother of Joachim, you translate, "Zedechias his father's brother," as indeed the truth is, according to the Greek, and to the scripture, 2 Kings xxiv. 19.; and therefore your bible, which followeth the Hebrew here also, translating, "his brother," yet in the margin putteth down as more true, "uncle."

FULKE, 11.

אח

Fulke. This argueth no fault in the Hebrew text, but gross ignorance of the Hebrew tongue in you, which knew not that *ach* signifieth, not only a "brother," but also any other kinsman, as the "uncle," "cousins," and such like; as, Gen. xiii. Abraham and Lot are called "brethren," yet was Abraham Lot's uncle; Deut. xxv. when brethren shall dwell together, the law of marrying the brother's wife that died without issue, there the word "brethren" pertaineth to kinsmen far off, as appeareth in the story of Ruth, cap. iii. and iv. Finally, it is a thing so commonly known to them which have but a little smack in the Hebrew tongue, that I will spend no time about it. And even your vulgar translation in some ancient copies hath *fratrem*, and not *patruum*, as you may see in the bible printed by Plantin, 1567.

Martin. Likewise in another place the Hebrew is so out of frame, that some of your bibles say, "He begat Azuba of his wife Azuba." And other some translate, "He begat Jerioth of his wife Azuba:" the Hebrew being thus, "He begat Azuba his wife and *Jerioth*," which neither you nor any man else can easily tell what to make of. Thus you see how easy it were (if a man would multiply such examples), to shew by your own testimonies the corruption of the Hebrew, and that yourselves do not nor dare not exactly follow it, as of the Greek text of the New Testament also is declared elsewhere. MARTIN, 12. In the preface of the New Testament.

Fulke. The third fault you find is, 1 Chron. ii. 18., where the interpreters are deceived while they take *eth* for a sign of the accusative case, which in that place, as in divers other, is taken for a preposition, "of" or "by;" as, Gen. iv. Eve saith, "I have obtained a son," *eth 'Jehovah*, "of the Lord," or "by the Lord's gift," &c. Gen. xliv. "They are gone out," *eth hayir*, "of or from the city." So here the true translation of this verse in question is this: "Caleb the son [of] Chetzron, begat of Azuba, his wife, and of Jerioth[1];" that is, he had children by these two women, Azuba his wife, and Jerioth, which was his concubine; so they called them that were lawful wives, in respect of matrimony, but yet had not the honour of wives, but being of base condition before they were married, so continued. By this Jerioth he had those three sons that in this verse are named; his children by Azuba are named afterward, verse 42. Wherefore here is no fault in the Hebrew, but in your vulgar translator, which maketh Jerioth the son of Azuba, and addeth to the text, because he understood it not. It is false, therefore, that you say, "we dare not follow the Hebrew," because some translator, by oversight, hath not attained to the right understanding thereof; as also, that "we dare not exactly follow the Greek of the New Testament," which we desire to follow as exactly as we can. FULKE, 12. אֶת אֶת־יְהוֹדָה אֶת־הָעִיר

Martin. But it is greater marvel, why you follow not the Hebrew in other places also, where is no corruption. You protest to translate it according to the points or vowels that now it hath, and that you call the Hebrew verity. Tell me then, I beseech you, why do you in all your bibles translate thus? "O virgin daughter of Sion, he hath MARTIN, 13.

[1 Καὶ Χαλὲβ υἱὸς Ἐσρὼμ ἔλαβε τὴν Γαζουβὰ γυναῖκα, καὶ τὴν Ἰεριώθ· καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ αὐτῆς. Caleb vero filius Hesron accepit uxorem nomine Azuba, de qua genuit Jerioth. Vulg. 1 Paralip. ii. 18.]

Isai. xxxvii. 22. despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn: O daughter of Jerusalem, he hath shaken his head at thee." In the Hebrew, Greek, St Jerome's translation and commentary, it is clean contrary: "The virgin daughter of Sion hath despised thee," (O Assur:) "the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee." All are the feminine gender, and spoken of Sion literally, and of the church spiritually triumphing over Assur and all her enemies: you translate all as of the masculine gender, and apply to it Assur, insulting against Jerusalem, &c. I cannot conceive what this translation meaneth, and I would gladly know the reason; and I would have thought it some gross oversight, but that I find it so in all your English bibles, and not only in this place of Isaiah, but also in the books of the kings, 4 Reg. xix. where the same words are repeated. And it is no less marvel unto us, that know not the reason of your doings, why you have left out *Alleluia* nine times in the six last psalms, being in the Hebrew nine times more than in your translation; specially when you know that it is the ancient and joyful song of the primitive church. See the New English Testament, *Annot. Apoc.* xix.

παρθένος, θυγάτηρ. τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς. בָּזָה לָעֲגָה לָךְ

Alleluia. Bib. 1577. הַלְלוּיָהּ

Fulke, 13. *Fulke.* It seemeth that our translators followed too much the judgment of the Tigurine translator, who, what reason moved him so to translate, I know not: it seemeth they weighed not well the Hebrew in that place; but such is man's frailty that he is apt and easy to be deceived, if he be not very vigilant and attentive in those cases: and the example of one man's error that is of credit, soon draweth other men into the same, by countenance of his authority. Nevertheless two of our translations, the Bishops' bible and Coverdale's bible, translate the very same words according to the Hebrew, 2 Reg. xix. referring the saying against Senacherib despised and laughed to scorn by Jerusalem; and therefore you say untruly, that it is in all our English bibles, 4 Reg. xix. Where you marvel why we have left out *Alleluiah* nine times in the six last psalms, I marvel as much why you should so say; for in the Bishops' bible which I have, and which you call bible 1577, it is ten times in the five last psalms, and ten times there is in the translation, "Praise ye the Lord." In the cxlv. it is not in the Hebrew; but in the other five psalms it is both in the beginning and in the end of every one of them.

Martin, 14. *Martin.* Again, you translate thus: "Many which had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their

eyes, wept," &c. Look well to your Hebrew, and you shall find it according both to the Greek and the Latin, thus: "Many which had seen the first house in the foundation thereof," (that is, yet standing upon the foundation, not destroyed,) "and this temple before their eyes, wept." You imagined that it should be meant, they saw Salomon's temple, when it was first founded; which because it was unpossible, therefore you translated otherwise than is in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. But yet in some of your bibles, you should have considered the matter better, and translated accordingly.

Fulke. The Hebrew is indifferent, Ezra iii. to either of both translations, and the sense is all one, whether *beiasedho* be referred to the first house, named before, or to this house before their eyes, which followeth; and therefore your conjecture of our imagination, as in other places, is no more bold than vain. FULKE, 14. בְּיִסְדוֹ

Martin. And surely why you should translate (4 Reg. xxiii. 13.) "On the right hand of mount Olivet," rather than as it is in the vulgar Latin; and why, "Ye abject of the gentiles," Isaiah xlv. 20. rather than "ye that are saved of the gentiles;" you belike know some reason, we do not, neither by the Hebrew, nor the Greek. MARTIN, 15. לְהַר הַמַּשְׁחִית οἱ σωζόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

Fulke. The Geneva bible hath according to the Hebrew, "the mount of corruption," which was indeed the mount Olivet, as it is proved by 1 Reg. xi. 7 and 2 Sam. xv. 30, "and of the fruitfulness of oil was called *mischethith*;" but in this place, in detestation of the idolatry, is called *maschith*, signifying "corruption," as Bethel was called Bethaven, Osee iv. 15. פְּלִיטֵי גּוֹיִם FULKE, 15.

In Esai. xlv. two of our translations have, according to the usual signification of the Hebrew word, *pelitei*, "you that escaped of the people;" but that the word also signifieth "an abject," you might have learned by Pagnine, and so ceased to have marvelled why the Geneva bible translateth "you abjects of the gentiles;" as your own vulgar translation, Jer. xliv. translateth it, "of them that fled," or "fugitives." פְּלִיטֵי

Martin. Howbeit in these lesser things, (though nothing in the scripture is to be counted little,) you might perhaps more freely have taken your pleasure, in following neither Hebrew nor Greek; but when it concerneth a matter no less than usury, there by your false translation to give occasion unto the reader to be an usurer, is no small fault, either against true religon, or against good manners. This MARTIN, 16.

Bib. 1562. 1577. Deut. xxiii. 19.

you do most evidently in your most authentical translations, saying thus: "Thou shalt not hurt thy brother by usury of money, nor by usury of corn, nor by usury of anything that he may be hurt withal." What is this to say, but that usury is not here forbidden, unless it hurt the party that borroweth? which is so rooted in most men's hearts, that they think such usury very lawful, and daily offend mortally that way. Where Almighty God in this place of holy scripture hath not a word of hurting, or not hurting, (as may be seen by the Geneva bibles,) but saith simply thus: "Thou shalt not lend to thy brother to usury, usury of money, usury of meat, usury of anything that is put to usury."

לֹא תַשִּׁיךְ לְאָחִיךָ נֶשֶׁךְ

οὐκ ἐκτοκιεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου τόκον ἀργυρίου, &c.

MARTIN, 17.

Mark the Hebrew and the Greek, and see and be ashamed, that you strain and pervert it, to say for *Non fœnerabis fratri tuo*, which is word for word in the Greek and Hebrew, "Thou shalt not hurt thy brother by usury." If the Hebrew word in the use of holy scripture do signify, "to hurt by usury," why do you in the very next words following, in the selfsame bibles, translate it thus, "unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury, but not unto thy brother?" Why said you not, "A stranger thou mayest hurt with usury, but not thy brother?" Is it not all one word and phrase, here and before? And if you had so translated it here also, the Jews would have thanked you; who by forcing the Hebrew word, as you do, think it very good to hurt any stranger, that is, any Christian, by any usury, be it never so great.

Ibid. v. 20.

FULKE, 16, 17.

Fulke. You say well, that in the scripture nothing is to be counted little; and therefore even in these little things we have endeavoured to follow the Hebrew, and have so well followed it, that though you say much, yet you can prove little against us. But concerning this text of usury, whereof you would make us great patrons, it is marvel that you cannot find in your dictionaries, that the verb *nashach* signifieth "to bite:" at least wise you should have regarded that your vulgar Latin interpreter, Num. xxi., translateth it "to strike," or "hurt," as they were that were hurt or bitten by the fiery serpents. The consent of all Hebricians also is, that *neshech*, the name of "usury," is derived of "biting" and "hurting:" wherefore the Bishops' bible, meaning to express that all usury is hurtful, according to the etymology of the word, rather than to defend that any usury is lawful other than such as God himself alloweth; and therefore it had been well to have translated also in the next verse, "a stranger mayest thou bite, or hurt with usury;" howsoever the Jews would take it, whose abominable usury,

נָשַׁךְ

נֶשֶׁךְ

under pretence of that place, sure I am our translators' purpose was not to defend.

Martin. What shall I tell you of other faults, which I would gladly account oversights or ignorances, such as we also desire pardon of? but all are not such, though some be. As, "two thousand" (written at length), "to them that keep the fruit thereof." In the Hebrew, and Greek, "two hundred." Again, in the same book, chap. i. 4. "As the fruits of Cedar," in the Hebrew and Greek, "tabernacles." And, "ask a sign either in the depth or in the height above," for, "in the depth of hell." And, "great works are wrought by him," for, "do work in him," as St Paul useth the same word, 2 Cor. iv. 12. And, "to make ready an horse," Acts xxiii. 24. in the Greek, "beasts." And, "if a man on the Sabbath day receive circumcision, without breaking of the law of Moses," John vii. 23, for; "to the end that the law of Moses be not broken." And, "the Son of man must suffer many things, and be reproved of the elders," Mark viii. 31, for, "be rejected;" as in the psalm, "the stone which the builders rejected," we say not, "reproving" of the said stone, which is Christ. And *νεόφυτος*, "a young scholar," in all your translations falsely. And, "Simon of Chanaan," or "Simon the Cananite," who is called otherwise Zelotes, that is, "zealous," as an interpretation of the Hebrew word *Cananæus;* which I marvel you considered not, specially considering that the Hebrew word for "zealous," and the other for a "Cananite," begin with diverse letters. And, "lest at any time we should let them slip," for, "lest we slip or run by," and so be lost.

MARTIN, 18.
Cant. Cantic. viii. 12. Bib. 1579.
Isai. vii. 11.
Matt. xiv. 2. ἐνεργοῦσιν ἐν αὐτῷ. Bib. 1577.
ἵνα μὴ λυθῇ ὁ νόμος.
ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι.
1 Tim. iii.
Mark iii.
ק כ

Fulke. The first in Can. viii. is doubtless the printer's fault, who did read in the written copy one cipher too much. That the second, Can. i. 5, was the printer's fault, which did read "fruits" for "tents," it is plain by the note upon the word *Kedar*, which is this: "*Kedar* was Ishmael's son, of whom came the Arabians, that dwelt in tents." In the third place, Esai. vii. there lacketh this word "beneath," or toward the pit, downward; for *shealah* is here opposite to *lemayelah*, "above," or "upward:" which omission I know not whether it is to be imputed to the negligence of the printer, or of the translators; but notwithstanding the sense is all one. In the fourth text also, there is no difference for the meaning; and some are of opinion, that *ἐνεργεῖν* may be taken passively, as *ἀσκεῖν*, Beza in Marc. vi. 14; other translations turn it actively. In the fifth text, Acts xxiii. if for an "horse" they had said "horses," it had been no fault; for it is not like they rode upon asses or camels. The word

FULKE, 18.
לְמַעְלָה

signifieth "beasts," that are possessed, and of possession they be called κτήνη; but here it is certain beasts meet for carriage of men are signified. In the sixth, John vii. 23, I think the translators were deceived, supposing that ἵνα μὴ might be translated, "so that the law of Moses be not broken," as perhaps it may; but hereof I will not determine: commonly ἵνα signifieth "to the end;" yet is there no ungodly sense contained in this translation. The seventh, Mar. viii. 31, is but a knot in a rush; for "reproved" in that place signifieth nothing but "refused," or "rejected." Your vulgar Latin saith, *reprobari*, which is plainly "to be reproved;" and 1 Peter ii. "The stone which the builders reproved," *reprobaverunt*, "refused." By "reproved" they do not mean "reprehended" or "rebuked," but "utterly refused and not accepted." The eighth, *neophytus*, "a young scholar," as I have shewed before, is better Englished than a neophyte, which is neither Greek, Latin, nor English. The ninth is corrected in two translations, and the Geneva bible telleth you, that for "Cananite" you may read "zealous;" so that we are not beholding to you for this correction, as it seemeth you would have us. Touching the tenth text, Heb. ii., both those translations that say, "lest at any time we should let them slip," have this note in the margin, by which they declare they mean even as you would have them say: "lest, like vessels full of chaps, we leak, and run out on every part;" for vessels that do run out, do let go or let slip that liquor that is put into them.

MARTIN, 19. Ann. 1562. Matt. xxii. Matt. xxiv. Mark v. Matt. xxv. Eph. iii. Tit. i.

Martin And as for the first bible, which was done in haste, and not yet corrected, but is printed still afresh, that saith, "With Herod's servants," as though that were the only sense; that calleth *idiotas*, "laymen;" καβωτὸν, "a ship;" θόρυβον, "wondering;" σβέννυται, "are gone out:" ἐξουσίαν, "his substance;" and, "to know the excellent love of the knowledge of Christ," for, "the love of Christ that excelleth knowledge;" and, "of men that turn away the truth," for, "that shun the truth and turn away from it;" and, "mount Sina is Agar in Arabia," for, "Agar is mount Sina," &c.

FULKE, 19.

Fulke. "The first bible" was not that you meant, but not much differing from it; neither was it "done in haste," but with as good consideration as God gave for that time; neither was it printed these twenty-two years, for ought I know, which

you say "is printed still afresh." In that bible "Herod's servants," put for the Herodians, was lack of knowledge of what sect the Herodians should be. *Idiotas*, "laymen," is no more fault than of "the vulgar sort," which you say. "The ship," for "the ark," is a small fault, seeing that ark into which Noah entered was a ship, or instead of a ship. "The wondering," for "the tumult," is a popular term; for so they call a great noise made by a multitude. The lamps "are gone out," or "are quenched," I know not what great difference may be in it. "His substance," ἐξουσίαν, I know not where you mean, except it be Mark xiii. where Erasmus noteth that he hath read in some copy οὐσίαν, "substance," which seemeth to agree aptly with the place. In the text, Eph. iii. the true translation is as we have corrected it in the later editions; yet the words may bear that other interpretation also. In Titus the first, the participle is of the mean voice, and therefore may signify actively or passively. In Gal. the transposition, Sina before Agar, seemeth to be the fault of the printer, rather than of the translator.

Martin. Let these and the like be small negligences or ignorances, such as you will pardon us also, if you find the like. Neither do we greatly mislike that you leave these words, *urim* and *thummim*, and *chemarim*, and *ziims*, and *iims*, untranslated, because it is not easy to express them in English: and we would have liked as well in certain other words which you have translated, "images," "images," and still "images," being as hard to express the true signification of them as the former. And we hope you will the rather bear with the late Catholic translation of the English Testament, that leaveth also certain words untranslated, not only because they cannot be expressed, but also for reverence and religion, as St Augustine saith, and greater majesty of the same. MARTIN, 20. Deut. xxxiii. 2 Kings xxiii. Jer. l. *Hamanim.* Isai. xvii. *Gillulim.* Jer. l. *Miphletseth.* Rom. xv.

Fulke. Some indeed are small faults, some none at all. That you mislike us not for not translating a few words whose signification is unknown, or else they cannot be aptly expressed in the English tongue, it is of no equity towards us; but that you might, under that shadow, creep away with so huge a multitude of words, which may as well be translated as any in the bible, and that in the New Testament, which is scarce the sixth part of the whole bible. The words which we have translated "images," are out of question terms FULKE, 20.

signifying "images," and of your translator they be called either *imagines, simulacra, sculptilia, idola,* &c. Our English tongue, being not so fruitful of words, we call them sometimes "idols," sometimes "images;" which, when we speak of worshipped images, can be none other but such as you call "idols." To obscure such a multitude of words, and so much matter by them, as you do, St Augustine will not warrant you; who speaketh only of two or three words usually received in the Latin church in his time, not of such a number as you have counterfeited.

MARTIN, 21.

Martin. Of one thing we can by no means excuse you, but it must savour vanity, or novelty, or both. As when you affect new strange words, which the people are not acquainted withal, but it is rather Hebrew to them than English; μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζοντες, as Demosthenes speaketh, uttering with great countenance and majesty. "Against him came up Nabuchadnezzar, king of Babel," 2 Par. xxxvi. 6., for "Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon;" "Sancherib," for "Sennacherib;" "Michaiah's prophecy," for "Michæa's;" "Jehoshaphat's prayer," for "Josaphat's;" "Uzza slain," for "Oza;" "when Zerubbabel went about to build the temple," for "Zorobabel;" "remember what the Lord did to Miriam," for "Marie," Deut. xxxiv.: and in your first translation, "Elisa," for "Elisæus;" "Pekahia" and "Pekah," for "Phaccia" and "Phacee;" "Uziahu," for "Ozias;" "Thiglath-peleser," for "Teglath-phalasar;" "Ahaziahu," for "Ochozias;" "Peka, the son of Remaliahu," for "Phacee, the son of Romelia." And why say you not as well "Shelomoh," for "Salomon;" and "Coresh," for "Cyrus," and so alter every word from the known sound and pronunciation thereof? Is this to teach the people, when you speak Hebrew rather than English? Were it a goodly hearing (think you) to say for "Jesus," "Jeshuah;" and for "Marie," his mother, "Miriam;" and for "Messias," "Messiach;" and "John," "Jachannan;" and such like monstrous novelties? which you might as well do, and the people would understand you as well, as when your preachers say, "Nabucadnezer, king of Babel."

Bib. 1579. Demosth. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. c. 32. Fol. 172. 173. 160. Epistle to the Queen. Bibl. 1562. 2 Kings xv. 16. Calfil.

FULKE, 21.

Fulke. Seeing the most of the proper names of the Old Testament were unknown to the people before the scripture was read in English, it was best to utter them according to the truth of their pronunciation in Hebrew, rather than after the common corruption which they had received in the Greek and Latin tongues. But as for those names which were known unto the people out of the New Testament, as Jesus, John, Mary, &c., it had been folly to have taught men

to sound them otherwise than after the Greek declination, in which we find them.

Martin. When Zuinglius, your great patriarch, did read in Munster's translation of the Old Testament Jehizkiahu, Jehezchel, Choresh, Dariancsch, Beltzezzer, and the like, for Ezechias, Ezekiel, Cyrus, Darius, Baltasar; he called them barbarous voices, and uncivil speeches, and said the word of God was soiled and depraved by them. Know you not that proper names alter and change, and are written and sounded in every language diversely? Might not all antiquity, and the general custom both of reading and hearing the known names of Nabuchodonosor, and Michæas, and Ozias, suffice you, but you must needs invent other which the people never heard, rather for vain ostentation, to amaze and astonish them, than to edification and instruction? which is an old heretical fashion, noted by Eusebius, Lib. iv. c. 10, and by the author of the imperfect commentaries upon St Matthew, Ho. xliv., and by St Augustine, Lib. iii. c. 26., *contra Cresconium.* MARTIN, 22. Præfat. in Isai.

Fulke. That Zuinglius is no patriarch of ours, you may know by this, that we do freely dissent from him, when we are persuaded that he dissenteth from the truth. But where you charge us with "an heretical fashion" in sounding Hebrew names according to the truth of the Hebrew tongue, if your authors be well weighed, they will convince you of an heretical fashion in framing of new words, which are more apt "to amaze and astonish men, than to instruct or edify them;" and in using strange language in all your church service, and in that also divers Hebrew words. So did the Marcosians, of whom Eusebius out of Irenæus writeth, in baptizing. And the author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, though himself an heretic, yet truly saith of heretic priests, as you are, in the homily by you quoted, *Sic et modo hæretici sacerdotes,* &c. "Even so the heretic priests shut up the gate of truth: for they know that if the truth were made manifest, their church should be forsaken," &c. For which cause, until this time, you have been utter enemies to the translation of the scripture. But now you see you cannot prevail against the translation, you have begun so to translate the scripture, as in many things it were as good not translated, for anything the people shall understand by it. For you have not explicated the fourth part of the feigned inkhorn terms that you have used. And that St Augustine FULKE, 22.

saith, Cresconius went fondly about to terrify him with the Greek word *anticategoria*, you do the like with parasceve, azymes, scandals, neophyte, yea, with the Latin words *gratis*, *depositum*, and such like, seek to bring the ignorant in great admiration of your deep knowledge, which is nothing else but "an heretical fashion," under strange terms to hide the poison of your pestilent doctrine.

MARTIN, 23. Jehovah. יְהוָה

Martin. What shall I speak of your affectation of the word *Jehôvah* (for so it pleaseth you to accent it) instead of *Dominus*, the "Lord?" whereas the ancient fathers in the very Hebrew text did read and sound it rather *Adonai*, as appeareth both by St Jerome's translation, and also his commentaries; and I would know of them the reason why in the Hebrew bible, whensoever this word is joined with *Adonai*, it is to be read *Elohim*, but only for avoiding *Adonai* twice together. This, I say, we might justly demand of these that take a pride in using this word *Jehovah* so often both in English and Latin, though otherwise we are not superstitious, but as occasion serveth, only in the Hebrew text we pronounce it and read it. Again we might ask them, why they use not as well *Elohim* instead of *Deus*, "God;" and so of the rest, changing all into Hebrew, that they may seem gay fellows, and the people may wonder at their wonderful and mystical divinity.

FULKE, 23.

Fulke. In our English translation, *Jehovah* is very seldom used in other speech; no wise man useth it oftener than there is good cause why. And when there is cause, we have no superstition in pronouncing it, as we are not curious in accenting it. Although, perhaps, you quarrel at our accent, because you cannot discern between time and time. The middle syllable we know to be long; whether it be to be elevated we make no question: we know where the accent is in the Hebrew; but we think not that all accents be sharp, and elevate that syllable in which they are. It is a great matter that you demand the reason why, joined to *Adonai*, it is to be read *Elohim:* you should rather demand why it is otherwise pointed, when it is joined with *Adonai;* for being pointed as it is, I see not why it should not be read according to the vowels, *Adonai Jehovih.* Many other questions might be moved about the names of God, in pronouncing or writing of which we know the Jews were reverent, even to superstition; and therefore in books that should come in all men's hands, made other alterations than you speak of,

and yet retained in other authentical copies the true letters and points. If any desire vaingloriously to utter his skill in the tongues, when he should edify the people, of all them that be wise and learned he is misliked for so doing.

Martin. To conclude: are not your scholars, think you, much bound unto you, for giving them, instead of God's blessed word and his holy scriptures, such translations heretical, Judaical, profane, false, negligent, fantastical, new, naught, monstrous? God open their eyes to see, and mollify your hearts to repent of all your falsehood and treachery, both that which is manifestly convinced against you and cannot be denied, as also that which may by some shew of answer be shifted off in the sight of the ignorant, but in your consciences is as manifest as the other! MARTIN, 24.

Fulke. Happy and thrice happy hath our English nation been, since God hath given learned translators, to express in our mother tongue the heavenly mysteries of his holy word, delivered to his church in the Hebrew and Greek languages. Who, although they have in some matters, of no importance unto salvation, as men, been deceived; yet have they faithfully delivered the whole substance of the heavenly doctrine, contained in the holy scriptures, without any heretical translations or wilful corruptions; and in the whole bible, among them all, have committed as few oversights for anything that you can bring, and of less importance, than you have done only in the New Testament; where, beside so many omissions, even out of your own vulgar Latin translation, you have taken upon you to alter that you found in your text, and translate that which is only in the margin, and is read but in few written copies: as for *Italia* you say *Attalia*, noted before Heb. xiii., for *placuerunt* you translate *latuerunt*, 2 Pet. ii., for *coinquinationis*, which is in the text, you translate *coinquinationes*, which was found but in one only copy by Hentenius, as the other but in one or two of thirty divers copies, most written. FULKE, 24.

A BRIEF TABLE

TO DIRECT THE READER TO SUCH PLACES AS MARTIN IN THIS BOOK CAVILLETH TO BE CORRUPTED IN DIVERS TRANSLATIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLES, BY ORDER OF THE BOOKS, CHAPTERS, AND VERSES OF THE SAME, WITH SOME OTHER QUARRELS AGAINST BEZA AND OTHERS FOR THEIR LATIN TRANSLATIONS, WITH THE ANSWERS OF WILLIAM FULKE.

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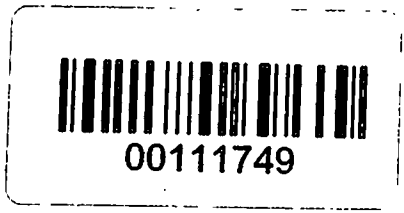
ERRATA.

Page 71, note, line 2, *for* 1 Tim. i. 2, *read* iii. 2.
Page 464, line 19, *for* Philip. ii. 15, *read* ii. 25.
Page 534, line 19, *for* xliv. 7, *read* xliv. 17.
Page 541, margin, *for* Dan. vi. 3, *read* vi. 10.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